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## BIOART ON THE VERGE OF AESTHETIC ONTOLOGY

*María Antonia GONZÁLEZ VALERIO*

Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Circuito Interior Ciudad Universitaria,  
s/n. C.P. 04510, México, D.F.  
e-mail: mariantonia@magonzalezvalerio.com

### ABSTRACT

*Bioart is a new art form with specific characteristics and aims. In order to state this, one should provide a definition of bioart that explains its novelty and the extent to which it differs from traditional art forms. Bioart is the essential form of expression of our techno-scientific epoch, bringing about an interaction of science, technology and art that requires explanation in order not only to understand it as a new art form but also a possible way for our techno-scientific epoch to develop a more appropriate means of artistic expression. The traditional philosophy of art, which has created various definitions of art over the course of the past decade, is not sufficient for analyzing the ontological consequences of bioart. Therefore, this paper explores the possibility of creating a theoretical framework that is drawn from the discipline of aesthetic ontology in order to examine the ontological implications of bioart.*

**Keywords:** bioart, aesthetic ontology, art definition, transaesthetic, art and science

## LA BIOARTE SULL'ORLO DELL'ONTOLOGIA ESTETICA

### SINTESI

*La bioarte è una nuova forma d'arte con caratteristiche e obiettivi specifici. Per affermare ciò, bisogna fornire una definizione della bioarte che spiega in cosa consiste la sua novità e la misura in cui si differenzia dalle forme d'arte tradizionali. La bioarte è la forma essenziale di espressione della nostra epoca tecnico-scientifica, che da luogo a un'interazione tra scienza, tecnologia e arte e che richiede una spiegazione, non solo affinché possa essere compresa come una nuova forma d'arte, ma anche per dare alla nostra epoca tecnico-scientifica la possibilità di sviluppare un mezzo più appropriato di espressione artistica. La filosofia tradizionale dell'arte, che ha creato varie definizioni dell'arte nel corso degli ultimi dieci anni, non basta per analizzare le conseguenze ontologiche della bioarte. Pertanto, il testo presente esplora la possibilità di creare un quadro teorico, tratto dalla disciplina dell'ontologia estetica, al fine di esaminare le implicazioni ontologiche della bioarte.*

**Parole chiave:** bioarte, ontologia estetica, definizione dell'arte, transestetica, arte e scienza

The topic of the relationship and confrontation between art and science is still a commonplace, even now, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, as we find ourselves in the so-called "third culture", in which the nineteenth-century paradigm that strived after specificity for the spiritual sciences – as opposed to those of the natural world – has been displaced in favour of a fertile interaction between the humanities and natural sciences. The exchange spectra and even fusion of these two areas of knowledge and production are manifold, e.g., biology, nanotechnology, cybernetics, etc.

The interaction of contemporary art with scientific and technological developments is increasingly becoming a means of conforming to the space-time in which we exist. Its most obvious sign is probably the hybrid world of design, in which technology, visual arts, economics, marketing and market strategy are combined with few obvious problems. Cybernetic art, digital art and net.art are also good examples thereof.

Transdisciplinarity has become a straightforward research approach, linked to heterodox, heteronomous and hybrid paradigms. Art and science are no longer conceived as autonomous fields taking place within the traditional divisions of modernity; the communication established between them can be thought of as transgressive and fluid, in which they move in a circular manner until reaching a probable point of indistinctness.

When it comes to questions of creativity at the intersection of art and science, those working in the field cannot dispense with the requirement to enter into collaboration with scientists. Possible examples of this are laboratories (e.g. *INCUBATOR* – Hybrid Laboratory at the Intersection of Art, Science and Ecology School of Visual Arts, in Windsor University), art galleries (Kapelica Gallery, in Ljubljana, Slovenia, a platform on which the boundaries of the interrelation of art and science can be explored), artists (Stelarc – an Australian artist who works with the idea of cyborg-zombies and the technologically intervened human body) and universities (SymbioticA – artistic research activities in the life sciences at the School of Anatomy and Human Biology, at the University of Western Australia).

The interface between art and science generates space-times in different senses, beyond modernity and typical ideologies: it dislocates fixed and monadic identities, both national and individual; it deterritorializes and reterritorializes, allowing the creation of new cartographies and concepts, and opens the possibility of non-human types of becoming (in the terminology of Deleuze). Thus, it becomes necessary to stop and think about the scopes and consequences of this interface. However, the problem first requires to be stated in theoretical terms.

In doing so, one has to mention the so-called death or end of art, which – following Hegel – authors of the second half of the twentieth century, such as Arthur Danto (Danto, 1997), have converted into touchstone for an explanation of contemporary art, its crisis and transformations. There is no doubt the twentieth century experienced such a radical change in art forms that it had to also be accompanied by changes in the theoretical approaches used to explain it. In that sense, aesthetics, art history, art theory and critics have had to reformulate their concepts and theoretical frameworks to meet the challenge posed by contemporary art. The definition of art, or even the identification of an object as an artwork – a task earnestly taken up by philosophy of art in recent decades – seems to falter every minute, prey to a relentless pounding produced by the change and proliferation of artists and movements that lead art beyond itself, cause it to transcend itself and thus allow it to escape any defining or delimiting attempt.

What art is today is apparently one of the most pressing questions faced by philosophical aesthetics, which, in turn, has also been compelled to change and become more flexible, in order to propose cross-disciplinary and interdisciplinary concepts and theoretical frameworks that are both permeable and mobile. The aesthetic becomes the transaesthetic<sup>1</sup> and this position is used to define an art movement that insists on breaking every possible frontier that has to do both with its self and with its other. A high prestige discourse in many contemporary societies, the platform of art has worked to propose social and political alternatives; but also to expose and make visible what would otherwise remain occluded.

The death of art as a moment in which art vanishes in a multiplicity of aesthetic objects can be understood not only within art history and the opening represented by the vanguards of the early twentieth century, who initiated the dissolution of traditional aesthetic forms that has become a feature of contemporary art; but also as an infinitely open multiplicity of configurations of the real, from perspectives that initially appear as aesthetic ones. The hyper-aestheticization and hyper-visualization of modern societies are largely the effect of the death of art.

Art and the aesthetic in general are also put at the service of multiple configurations of the real in very playful terms – aesthetic creations that are literally "for nothing", that neither claim to be objects of millennial contemplation, nor ideological points of social transformation, but rather a sway of creation that enjoys itself and has repudiated nineteenth-century metaphysical claims. Far from being the secular place of repose of the sacred, art dances with nimble feet, laughing (for it is not with anger, but with laughter that one kills, says Zarathustra) at the spirits

<sup>1</sup> I take the term from Polona Tratnik, who recognized that "According to the new structural and functional orientations of science and art, which is additionally becoming strongly intertwined with science, contemporary aesthetics as a form of science and as a philosophical discipline related to art has been changing as well." (Tratnik, 2010a, 545)

of heaviness that still hope for something to save us from nihilism; still tend toward the great; still believe in the great values and that art might appear as the “magician who saves.” Art vanishes in its infinite multiplicity, in its foolish reproduction – for a form in which something ceases to exist by reproducing itself until it becomes anything, unidentifiable, dissolving the border, becoming commonplace, ceasing to be the other (the other of the real ... But was there ever such a fictional entity as heterocosmos?)

Transforming and creating absolutely everything by all possible means seems to be one of the watchwords of the contemporary art world, that does not limit its scope of action to the delineations of traditional aesthetic objects, such as painting, sculpture, etc. Tratnik defines bioart “mostly through manipulation of living material, but also through an intervening discourse concerning biotechnology and the questions it raises.” (Tratnik, 2008, 214)

In the absence of privileged aesthetic objects or topics, multiplicity seems to be unlimited. And here we are clearly seeing a process of secularization that may be briefly analyzed from the perspective of literature in which there is a secularizing movement represented by the first acceptance of the death of God and the birth of the subject: the divine order will remain in the background as opposed to the human order that finds its main foundation in the subject as an ontological and exteriorological principle. When God becomes a mere guarantor of truth, of the adequation between concept and object, the first death of God takes place in modernity, when the central position previously occupied by God comes to be filled by the subject. It is the very moment at which the lives of ordinary human beings become worthy of being narrated rather than those of the gods or heroes who once enjoyed innate superiority. Little by little, the “hero” loses his divine attributes until he becomes human – all too human. But if the hero is humanized it is perhaps because the death of God is translated as an end to the need of the human to be covered with the divine mantle in order to be able to order the world (once the *cogito ergo sum* has taken place and the king becomes head of state, the gods flee, with Hölderlin, in times of penury).

With the madman of Nietzsche, secularization reaches its peak because God is dead and we have killed him, there is no up and there is no down, and characters that no longer can be referred to as “heroes” appear, such as Gregor Samsa or Clarissa Dalloway. The shadow of nihilism looms wherever the myth reappears with its full force; however, it is not any old “ass festival” (*Zarathustra*), but rather the manifestation of the realm of the sacred in the midst of so much immaculate secularization, cleaned by the positivist-oriented scientism, by epistemology and by analytical philosophy. The myth particularly reappears as art and is understood from the experience of the sacred – in Nietzsche, in Benjamin, in Heidegger, in Zambrano... As Vattimo states from this horizon: how to distinguish between art experience and religious-sacred

experience? The secularization of the disparagers of metaphysics becomes remythologization.

But contemporary art seems to resist this remythologization into which philosophy attempts to insert it. Art becomes trivialized, vanishes, becomes almost nothing, is reduced to its simplest expression: anything can be a work of art.

There are no privileged aesthetic objects or subjects either; if its means of representation has also been transformed, this implies a different classification of art. In his *Poetics*, Aristotle had already classified the arts in terms of their means of representation; from here it is possible to broach the question as to whether so-called “bioart” can be classified and considered as a different species.

Indeed, every time the discussion addresses the topic “bioart”, the first thing theorists use to do is trying to classify it and delimit it, what art forms can be included within the bioart? Is it actually required a new sub-branch in the midst of so much artistic diversity that from a certain point of view appears already by itself as unclassifiable? Why should bioart deserve a different classification?

The manipulation of and intervention in living organisms for aesthetic purposes is not new. Dog breeds have undergone modification since early times; likewise with plants. But what does “for aesthetic purposes” mean here? In merely saying that bioart is something different because the manipulation that takes place is “artistic” or that it belongs to a “different aesthetic”, nothing is actually being said. What happens is rather that we find ourselves confronted with one of the oldest discussions on aesthetics; but one that is nevertheless highly topical: where are the limits of aesthetics, where are the limits of art? How do we distinguish between art and non-art once the aesthetic parameter is no longer valid (and which, by the way, did not solve much in terms of the problem of the specificity of art either, beyond the mere notion of an arbitrary canon)?

We thus have, on the one hand, the problem that the classification problem of bioart is confronted with other techniques applied to the manipulation of living organisms for aesthetic purposes and, on the other – as regards the harsh problem of the definition of art – that to a large extent the debate has to do with the content of the representation itself, such that if the theme of a work addresses biological, medical, vital matters, it could be considered as bioart.

The classic definition of bioart – provided by Eduardo Kac – delimits it from the means, in the sense that “Bioart must be clearly distinguished from traditional art forms that exclusively use digital media to address biological themes, as in a painting or sculpture depicting a chromosome or a digital photograph suggesting cloned children. Bioart is *in vivo*.” (Kac, 2006, 19) This definition has provided a lot of food for thought since it clearly restricts bioart to a representation by biotechnological means. For a process to biotechnologically manipulate living orga-

nisms is not enough for it to be classified as art – as is the case with the manipulations of dogs and horses. The definition would have to take into account other aspects and engage in more strictly aesthetic terms, i.e., not only to think of the issue on the side of the “bio”, but also on the side of the “art”, and face without hesitation the question of what it is that makes of “X” a work or a process of art? By setting out the problem in such terms, all that Kac’s definition seems to care to establish is that bioart is alive. It can be objected that the claim is very narrow due to its being parasitic on the prior identification of the work as art. We could also enquire whether the activity of drawing out a lengthy discussion on the definition of art has any value for bioart.

One of the authors who most recently discussed the issue is Robert Mitchell, who took up the issue in his paper *Bioart and the Vitality of Media* in which he attempts to delimit the field of bioart. With regard to themes and modes of representation, Mitchell proposes a distinction between “prophylactic art” and “vital art”, that is to say from those arts that use traditional means (painting, sculpture, etc.) and those that are biologically mediated through a biotechnological intervention. Though, the focal point of this distinction does not lie mainly on the theme or the mode but rather on the kinds of problems it generates, for example, ethical and ontological. He says: “The point of employing authentic biotechnology is that immerses gallerygoers *within* alternative biotechnological practices. Thus, rather than seeking to protect gallerygoers from the effects of biotechnology, the vitalist tactic seeks to use spectators themselves as a means – or media – for generating new biotechnological possibilities [...] the prophylactic and the vitalist tactics of bioart often seems to map onto a difference between ‘representation’ and ‘presentation’.” (Mitchell, 2010, 28)

This definition of bioart thought in contextual rather than “ontological” terms, according to Mitchell himself – that is to say, not from the means of representation but rather from the relationships it creates between the audience and biotechnology – has some advantages. It is not about an “objective” distinction of art in the sense that it does not begin with the attributes of the “object” in order to define it as if it were something static that can be described and understood. He rather thinks of it from a relational and dynamic viewpoint, in which the “object” is not on its own sufficient; that is also necessary to include its affects, the audience, the context, etc.<sup>2</sup>

From a wider viewpoint that posits the work as an event, setting aside the subject as agent and cause of meaning and the object as container of the aesthetic attributes, the work appears as a process of interaction and

specifically as a field in which biotechnology interacts with the audience.

In this sense, he excludes bioart from what he calls “prophylactic art”. There seems to be no parameter that can effectively delimit bioart to generate a critical perspective on biotechnology or any other theme since any such delimitation would also depend on the content of the representation.

Classifying works according to their contents can be a fruitful endeavor when it is a question of identifying trends and schools, e.g., pop-art, op-art, the Renaissance madonnas, etc. Bioart is not something that seems to fit into a readymade classification of movements or schools – although undoubtedly these will appear as more proposals appear in this field. In any case, it concerns a new mode of being of art.

I do not intend here to thoroughly discuss the different approaches to bioart and the classification and delimitation theorists have expressed in recent years thereof<sup>3</sup> because the essential is not – in my opinion – to be given in any definition. Instead I will think of it as a new mode of being of art. In that sense, the examples given by Kac and Mitchell will suffice as guidance for the current schemes given in the discussions. Though, it is worth emphasizing that they both share the same view about something: the non-representational character of bioart, i.e., for both of them bioart is not about representing biotechnological issues through “conventional” means, but producing *in vivo* biotechnological processes for aesthetic purposes. There is much left to be said about the understanding of mimesis contained in these definitions. It is very limited, in so far as they understand mimesis as re-presentation, i.e., a sort of reproduction of the originally given; and in so far as bioart does not reproduce anything (does not copy any original) it cannot be defined in representational terms. But let us ask ourselves: could art ever been understood as the copy of an original or as reproductive re-presentation of what has previously been given? The *in vivo* argument is obtuse because we cannot pretend to think the creative possibilities of art over from their means of representation; even less can we draw a line between the art of presentation and the art of representation from such parameters. In any case, mimesis implies a creative and transforming activity.<sup>4</sup>

We must then further enquire as to the consequences and the scopes of referring to bioart as a new mode of being of art.

Let us once again make use of Hegel’s historic perspective to pinpoint the problem. The arts are not a peremptory system; their rise and fall corresponds with the development of the spirit. Hegel has provided the aesthe-

2 A good example of “vitalist art” would be *Free Range Grain* by Critical Art Ensemble, with Beatriz da Costa and Shyh-shiun Shyu, since it allows seeing authentically the involvement of the audience in biotechnology.

3 For a wider discussion about bioart definitions (Anker, Nelkin, 2004; Gessert, 2010).

4 For more references about the issue mimesis and representation, see González Valerio, 2010.

tic with a historicist point of view, from which the arts can be understood not in terms of a presumed aesthetic autonomy but rather in terms of the bond and correspondence they have with the “spirit of an epoch.” Certainly, a diagnosis of the spirit of an epoch – the objectification of a given present – is difficult. Nevertheless, we could enquire about some of the features that enable the rise and decline of certain arts. The efforts of R. Mitchell in his distinction of bioart have doubtlessly the good guess of linking bioart to the social characteristics that permit it.

Much has been said about the death of art (Hegel), on the one hand, and about the end of the mimetic epoch of art (Danto), on the other. In this context, it can be sustained despite the decline and, in my opinion, the almost inevitable disappearance of certain modes of being of art, i.e., not of streams, themes or objects, but modes of being. Evidently, the classical tragedy does not exist any more and if it does it is only as an anachronism or a token of bad taste. The same is true of neoclassical architecture. However what happens if a mode of art disappears?

Painting is a mode of art in the process of dying out. Beyond the conditions that permit that extinction, such as photography (a “faithful” and instantaneous picture of the “real”) and video (motion pictures), we can say that given the hyper-visualization of contemporary societies and the empire of the image via light, the painting has almost no place, hardly appears in biennials, museums of contemporary art, etc. There are modes of being of art that disappear while others that emerge. From which directions can we think the emerging of bioart?

Biotechnology and techno-science more generally are both phenomena that transform all of the real or the all-real. Our epochality occurs largely transformed by techno-science, which generates specific conditions (Linares, 2008). Art could not remain unchanged. Much has been discussed about the influence of new technologies in the current artistic developments, but beyond the fact that art may make use of the technologic (and moreover, that it has always seized upon the developments in technique), what we are here interested in is being able to consider up to which point techno-science – being a distinctive characteristic of our epochality – would be linked to the appearance of a new mode of being of art, in which biotechnologically manipulates organisms for aesthetic and / or artistic purposes – and because of which to think that any work containing as thematic problems derived from biotechnology could not be classified in terms of bioart, but only the in terms of the manipulation of living organisms.

Needless to say, the great aesthetic-ontological reflections of the twentieth century have been overtaken

by these phenomena. I think particularly of Heidegger, the strife between world and earth, his examples of the Greek temple, the picture by Van Gogh, the poetry by Hölderlin ... Of course, Heidegger meditated long on technique and the technical occurring of being from the *Gestell*, but bioart does not fit neither in the *Gestell*, nor in the metaphysical-ontological claims of being the occurrence of the truth. But here is not the place to discuss further these proposals. It is necessary however to point out that from the topology and history of being it is necessary to reflect on contemporary art movements that seem to involve both the ontological as well as the aesthetic – and not all movements have this capability. That is to say, I do not think that the breakup of contemporary art and the theoretical problems it has generated necessarily become involved in something like that. If in front of the balls punched by the Mexican artist Gabriel Orozco (*Balones acelerados*, 2005) or Damien Hirst's installations the pretended definitions of art seem to falter along with the classic aesthetic category of mimesis, they do not seem to require a suitable or appropriate onto-aesthetic framework. Finally, these type of transformations that have to do with the object and the theme of the representation in their definitory difficulties continue within the paradigm of art—whatever—and within art institutions, being theses either museums or streets.

But something different happens with bioart. The manipulation of living organisms using biotechnology not only opens moral, political and legal debates, but even ontology-aesthetics seems to be directly appealed to.

With the normalizing society, power took possession of life, but today bio-power is even more strongly at work since “regenerative medicine as the knowledge-power [is] opening a new horizon for bio-power.” (Tratnik, 2012, 18) When eighteenth and nineteenth century Romanticism incorporated life and living processes, it caused a revolution whose echo still resonates in our present. The means and modes of representation, though, used to be traditional; painting, music and poetry dedicated to the breakup of the canon and the death of poetics – as suggested by Victor Hugo – were still art in the metaphysically understood highest sense – perhaps higher than ever. Undoubtedly, life, just as understood by artistic and philosophical romanticism coupled with the death of God, was to break many of the classical concepts and would make imminent the appearance of aesthetic ontologies, as in Hegel and Nietzsche. But life was here an object of representation, on the one hand and, on the other, mimesis physis. Life is now both the mode of art and the locus where art happens.<sup>5</sup> Romanticism could never imagine up to what point life could imply so radical

5 But the way in which life is incorporated into art nowadays will and must evolve; it will be possible to manipulate life in a larger scale. For example, Joe Davis foresees that: “In the course of time, artists will find themselves engaged in much more ambitious projects. Their involvement with the techniques of molecular genetics and molecular biology can be expected to increase as the technology itself, understandings of genetics, and, now, human genomics also advance. Soon, works of art will be created at the scale of many genes, even whole genomes.” (Davis, 2006, 262)

a revolution in the field of art. With bioart, it seems that there is nothing left of the old paradigms, there is no beauty<sup>6</sup> (sometimes, the feelings bound up with bioart are of repugnance; for example, the images of Polona Tratnik's project Hair (Tratnik, 2010c) cause disgust in the audience due to the close-ups of operations to remove hair from donors); there is neither embodied sense, nor significant form; in any case sometimes it allows a reading of a surplus of everything, in which the question what-for seems to skirt the reflection – what-for the fluorescent rabbit by Eduardo Kac? (Kac, 2000)

But if ontology-aesthetics is appealed to directly, it means that thinking of bioart from aesthetics is in itself not sufficient; and neither suffice the considerations from its mobility, heterogeneity, heteronomy, flexibility and hybridization, as suggested by the term "transart" coined by Tratnik (Tratnik, 2010b) to refer the art that exceeds contemporary determinations. The panorama of reflection from the ontological perspective has to do with the aforementioned secularization and with the techno-scientific world view, which are not social phenomena that describe an epoch, a certain present with its characteristic tinges, but rather different kinds of reality (or the *Geschick* of being), and wherein something like bioart has its place. Once again, Hegel provides the tone; for, within his system, the issue is not to accompany the art movements with the historicized data of a determined present, but to bring movements in art into sync with those of the spirit.

In bioart, life appears in its highest grade of secularization. Just as literature is enworlded until it narrates the less extraordinary, causing also the disappearing of the sacred – whose last redoubt emerged in the romantic

poetry (nature is a temple... Baudelaire), visual arts also co-present today with the disappearance of the sacred in life, no longer seen from the viewpoint of the artist (Nietzsche) but from that of the techno-science.

What happens when that which is alive loses every semblance of sacrality and when any teleological consideration is obnubilated?

If techno-science has permitted the manipulation and intervention of living organisms for scientific and pragmatic purposes, its peak is represented by bioart, in which such manipulation no longer is justified by the search for something better – for example, more knowledge about agricultural improvements – but it rather concerns the pure uselessness of art. Contemplation of the beauty inherent in nature has vacated its place for the creation of the live art, *in vivo*, to occupy it.

What is the image of the world that corresponds to this epochality? It would have at least two fundamental features: the conversion of the real into image (the hyper-visualization and hyper-aestheticization of contemporary large cities) and the manipulation and intervention of the real using technological means. If, as Hegel points out, art is the most intimate of the people, then we find in bioart the image of this world, a pristine token of the opening of the real, in which once again the aesthetic is the summit of the theoretical and the practical, because it is marked by the game of freedom.

If ontology-aesthetics is being challenged, what is still missing is to take charge of the bioart in this sense, to think of the dislocations of the real occurring from there, the configurations of spaces-times, the modes of being. For the time being, it suffices to indicate the road.

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6 In any case, it is worth to mention the efforts of Sixto Castro, the Spanish aesthetician, who is the main upholder of the paradigm of beauty in art, a position that deserve to be taken into account from the challenges that bioart opens (Castro, 2009).

## BIOUMETNOST NA ROBU ESTETSKE ONTOLOGIJE

María Antonia GONZÁLEZ VALERIO

Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Circuito Interior Ciudad Universitaria,  
s/n. C.P. 04510, México, D.F.  
e-mail: mariantonia@magonzalezvalerio.com

*Poseganje v žive organizme in manipuliranje z njimi ne predstavlja novosti. Bioumetnost je oblika umetnosti in vivo, za katero je značilno manipuliranje z živimi organizmi in poseganje vanje v estetske namene. V bioumetnosti se prepletajo umetnost, znanost in tehnologija. Pričujoči prispevek zagovarja tezo, da prav ta prepletjenost, ki vključuje manipuliranje z živimi organizmi, predstavlja novo umetniško obliko, ki jo je treba problematizirati, če želimo razumeti njene ontološke in estetske posledice. Ker bioumetnost ne postavlja pod vprašaj samo definicije klasične in tradicionalne umetnosti, ampak tudi to, kako konfiguriramo in razumevamo realnost (naravo in kulturo), njene posledice presegajo meje filozofije umetnosti.*

*Prispevek predlaga estetsko ontologijo kot okvir za obravnavo bioumetnosti, saj je iz tega vidika mogoče analizirati umetnost v širšem pogledu, ki vključuje tako estetska vprašanja, kot so definicija umetnosti in estetska sredstva, kot tudi ontološke probleme, kot je konfiguracija prostora in časa.*

*Izhodišče za nadaljnjo obravnavo je klasična Heglova teza o koncu umetnosti, saj ne podaja samo sredstva za razumevanje umetnosti kot estetskega problema, temveč tudi v povezavi z zgodovino in razvojem duha. S tega vidika zagovarjam trditev, da je bioumetnost umetniški izraz tehnološko-znanstvene dobe in da jo je treba obravnavati kot specifično posledico prepletanja umetnosti, znanosti in tehnologije.*

*Prav tako analiziram dve različni definiciji bioumetnosti: klasično definicijo, ki jo podaja Eduardo Kac, in sodobnejšo definicijo, ki jo ponuja Robert Mitchell. Ob tem zagovarjam stališče, da nobena izmed ponujenih definicij ne zadostuje za razumevanje bioumetnosti kot pojava, ki ustvarja prostore in čase v različnih pomenih, onkraj moderne in tradicionalne ideologije, ki dislocira fiksne in monadične identitetete, vključno z nacionalnimi identitetami in identitetami posameznikov, deteritorializira/ponovno teritorializira z ustvarjanjem novih kartografij in konceptov in odpira možnost nečloveškega postajanja (v terminologiji Gillesa Deleuza).*

*Prispevek se zaključi z ugotovitvijo, da če bioumetnost ne predstavlja zgolj nove umetniške oblike, ampak tudi čedalje bolj prisoten način življenja umetnosti, potem je estetska ontologija najbolj primerno teoretično izhodišče za preučevanje in pojasnjevanje bioumetnosti.*

**Ključne besede:** bioumetnost, estetska ontologija, definicija umetnosti, transestetika, umetnost in znanost

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## ON BIOTECHNOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIETY

Melentie PANDILOVSKI  
Video Pool Media Arts Centre, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada  
e-mail: melente@gmail.com

### ABSTRACT

*"On Biotechnology, Philosophy and Society" is structured as an exploration of the formation of the bio-political Apparatus, within the fields of bio-politics, biotechnology, and bio (tech) Art. The paper examines the ontology of biotechnology, the economic fundamentals of biotechnology and value systems in the biotechnological era. The paper also focuses on the political and economic spectrum, reflecting the socio-political consequences of the biotech revolution, and in this context looks into the connections between the organisation of bio-politics and bio-power along with the circumstances relative to the arts, sciences, and social struggles. One of the crucial aspects of this research is the analysis of how biotechnology is used for bio-political purposes, much in the sense of a political spectrum that reflects positions towards the social, economic and cultural consequences of the biotech revolution.*

**Key words:** Bio-political Apparatus, Bio-politics, Ontology, Bio-technology, Bio Arts (Bio-tech Arts), Phenomenology, Geopolitics, Globalism, GMOs (Genetically Modified Organisms), GE (Genetic Engineering), Bio-Capitalism

## SU BIOTECNOLOGIA, FILOSOFIA E SOCIETÀ

### SINTESI

*Il contributo "Su biotecnologia, filosofia e società", strutturato come un'investigazione della formazione dell'apparato biopolitico nella sfera di biopolitica, biotecnologia e bio(tech)arte, si propone di esaminare l'ontologia della biotecnologia, i fondamenti economici della biotecnologia e i sistemi di valore nell'era biotecnologica. L'articolo mette a fuoco anche il complesso politico ed economico che rispecchiano le conseguenze della rivoluzione biotech, e in questo contesto studia i collegamenti tra l'organizzazione della biopolitica e del biopotere, nonché le circostanze relative all'arte, scienza e lotta sociale. Uno degli aspetti cruciali di questa ricerca è l'analisi su come la biotecnologia venga usata a scopi biopolitici, quasi come un campo politico che riflette le posizioni verso le conseguenze sociali, economiche e culturali della rivoluzione biotecnologica.*

**Parole chiave:** apparato biopolitico, biopolitica, ontologia, biotecnologia, bioarte (arte biotech), fenomenologia, geopolitica, globalismo, OGM (organismi geneticamente modificati), IG (ingegneria genetica), biocapitalismo

Our age has shown us that technology and society are mutually constituted. In an era when life sciences merge with information sciences, the world reveals new concepts and practices in biotechnology. In fact, for one of the crucial fundaments of the biotechnological era, the medium of DNA, it has become irrelevant whether the code is recorded as an information code onto a hard disk, is found online or is stored in an e-coli culture living in a Petri dish. The very fact that the code is transferable makes issues of storage less important, but the understanding of the concept of transferability especially important. We are in fact subjected to processes whose full impact is hard to comprehend; however, this very impact has yet to be revealed, as a phenomenological approach vividly conveys. The discourses in biotechnology are evolving, showing us that the latest theoretical and practical developments have the potential to cause a tectonic shift in our culture, where the world is experienced at the intersection of the engineered and the biological.

We have also began to understand that science and philosophy share motifs, metaphors and models with the arts. Historically, parallelisms between arts and sciences go a long way back, and can be traced at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the well known examples of Picasso and Braque coming up with the concept of Cubism at the same time as Einstein developed the concept of relativity. The influence of Henry Poincaré's *Science and Hypothesis* on the artists of the age – especially in the chapters on the origins of geometry – seem to imply that the origins of Cubism are not limited to the arts. Namely, Poincaré's emphasis on the unconscious processing of information bears a striking similarity to Einstein's and Picasso's introspection. The 20th century has also given us a fairly good understanding about the importance and functioning of visual thinking in both the sciences and arts. This has been thoroughly researched by the UK-based historian of science Arthur I. Miller in 'Insights of Genius: Imagery and Creativity in Science and Art', and more so in his book 'Einstein, Picasso: Space, Time and the Beauty That Causes Havoc'. In the 'Insights of Genius', Miller rightly notes that the joint question of both the arts and sciences has been how to interpret the unseen world and go beyond the conventional constraints of visual imagery and language to dramatically transform the concepts of visual imagery. The level of interaction between the arts, sciences, and technology has been steadily increasing over the past few decades, indicating the tendency of artists to assume the research roles normally attributed to scientists, enabled by their residencies at academic and scientific institutions (e.g. Joe Davis at MIT, Adam Zaretsky at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Tissue Art & Culture Project at SymbioticA, School of Anatomy, University of Western Australia, etc.). Perhaps even more important than the actual mastery of scientific and technologic processes is the tendency of biotech artists to become highly aware of the necessity to collaborate with scientists and tech-

nologists. Both disciplines have a lot to achieve by collaborating with each other and conveying, in regard to the understanding of the fundamental concepts, methods and practices of living and physical systems, in a process that does not seem to be dry mathematical, but rather one that is driven by intuition and visual thinking, in both the arts and sciences.

## ONTOLOGY OF BIOTECHNOLOGY

We are certainly witnessing the advent of biotechnology today, which creates a definitive sense of urgency concerning the task of understanding it and the ways by means of which it shapes contemporary society. Numerous ontological questions about the nature of biotechnology come into being, such as is the case with the "technological determinism", which is characterised by looking into biotechnology as a tool or artefact, which exists for the achievement of certain objectives desired by humans because of its determinant effects and contexts of use. However, the complexity of developments in biotechnology renders technological determinism inappropriate because of the already established complex relations between biotechnology and society. Its production processes and values promise to have the most profound epilogue in terms of how they directly relate to the understanding and programming of life itself. Eugene Thacker says that in biotechnology ontological questions immediately fold into questions that are social, economic and cultural. According to Thacker, biotechnology is directly linked to globalism, since today it takes place on a global level, whether in terms of exchanging biological information, controlling epidemics, deterring biological attacks or the standardisation of intellectual property laws (Thacker, 2006). The point stated above clearly points out that bio-capitalism is very much dependent upon the outcomes of globalism. Namely, the growth of financial capital generated by the field of biotechnology as well as the governmental funding which matches it, purely position it as one of the pillars that globalism thrives on. The generated profits determine largely the relationship between the developed world and the 'third world', which include the expansion of biotechnological international companies into the third world, the rampant collection and patenting of biological materials of indigenous populations, etc. The situation we have today is a proof that biotechnology is the outcome of a complex and socially situated process. According to Bilker, Pinch, and Hughes, various political, socio-cultural, and economic forces shape the options that are suggested for technology in general. The designing of the entire process therefore undergoes various stages, including the removal of alternative technological options. Therefore it is not only that the technology impacts on society but also that the technology is itself already the outcome of complex and subtle processes or indeed that technology is itself al-

ready socially constructed (Biljker, Pinch, Hughes, 1987). This argument is strengthened by the actual utilisation of a certain technology, which is often used differently than was imagined or intended by its creators, making obvious the reciprocal nature of the relationship in which technology and society co-construct each other.

Although they are quite valuable, the above-mentioned views do not fully explain the entire range of developments in biotechnology. It is therefore necessary at this point to turn to phenomenology, which makes the above noted approaches obsolete (for the phenomenologist, technology is a condition of society). In this respect phenomenology offers a variety of approaches provided by Heidegger, Dreyfus, Borgmann, Winograd and Ihde among others, with a common view that technology and society co-constitute each other by comprising each other's reciprocal and ongoing condition or possibility for being what they are. In this respect we can point to Martin Heidegger's phenomenology as a fundamental critique of the technological attitude, underlining the necessity of another beginning of thinking (Heidegger, 1977) and Albert Borgmann's technological attitude, as manifested in our contemporary relationship with particular technologies (biotechnology is of particular concern). For Heidegger, technology is not just an artefact but it already emerges from a prior technological attitude towards the world (Heidegger, 1977). Heidegger claims that "just as an essence of a tree is not itself a tree that can be encountered among all other trees, so the essence of technology is not itself something technological". What Heidegger refers to at this point is the isolation of a particular "understanding of being" that makes technology possible. Heidegger's view (and the view taken by phenomenology generally) is that the society and technology co-constitute each other and are in a permanent condition of being what they are. Heidegger identifies Plato's articulation of *techne* as the foundation upon which contemporary technology builds. Therefore Heidegger insists on a certain isolation of a particular understanding of being, which allows for the existence of any technology. For Heidegger, technology has a dual significance: as an extreme danger threatening man to enter into a more original revealing, but also as a redeeming power (*The Question*, 337), which is there for man to recapture the original essence of science (*The Question*, 333), making "*techne*" the originating and final point of human existence. In particular, he identifies Plato's articulation of *techne* as the foundation upon which contemporary technology builds. This creates for us the paradoxical situation in which *techne* represent the beginning and end, an overwhelming threat to human existence. Heidegger defines the essence of modern technology as *gestell* or enframing. According to Heidegger, enframing refers to the urge of humans towards revelation of *aletheia* (truth) as ever-present. For Heidegger, enframing is the essence of modern

technology because modern technology is rooted in *techne*: it is a means of sourcing true forms and ideas that exist prior to the figures we perceive. According to Heidegger, enframing is a determining action, from which the essence of all history is derived.

With regard to our relationship with technology, Albert Borgmann takes up a 'free' position, opposed to the 'enframed' position taken by Heidegger. Although Borgmann generally agrees with Heidegger that modern technology is a phenomenon that tends to frame our relation with things, he nevertheless argues that modern technology frames the world for us in terms of its devices. He understands this to be the point at which modern technology as devices conceals the full referentiality of the world and the necessary effort for the devices to be made available for use (Borgmann, 1984). This is the way in which devices "de-world" our relationship with things by disconnecting us from the full actuality of things. Borgmann therefore generally points towards the emergence of a device-based mood, due to our increasing reliance on devices that relate us to the world in a manner characterised by disengagement. He also gives a dire warning that our moral obligation is not to settle mindlessly into the convenience that devices may offer us but, on the contrary, points to Heidegger's argument that we may become devices of our devices (Borgmann, 1984).

Heidegger's concept of enframing can be deciphered today by using Eugene Thacker's trinity of 'encoding, recoding, decoding' as representing the primary activities of biotechnology. Today the dissemination of the biological through information networks on demand or due to necessity creates a new situation in which we apprehend the biological in digitally-intermediated terms as a digitally packaged commodity. Thacker points to notions of the biological stock being simultaneous comprised of property and information, as having the traits of materiality and immateriality and as existing as deployments of life, which are being, shifted from body to body, body to code and code to body. Thacker also sees this tripartite division in politico-economic terms. In a sense, encoding is synonymous with production, for it is by means of the process of encoding the biological that the biotech industry is able to accrue profits (as intellectual property, as a proprietary database or software). Recoding is then synonymous with distribution (and its related term, circulation), for the practices of bioinformatics, database management and computer networking are predicated on the ability of biological information to be widely distributed and circulated. Finally, decoding is synonymous with consumption in the sense that – in a medical sense at least – it is in the final output or re-materialisation of biology that biological information is used, consumed, or incorporated into the body (Thacker, 2006).

Don Ihde's post-phenomenological position stands in stark contrast to Heidegger's phenomenology of te-

chnology and represents its deep critique in regard to its very genesis – the genesis of technology. Ihde defines post-phenomenology as an inquiry into ways in which technology is embodied. His post-phenomenology sheds new light on the relation that is being established between humans and technology. By focusing especially on the bodily condition, it succeeds in providing a meaningful taxonomy, providing an account of many everyday technology relations in a manner that can facilitate our considerations of the social and ethical implications of information technology. Ihde characterises four different I-technology-world relations in terms of 'embodiment' relations, 'hermeneutic' relations, 'alterity' relations and 'background' relations (Ihde, 2002). Basically, the "lived body" becomes immersed in technologically designed environments.

In order to gain a better understanding the phenomenological position on technology it is worth referring to Max van Mannen's division of "lived experience" into the categories of: "spatiality" (referring to the "lived space"), "corporeality" (referring to the "lived body"), "temporality" (referring to the "lived time") and "relationality" (referring to the "lived other").

We can deduce that biotechnology structures society but equally that society forms biotechnology. The characteristics of these interactive processes are engrained into the general modus operandi with regard to standard processes and practices in biotechnology as well as in accepted modes of thinking about biotechnology. In its response to the positions stated above, the research is almost certain to impact our opinion on social and ethical implications of biotechnological developments in view of the bio-political concerns about various uses of biotechnology in economy, government, education, culture and art.

The transition of biology from a life science to an information science (assisted by the integration of biology and informatics) fosters various new debates on ethical, economic, political and cultural realms, investigated through various bio-semiotic, phenomenological, post-structural and other lenses, aimed at investigating the newly created socio-political system in which new modes of regulation management and control are predetermined by effectively unifying the natural with the synthetic. Additionally, the convergence of biotechnology with communication technologies in a global network certainly allows for the articulation of academic and public discourses that investigate the changing scope of global power relations as well as governance policies. The merging of information technologies with biotechnologies has the power to change the core nature of global relations as well as various elements therein by proliferation of global intellectual property policies, as well as by the developing

of genomic databases (e.g. the DNA Databank in Japan, GenBank in the US, etc.).

Although there is a long historic line of thought leading to modern biotechnology, we can define it today as the application of scientific and engineering principles to the processing of materials by biological agents to provide goods and services. Its major discoveries belong well and truly within the parameters of the twentieth century. The culminating point around issues of biotechnology was the start of genetic engineering and in particular James Watson's and Francis Crick's 1953 discovery of the structure of DNA<sup>1</sup> and Cohen and Boyer's 1973 discovery of the recombinant DNA technique by which a section of DNA was cut from the plasmid of one *E. coli* bacterium and transferred into the DNA of another. However, as paradoxical as it might seem, this development had even been delayed, due to the fact that major discoveries had been overlooked for substantial periods of time, such as was the case with Gregor Mendel's findings about heredity from 1865/6, which were not revisited until the beginning of the twentieth century. The same is true for the 1953 discovery of the DNA structure, since it had been overlooked for decades. In fact, in April 1953, the scientific paper in which James Watson and Francis Crick presented the structure of the DNA-helix, describing it as a "structure [having] novel features, which are of considerable biological interest". This is an obvious understatement and certainly doesn't come anywhere close to the true significance of the discovery, best defined in a later explanation given by Francis Crick in more dramatic terms: "We have discovered the secret of life". This latter statement seems to be closer to the true revelation of *aletheia* (truth) as for the past 50 years we have been experiencing constant breakthroughs, all of which have the discovery of the DNA structure as their core. This position naturally created a response from the cultural field when Gordon Retray Taylor wrote the "Biological Time Bomb", in which Kornberg's discovery of the biochemical replication of the viral gene was seen as a doomsday scenario. The publisher warned that within ten years you would be able to marry a semi-artificial man or woman, change your memories, live up to hundred and fifty years and choose the sex of your children – if the scientific revolution didn't destroy us first. This was the age when art – and especially the moving image – has followed a history of involvement with science fiction (and here we should remember not only Star Trek, but also Woody Allen's 'Sleeper', a genre which would be continued later with Cronenberg's 'The Fly', 'Matrix', etc.).

By looking into the past and forecasting the future, the US artist George Gessert says: "From the 18th through the 20th centuries technological developments led to revolutions. I think that in the 21st century change

1 James Watson and Francis Crick shared the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine with Maurice Wilkins in 1962 for accomplishing to solve one of the most important of all biological riddles.

will be generated less by technological developments than by their unintended consequences such as climate change, species loss and ecological collapse. A key role of art will be to produce ways of thinking and feeling that point toward more sustainable economic and social systems".

Rifkin's warning about the price which we have to pay for the development of biotechnology and genetics presents the gamut of issues which we will have to face as society, especially with the engineering of new life forms, the creation of cloned beings, the engineering of beings even before they are born and the patenting of the genetic pool of indigenous populations. In this respect we certainly find ourselves at a stage of development in which we are able to ask more questions about economy, politics and culture than we have answers.

### ECONOMIC FUNDAMENTS OF BIO-TECHNOLOGY

In "The Global Genome: Bio-technology, Politics and Culture" Eugene Thacker depicts a cultural system, which is being constructed according to the rationale of economic benefit. He refers to the political economy of the genetic body, understanding life as reprogrammable, instrumentalised and networked. Thacker addresses the mobility of biology across media in which production, distribution and consumption define the contemporary model of biology and life itself.

Economic benefits – alongside economic incentives – play a large role in the development of biotechnology. We are currently able to detect a certain political economy encompassing biological advances. According to Chase-Dunn, Kawano and Brewer, international economic integration today (trade and investment globalisation) is relevant for understanding the economic consequences of biotechnology. If financial instability or environmental problems cause the world economy to stagnate or if conflicts increase to the point that economic production and exchange are greatly reduced, comparative advantages due to biotechnology would be postponed and international diffusion would have a greater chance to reduce technological rents.

The possibility of the economic benefits that can be provided by biotechnology has had the close attention of successive US governments for more than thirty years. The re-establishment of American economic hegemony is certainly tending to base itself on developments in the biotechnologies and information technologies. Several studies have been commissioned by the US Congress to compare the competitiveness of the US with that of European countries and Japan. In 1984, a study demonstrated that the United States has huge advantages over possible competitors; accordingly, it embraced additional funding (private and public) for biotechnology. These findings coincided with an actual change in terms of the acquisition

by the United States of an increasing share of world biotech markets from 1992 onwards.

Christopher Chase-Dunn, Richard Niemeyer and Julianne Allison point out to the fact that since the early 1980's several major efforts have been made to study the development of the biotechnology sector within the United States:

The creation of new technologies, as well as the science involved in their production, is essential to the development of long-term economic growth and international competitiveness.

No new area of science or technology holds greater promise or potential for long-term economic growth than biotechnology.

Relevant data regarding biotechnology must be gathered so as to develop timely and accurate statistical measures of the economic scope and size of the US biotechnology industry, the level of growth, trade and performance in biotech markets, the level of R&D and venture capital both in use by and available to biotech companies, as well as the nature of existing and potential barriers to future growth. Data of this nature will play an essential role in the ability of lawmakers and policy analysts to effectively promote the future growth and development of the US biotechnology industry (Chase-Dunn, Niemeyer, Allison, 2006).

The contemporary debates about genetically modified organisms and the pro- and contra- stances of protagonists and activists in this battle that we are witnessing possess an argumentative character that seems to be above all political and economic as blocs of countries line up according to their strategic requirements. Currently the United States, Argentina, Brazil, and Canada have 99 per cent of total global acreage devoted to GM crops. We can also say that the Chinese government supports plant biotechnology (one of the reasons being that China has to feed almost 20% of the world's population but only possesses 7% of the world's cultivable land). China has adopted a promotional policy towards biotechnology by taking a leading role between Asian and developing countries in the research and adoption of plant biotechnology. According to a recent study on the global diffusion of plant biotechnology (Runge, 2004), it is second only to the USA in terms of the amounts it invests in crop biotechnology research. Its robustness makes it an important player in the biotechnological field, one able to conceptualise and realise independent policies. However Europe's moratorium on the approval of new GM imports and its other anti-GM regulations worry the farmers and ministers of developing countries, who fear the loss of Europe as a market. Paarlberg says that "these regulations are the single most powerful force in implementing GM-free crops around the world. According to Paarlberg, not one African country outside of South Africa has approved

any GM crop for commercial planting (Paarlberg, 2008). Paarlberg's opinion about European regulation being of utmost importance for the African countries certainly seems plausible as Europe represents the primary market for African products. We can also point to the situation in Asia in which only GM cotton has been legalised for cropping, strongly benefitting China, Indonesia and India, by reducing the amount of crop spraying required. Meanwhile, opponents to the use of GMOs propose a worldwide moratorium. In terms of this proposal, Paarlberg argues that the acceptance of this position would only hurt developing countries, as GM crops could make the difference between poverty and prosperity due to GM crops being pest-resistant, drought-resistant and/or nitrogen-fixing and as such able to slow the chronic increases in hunger and agricultural poverty that afflict sub-Saharan Africa, caused by factors such as insects destroying up to 45 per cent of the maize crop in Kenya every year.

Aside from Robert Paarlberg's argumentation that the tide has already turned for food and feed crops and the example of Monsanto not going ahead with the program of GM maize, rice, or soybeans in China, a brief analysis will demonstrate that dedicated resources to support biotechnological industries exist all around the world. According to Burrill and Company, an industry investment bank, over \$350 billion has been invested in biotech since the emergence of the industry with global revenues rising from \$23 billion in 2000 to more than \$50 billion in 2005. Proving the point that biotechnology is a global phenomenon, practically all regions of the world have shown strong growth trends, with Latin America recording the greatest growth. It is important to note that the advent of biotechnology has occurred with the collapse and shift of economic and political systems in most of the socialist economies (the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe), the change of the economic systems in the non-aligned countries as well as in China and the opening up of India to multinational companies. This very impressive growth of the biotechnology and the newly acquired markets tend to be accelerated by the use of other technologies such as new production software, bio-informatics, Internet technologies, surveillance technologies, etc. This development is additionally followed by the setting up of contemporary labour processes across the globe (e.g. in Costa Rica, Thailand, Indonesia, India, etc.) and by sectioning their different parts or stages according to the necessities of the market and international production network monopolies. However, as early as 2007/8, this accelerating development – as often occurs in the cycles of capitalism – ended up in a reversal of fortunes of biotech companies. This was of grave importance, but, additionally, it is not only the economic impact, which was of consequence. When reflecting on the above noted issues about the development of bio-capitalism in genetics, biotechnology, and synthetic/artificial life, we should have in mind Jeremy Rifkin's nagging question "At what cost?",

as well as other important questions about the new genetic commerce which brings about more troubling issues than any other economic revolution in history, and the risks involved in the designing of more perfect animals and humans (Rifkin, 1998). Genetic engineering remains a contested subject with the development of gene therapies, stem cell research, cloning, and genetically-modified food. The last several decades have made us more aware of the complex structures and processes involved in biotechnology, addressing issues as diverse as the social and political context surrounding biotechnology; the relationship between ethics and biotechnology (e.g. the ethical implications of genetic engineering); the background to scientific processes, their essence, and their spectacular nature; the complex relationships between science and culture; and the politics of the discipline of biotechnology. In an interesting observation, Eugene Thacker has inverted Timothy Leary's notion that computers are the drugs of the 90s, saying that 'for the biotech industry, drugs are the computers of the 21st century'. This creates for us a significant paradigm shift.

Patenting started to become an important issue in biotechnology when the US Supreme court decided that an oil guzzling microbe developed by General Electric was patentable. This signalled a high demand for chemical and pharmaceutical companies in regard to patenting life forms. Various patents concerning about gene sequences, human and animal cell lines, indigenous genes and knowledge have been contested and ultimately accepted by the courts. A somewhat paradoxical situation occurs at the very core of patenting procedures. In order for patents to go through the European and US patent offices, biotech companies claim that the GMOs they produce are fully artificial and consequently not found in nature. Eugene Thacker says that this claim is the foundation for fulfilling the patentability criteria in the United States and the European Union: that patents be "new, useful and nonobvious". Those against genetic patents argue that by definition "life itself" cannot be subject to patent laws because "life itself" is synonymous with "nature", or something that already pre-exists human intervention. The claim that a genetic sequence or GMO is artificial underscores the "tech" part of the biotech: it is in some non-trivial way the result of human intervention, industry and technology. But we also see another contradictory claim emerging from many of the very same companies that are ostensibly in the business of patenting and licensing. This claim is the exact opposite of the first: that these new, useful, and non-obvious inventions are "natural" and thus safe for the environment, for the human body, for agriculture and for medical application.

This situation in terms of patenting has been addressed with a cultural response which was provided among others by the US artist Diane Ludin with her project i-BPE (iBiology Patent Engine). The project was originally based on the surrealist game "Exquisite Corpse" offering Inter-

net users a framework to build a resource against the distressing militarism inherent within the US patenting system today. That framework is a text-based interface that asks users to begin building a patent. The patent can be built from scratch or by using a sample from the United States Patent and Trademark Office's database of currently granted patents (Ludin, 2008).

On another level, it is worth noting that some current developments in biotechnology are revolutionary due to the general access to biotechnological tools enabled through various DNA DIY Kits. Foundations such as The KlaasKids Foundation and the State of California DNA Laboratory have created a Do-It-Yourself DNA Collection Kit using common household items, in which parents can sample and store their children's DNA with total confidence but without the unnecessary expense of purchasing commercial DNA kits which cost between \$5.00 and \$20.00 per child (Klass Kids, 2012). Other DNA DIY kits include those offered by chemists that allow the paternity of children to be established without the usual recourse to the legal system.

The Internet also proves useful in regard to promoting DNA Ancestry Projects (Genetic Genealogy, 2012), Social Networking web sites such as 23 and Me (23andMe, 2012), as well as offering professional sites for the more advanced in DNA research, such as: GenBank®, which is the NIH genetic sequence database (GenBank, 2012) and the Basic Local Alignment Search Tool (BLAST, 2012), which finds regions of local similarity between sequences comparing nucleotide or protein sequences to sequence databases and calculates the statistical significance of matches.

#### **BIOTECHNOLOGY AND THE ARTS – SCIENCES VS. HUMANITIES**

The relationship between biotechnology and the Arts can justifiably be seen as a curious one, as we can currently only observe the tip of the iceberg. Still lurking in the depths are some of the most difficult unresolved questions arising from the breakdown of communications in society, such as the issue of the relationship between the arts and the sciences, which has plagued humanity throughout the greater part of the twentieth century. This was described by the author C. P. Snow as the rift between "Two Cultures" in his celebrated 1959 lecture series of that title. However, Snow also saw in this breakdown a chance for humanity: "The clashing space of two subjects, two disciplines, two cultures, – of two galaxies, so far as that goes – ought to produce creative chances. In the history of mental activity that has been where some of the breakthroughs came. The chances are there now. But they are there, as it were, in a vacuum, because those in the two cultures can't talk to each other. It is bizarre how very little of twentieth century science has been assimilated in twentieth century art."

Generally speaking, people have been educated either in the sciences or humanities – but not both. This task of bridging the gap between the disciplines is therefore made very difficult, as in the analysis of both one has to deal with the essence, spectacle and background of scientific processes, the aesthetic qualities of works of art, the complex relationship of science and culture, as well as the social and political context surrounding art and biotechnology.

Biotech art has a prominent place with regard to bridging this quite obvious gap from the "two cultures" of modern society – the sciences and the humanities. Snow sees the breakdown of communication between the two cultures of modern society as a major hindrance to solving the world's problems of art and science – along the interface of the biological (which is both "ultimate objectivity" in the hands of science – "biological facts" – and "ultimate subjectivity" as the most intimate seat of personal feeling and emotion – the irreducible humanist bastion of "feelings").

This complexity is further accentuated since one has to take into account the fact that biotechnology also addresses biopolitical issues, the ethical implications of genetic engineering, the relationship between ethics and biotechnology, etc.

The artistic strategies presented through various approaches regarding our reflection upon power relations (bio-political conflicts in the real and virtual worlds increasingly involve governments; NGOs and corporations), including such diverse factors as: energy control; the choice of fuel materials; alternative energy sources; nuclear energy; the control of the biological; the inheritance and programmability of life; ecological visualisations; food miles entropy; the causes and consequences of global environmental change; carbon offsets; eco footprints; the sustaining of the environment; macro and micro ecology; current topics in applications of microbiology in biotechnology; the dimensions of live matter; the relation to the relation to life, genetically modified foods; death; and appearance, etc.

Indeed, biotech art is a wide-ranging subject, building on both the arts and sciences (biology and biotechnology), with abundant material coming from both cultures. Therefore biotech artists have been seen as instrumental in bridging this gap between the arts and sciences. Joe Davis, the American artist and pioneer of biotech art, believes that Snow's perspective is outdated: "The two can no longer be absolutely separated. Like science, art is a quest for knowledge. Few recall that for thousands of years, art was a principal instrument used by *Homo sapiens* to undertake the Apollonian search for secrets of God and nature. Only in recent centuries have special injunctions been adopted which proscribe artistic activities that might be confused with research and scientific inquiry. Students of art in our own era will generally have no idea that artists contributed to the invention of mathematics,

astronomy, chemistry, physics and biology. This constructed separation of art and science has left little room for individuals who work outside contemporary frameworks of thought and language. Scholars of the humanities now acknowledge that this separation of arts and sciences was an artificial one perpetuated by centuries of history that turned metaphysics into the foundation of all things artistic. Yet, the machinery of this historical artificiality and its categories has assumed a kind of *de facto* reality. Until we can learn to think without the modern classifications of art and science, it will be difficult to encounter borderlines, interspaces and hybrids" (in interview with the author).

Davis goes on to say that he believes that the arts have been slowly moving away from this division for at least several decades: "I am simply too impatient to wait for art to fully recover its former scope. I would rather explore a role that still remains unknown to us: neither as an artist nor as a scientist (designations I consider exchangeable in my personal practice). An artist-scientist is both free enough to tackle absurd questions and disciplined enough to be scientifically rigorous about the way the work is carried out. There is a chance, where it is possible to both dream *and* act, that opposition between Romantic and Constructivist notions can finally be resolved. In the first century BCE, Marcus Vitruvius, the great Roman artist and architect and namesake of Leonardo da Vinci's *Vitruvian Man* wrote that a student of art '... should be a good writer, a skilful draftsman, versed in geometry and optics, expert at figures, acquainted with history, informed on the principles of natural and moral philosophy, somewhat of a musician, not ignorant of the sciences both of law and physic, nor of the motions, laws, and relations to each other of the heavenly bodies. Since, therefore, this art is founded upon and adorned with so many different sciences, I am of the opinion that those who have not, from their early youth, gradually climbed up to the summit, cannot, without presumption, call themselves masters of it.' I look at this history with wonder and awe and I hear pronouncements that we will never again hold such greatness in our grasp. But I recognize that greatness is only a matter of will and I think about it every time I meet an artist who says, 'I decided to become an artist because I hate math."

On the other hand, the British artist Gina Czarnecki doesn't believe that the gap is being bridged as much

as is now being argued, made credible again and being seen as an important and interesting space. According to Czarnecki, there never really was a gap but just the perception of one. She believes that there is increasing awareness of the need for both specialists and generalists in any field. She says: "Science, technology, culture, innovation and their associated socio-political drivers are interrelated and there is an increased acknowledgement of the mutual evolution and the spaces between. However, one of my concerns in the UK is education, and whilst it appears we are heading to a place where the space between art and science is being increasingly professionally acknowledged, and therefore will grow, the education system is sprouting specialist secondary schools which gear themselves to be specialists in maths and computing, sciences, or humanities. My children at ten will have to make a decision on what path they take and it becomes vital that alternative models of what people can do are there for these children rather than the division and classification of thinking" (in interview with the author).

Gary Cass, the Australian biologist turned artist, is absolutely convinced that most of the world's universities, the bastion of all knowledge, have recognised the value of cross disciplinary research and that includes the arts sciences crossovers. "My new workshops focus on not only artistic creativity but the scientific creativity. The science world is recognising the need for their world to become more creative. To deal with an unknown future and the possible problems we as a society may face, we will need the sciences to become more creative. And of course this may involve the meeting of two diverse cultures like the arts and sciences. I believe we have bridged the gaps, albeit slightly, but it is a great start in the right direction. Further acceptance of the arts by the sciences and especially the science funding bodies, in particular the need for philosophical viewpoints and creativity are definitely required. But it will also require the arts to accept scientific beliefs and position". (in interview with the author)

Finally, it is worth listening the voice of the pioneer of biotech arts Joe Davis who believes that "society is struggling to integrate new knowledge in life sciences into older frameworks. Scaffoldings that support religious, legal, corporate and other social/economic structures will inevitably have to be reconfigured."

## O BIOTEHNOLOGIJI, FILOZOFIJI IN DRUŽBI

*Melentie PANDILOVSKI*

Video Pool Media Arts Centre, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada  
e-mail: melente@gmail.com

### POVZETEK

*Prispevek »O biotehnologiji, filozofiji in družbi« kritično obravnava najnovejša dogajanja na področjih biopolitike, biotehnologije in biotehnološke kulture in umetnosti, preučuje njihove teoretične temelje ter sledi poteku njihovega razvoja v zadnjih dveh desetletjih 20. stoletja.*

*Besedilo je strukturirano kot raziskava znotraj biopolitike, biotehnologije in bio(tehnološke)umetnosti. Osredotočena na politični in ekonomski spekter, raziskava odseva družbeno-politične posledice biotehnološke revolucije in v tem kontekstu preučuje tudi povezave med usklajenostjo biopolitike in biomoci ter okoliščine, ki zadevajo umetnost, znanost in družbeni boj, pri čemer biotehnološko kulturo predstavi skozi širok nabor izkušenj in vplivov.*

*Namen prispevka je predvsem razjasniti novo družbeno matriko delovanja, ki se je očitno pojavila z razvojem številnih sil v biotehnologiji in povzročila aktualne ekonomske (biokapitalistične) in kulturne spremembe (biokultura, bioumetnost).*

*Članek spregovori tudi o bio(tehnološki)umetnosti, saj so umetniki že precej zgodaj začeli ustvarjati z biotehnologijo in so v odziv na razvoj dogodkov na področju biopolitike in biotehnologije razvili tudi pomembne diskurze.*

*Cilj prispevka je jasno ponazoriti oblikovanje globalnega biopolitičnega aparata, ki tako vsebuje nove vektorje moči v odnosu do družbenih, političnih, ekonomskeh in administrativnih mehanizmov, kot tudi strukture znanja, ki so sposobne ustvarjati, ohranjati, pa tudi uničiti sodobno družbo.*

**Ključne besede:** biopolitični aparat, biopolitika, ontologija, biotehnologija, bioumetnosti (biotehnološke umetnosti), fenomenologija, geopolitika, globalizem, GSO-ji (gensko spremenjeni organizmi), GI (genski inženiring), biokapitalizem

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## THE PARADIGM OF REGENERATIVE BODY: THE ROLE OF REGENERATIVE MEDICINE IN BIOPOWER

*Polona TRATNIK*

University of Primorska, Science and Research Centre of Koper, Garibaldijeva 1, 6000 Koper, Slovenia  
e-mail: polona.tratnik@fhs.upr.si

### *ABSTRACT*

*The aim of this article is to call attention to the growing importance of biotechnology for power over life and body and to analyze biotechnology as contemporary biopolitical strategy. Thus biotechnology is comprehended as a political technology investing in the body, improving its qualities, prolonging youth and taking care of health and reproduction. In such a sense it can be seen as preserving or protecting life by helping to improve health, enriching the quality of life and enabling active aging. It intensifies techniques of biopolitics and anatomo-politics (detected by Foucault) and implicates specially derived politics, geno-politics and regenerative politics, which demonstrate that there is power over life and body in contemporaneity that far exceeds the extensions of power during the period of biological modernity. The paper is particularly focused on regenerative medicine as the knowledge-technology-power opening a new horizon for biopower.*

**Key words:** biopower, biopolitics, regenerative medicine, tissue engineering, anatomo-politics, regenerative politics

## IL PARADIGMA DEL CORPO RIGENERATIVO: L'IMPORTANZA DELLA MEDICINA RIGENERATIVA NEL BIOPOTERE

### *SINTESI*

*Lo scopo del presente articolo è di richiamare l'attenzione sulla crescente importanza della biotecnologia per il potere sulla vita e il corpo, nonché di analizzare la biotecnologia come strategia moderna della biopolitica. La biotecnologia è intesa come una tecnologia politica che investe nel corpo, migliorandone le qualità, prolungando la sua giovinezza e prendendosi cura della salute e della riproduzione. In questo senso, la biotecnologia può essere vista come uno strumento per preservare o proteggere la vita, il quale contribuisce a migliorare la salute, arricchire la qualità della vita e a sostenere l'invecchiamento attivo. Intensifica le tecniche utilizzate dalla biopolitica e dall'anatomo-politica (come definita da Foucault) e include politiche derivate, la politica dei geni e la politica di rigenerazione, che dimostrano che il potere che si ha oggi sulla vita e sul corpo supera di gran lunga i limiti dello stesso potere durante il periodo di modernità biologica. L'articolo si focalizza particolarmente sulla medicina rigenerativa, poiché comporta la conoscenza e la tecnologia, in grado di aprire un nuovo orizzonte per il biopotere.*

**Parole chiave:** biopotere, biopolitica, medicina rigenerativa, ingegneria dei tessuti, anatomo-politica, politica di rigenerazione

In his accompanying study to Roberto Esposito's book on Bios, Timothy Campbell noted: "What does the opening to *bios* as a political category that humanity shares tell us about the other development that so decidedly marks the current biopolitical moment, namely, biotechnology?" and continued with a remark, "indeed, missing is precisely a reflection on the role biotechnology plays for contemporary biopolitics." (Campbell, 2008, xxxiii) The aim of this paper is to call attention to the growing importance of biotechnology for power over life and body and to analyze biotechnology in terms of a contemporary biopolitical strategy. *Thus biotechnology has to be comprehended as a political technology investing in the body, improving its qualities, prolonging youth and taking care of health and reproduction.* In this sense it preserves or protects life by helping to improve health, enriching the quality of life and enabling active aging. It intensifies techniques of biopolitics and anatomo-politics (detected by Foucault) and implicates specially derived politics, geno-politics and regenerative politics, which demonstrate that there is power over life and body in contemporaneity, which far exceeds the extensions and technological possibilities of power during the period of biological modernity. The possibilities for technological interventions into areas previously thought of as "natural" are growing and the distinction between natural and technological is becoming increasingly blurred. This marks the beginning of a new chapter of biopower, one that no longer belongs to biological modernity, but rather to biotechnological postmodernity.<sup>1</sup> The importance of biotechnology for biopower has been recently acknowledged in the lively debate on biopolitics: "The patenting of the human genome and the development of artificial intelligence; biotechnology and the harnessing of life's forces for work, trace a new cartography of biopowers. These strategies put in question the forms of life itself." (Lazzarato, 2002, 1) As part of the growing interest in biopolitical issues relating to the development of life sciences, the field of genomics has drawn quite a lot of attention, while on the contrary, the implications of the younger field of regenerative medicine has not yet been comprehensively discussed. The paper is focused particularly on regenerative medicine as the knowledge-technology-power that is opening a new horizon for biopower.

Michel Foucault recognized an important historical shift regarding the relations between politics and life, which he located between the ancient era of the sovereign power and the modern era of *biopower* "when the life of the species is wagered on its own political strategies" (Foucault, 1978, 143). This moment is marked by shift in power relations. "For millennia, man remained what he

was for Aristotle: a living animal with the additional capacity for a political existence; modern man is an animal whose politics places his existence as a living being in question." (Foucault, 1978, 143) In order to consider the semantics of the term biopolitics and the relation between life as a "natural" issue and politics, one needs to refer to the ancient Greek (in particular the Aristotelian) lexicon to find the etymological origin in the Gr. term *bíos* (βίος). But the ancient Greeks used two terms to denote life: "*zoē*, which expressed the simple fact of living common to all living beings (animals, men, or gods), and *bios*, which indicated the form or way of living proper to an individual or a group." (Agamben, 1998, 9) The present *zoē* means "I am alive, I exist" and the past tense (usually the case with the second past tense) *ebion* (meaning "I lived my life in a specific way") is an ancient form, from which came into existence the later present tense *bioō*. "The past tense 'EBION' and the derivative noun 'BIOS' were constructed in order to indicate a new notion about life, a notion more concrete and specific: i.e., the constant purposive and therefore complete, unchangeable way of life, to live a life, as Aristotle says, in a concrete mental way /.../ 'BIOS is a moral action'." (Bakaoukas, 2009) *Zoē* generally refers to the existence of a living being and *bíos* denotes qualified life. *Bios* is duration of *zoē* and means rational life, thus it cannot be ascribed to animals (Bakaoukas, 2009). In the classical world of the ancient Greeks, simple natural life is excluded from *pólis* ("to speak of a *zoē politikē* of the citizens of Athens would have made no sense") (Agamben, 1998, 9). However, Roberto Esposito relativizes the distinction between the two Greek terms denoting life, because "every life is a form of life and every form refers to life." (Esposito, 2008, 194) He notices an interesting oscillation in the semantics of the Greek lexicon, namely "biopolitics refers, if anything, to the dimension of *zōē*, which is to say to life in its simple biological capacity, more than it does to *bíos*, understood as 'qualified life' or 'form of life', or at least to the line of conjugation along which *bíos* is exposed to *zōē*, naturalizing *bíos* as well." (Esposito, 2008, 14) Furthermore, he problematizes the concept of *zōē* and adds another term to the dualism of *bíos* and *zōē*: "*Zoē* itself can only be defined problematically: what, assuming it is even conceivable, is an absolutely natural life? It's even more the case today, when the human body appears to be increasingly challenged and also literally mediated by technology. Politics penetrates directly into life and life becomes other than itself. Thus, if there is no such thing as a life that is natural that isn't at the same time also technological; if the relation between *bíos* and *zōē* by now requires (or has always required) to include in it a third correlated term,

1 If postmodernity would still be the proper term to use for denoting the era proceeding modernity in economic, social, cultural and thus structural terms, marked with some significant shifts comparing to modernity. However, it is not the aim of this paper to discuss the issues of postmodernity.

*technē* – then how do we hypothesize an exclusive relationship between politics and life?" (Esposito, 2008, 15)

In the middle of the 1970s Michel Foucault, taking as his departure point the ancient Greek comprehension of life and the inclusion of the "natural" life in the political mechanisms (and the previous theories of biopolitics as well), re-posed and redefined the concept of *biopolitics* in a much more complex sense than had been done before.<sup>2</sup> Foucault outlined the difference between *biopolitics* as the politics in the name of life (politics of life) and *biopower* as subjecting life to the authority of politics (politics over life). *Biopower* designates "what brought life and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculations and made knowledge-power an agent of transformation of human life." (Foucault, 1978, 143) In other words, biopower means "a number of phenomena that seem to me to be quite significant, namely, the set of mechanisms through which the basic biological features of the human species became the object of a political strategy, of a general strategy of power, or, in other words, how, starting from the eighteenth century, modern Western societies took on board the fundamental biological fact that human beings are a species." (Foucault, 2009, 1) Foucault recognizes the beginning of the age of biopower taking place with the ending of the sovereign power for which "[t]he sovereign exercised the right of life only by exercising his right to kill, or by refraining from killing; he evidenced his power over life only through the death he was capable of requiring. The right which was formulated as the 'power of life and death' was in reality the right to *take* life or *let* live." (Foucault, 1978, 136) In the modern era of biopower, the social body has got the right to ensure, maintain, or develop its life, "the ancient right to *take* life or *let* live was replaced by a power to *foster* life or *disallow* it to the point of death." (Foucault, 1978, 138) If previously it was the sovereign who played the role of the one who must be defended now wars are being waged on behalf of the existence of everyone. Thus it is now the society that must be defended, with entire populations being

mobilized for the purpose of wholesale slaughter, with battle tactics proceeding according to the principle that one has to be capable of killing in order to carry on living. Thus the dream of modern powers is genocide. Power is situated and exercised at the level of life, the species, the race, and the large-scale phenomena of population. "But this formidable power of death [demonstrated by the bloody wars since the nineteenth century] /.../ now presents itself as the counterpart of a power that exerts a positive influence on life, that endeavours to administer, optimize, and multiply it, subjecting it to precise controls and comprehensive regulations." (Foucault, 1978, 137)

According to Foucault this power over life has been one of the basic phenomena of the nineteenth century in western society and evolved two basic forms, together constituting two linked developmental poles. The first emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth century and is a disciplinary technology – Foucault calls it the anatomo-politics of the human body. It was "centered on the body as a machine: its disciplining, the optimization of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls". (Foucault, 1978, 139) The other pole emerged in the middle or the second half of the eighteenth century and "focused on the species body, the body imbued with the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of the biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, with all the conditions that can cause these to vary." (Foucault, 1978, 139) The supervision of these was effected through an entire series of interventions and regulatory controls: this informs the biopolitics of the population. These two technologies directed toward the performances of the body and, with their attention to the processes of life, the highest function of this power over life "was perhaps no longer to kill, but to invest life through and through." (Foucault, 1978, 139) Both politics, anatomo-politics and bio-politics were, according to Foucault, the techniques of power established

2 Roberto Esposito has illuminated a brief genealogy of the concept of biopolitics before and after Foucault (Esposito, 2008, 13–24) and traced the first wave of early discussions in biopolitics from the beginning of the 20th century in Swedish (Rudolph Kjellén, 1905, 1916, 1920), German (Baron Jakob von Uexküll, 1920) and English (Morley Roberts, 1938) thought when it was mostly referred to geopolitics and used an organicist, anthropological and naturalistic approach, where the "naturalization of politics" takes place according to an analogical understanding of the state with its tissues as an organic whole (Kjellén and von Uexküll) and where the comparison between the defensive apparatus of the state and the immunological system was discussed (Roberts). These early approaches show that "a politics constructed directly on *bios* always risks violently subjecting *bios* to politics." (Esposito, 2008, 19) The second wave of interest (appearing in France in the 1960s) demonstrates the modification by the epochal defeat of Nazi biocracy and the necessity of a semantic reformulation; it is a neohumanistic one, but ultimately it results in a weakening of the specificity of the category, becoming rather a sort of "onto-politics". The third wave took place in the Anglo-Saxon world – and this is the one that is still ongoing. It emerged in the 1960s and was formally introduced in 1973 by International Political Science Association, which opened a research site on biology and politics; and it is marked by the foundation of the Association for Politics and the Life Sciences in 1983. This approach has a naturalistic character – its symptomatic value resides in the direct and insistent reference made to the domain of the natural as a privileged parameter of political determination. Esposito notices a considerable categorical shift with respect to the principal line of modern political philosophy: "While political philosophy presupposes nature as the problem to be resolved (or the obstacle to overcome) through the constitution of the political order, American biopolitics sees in nature the same condition of existence: not only the genetic origin and the primary material, but also the sole controlling reference. Politics is anything but able to dominate nature or make it 'conform' to its ends and so itself emerges 'informed' in such a way as to leave no space for other constructive possibilities." (Esposito, 2008, 22)

during the course (anatomo-politics) and at the end (bio-politics) of the eighteenth century and they were present at every level of the social body and utilized by very diverse institutions such as family, army, schools, police, individual medical practices and the administration of the collective bodies. There was a big difference between the era following the French Revolution in comparison to the ancient age, namely "death was ceasing to torment life so directly. But at the same time the development of the different fields of knowledge concerned with life in general, the improvement of agricultural techniques, and the observations and measures relative to man's life and survival all contributed to this relaxation: a relative control over life averted some of the imminent risks of death." (Foucault, 1978, 142) The new regime tended rather towards supporting the affirmative politics of life and over life: "Power would no longer be dealing simply with legal subjects over whom the ultimate domination was death, but with living being, and the mastery it would be able to exercise over them would have to be applied at the level of life itself; it was the taking charge of life, more than the threat of death, that gave power its access even to the body." (Foucault, 1978, 142–143) The political technologies that ensued, investing the body, health, modes of subsistence and habitation, living conditions, the whole space of existence only proliferated.

Foucault discussed the issues of biopolitics in several of his lectures and papers whereat it is interesting that his first utilization of the term appeared in the 1974's lecture where he emphasized the importance of biopolitics and recognized medicine as a biopolitical strategy: "for capitalist society it is the biopolitical that is important before everything else; the biological, the somatic, the corporeal. The body is a biopolitical reality; medicine is a biopolitical strategy". (Esposito, 2008, 27) The role of medicine and clinics is of great importance to Foucault's discussion on biopower and biopolitics. He conducted a comprehensive research of the birth of the clinic from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. With the coming of the Enlightenment, death was subjected to the clear light of reason and thus became an object and source of knowledge for the philosophical mind. With the inclusion of dissection rooms to the clinics in the middle of the eighteenth century, a new period began for medicine; it turned to the study of physiological phenomena. But there is a paradox involved in basing a diagnosis on an anatomical perception: "A clinic of symptoms seeks the living body of the disease; anatomy provides it only with the corpse." (Foucault, 2003a, 135) Thanks to the organization of the clinic in eighteenth century pathological anatomy, the technique of corpse observation gained the facility to open up a corpse immediately after the occurrence of death. This meant that the period of latency between death and autopsy was reduced and the stages of pathological time and the first stage of cadaveric time became almost coincidental. The effects of organic decom-

position were therefore virtually suppressed thus: "Death is now no more than the vertical, absolutely thin line that joins, in dividing them, the series of symptoms and the series of lesions." (Foucault, 2003a, 141)

In the late eighteenth century, Xavier Bichat introduced a new paradigm into medical thought, which replaced the former nosology based upon the principle of localization (understanding the illness of the body on the basis of organic proximity) with the principle of isomorphism in tissues being based upon similarity and external adaptation of tissues, life characteristics and functions. Bichat imposed a diagonal reading of the body, carried out according to expanses of anatomical resemblances that "traverse the organs, envelop them, divide them, compose and decompose them, analyse them, and, at the same time, bind them together." (Foucault, 2003a, 129) He also recognized that when the pathological state is prolonged, the first tissues to be affected are those in which nutrition is most active (the mucous membranes) then the effects expand to parenchyma of organs and finally they reach the tendons and aponeuroses. Bichat ascertained that a disease is actually a process that "announces the coming of death". (Foucault, 2003a, 141) Disease as the "proximity of death" is a process that indicates another process that is evolutionary, "the associated, but different process of 'mortification'." (Foucault, 2003a, 141) With this acknowledgment death becomes no longer an instantaneous event but should rather be comprehended as a process. What Bichat actually acknowledged is "the permeability of life by death". (Foucault, 2003a, 142) Foucault locates a shift in the comprehension of life related to the body with Bichat's contribution to pathological anatomy. Particularly significant was Bichat's investigation of the body as a complex of tissues and his comprehension that the analysis of the disease can be carried out only from the point of view of death, "of the death which life, by definition, resists," (Foucault, 2003a, 144) whereas "[t]he morbid is the rarefied form of life, exhausted, working itself into the void of death". (Foucault, 2003a, 171) For Bichat "[d]eath is therefore multiple, and dispersed in time: it is not that absolute, privileged point at which time stops and moves back; like disease itself, it has a teeming presence that analysis may divide into time and space; gradually, here and there, each of the knots breaks, until organic life ceases, at least in its major forms, since long after the death of the individual, minuscule, partial deaths continue to dissociate the islets of life that still subsist." (Foucault, 2003a, 142) Vitalism could only have appeared against the background of "mortalism"; Bichat relativized the concept of death, volatilized it, distributed it throughout life in the form of separate, partial, progressive deaths, deaths that are so slow in occurring that they extend even beyond death itself, but "from this fact he formed an essential structure of medical thought and perception: that to which life is opposed and to which it is exposed; that in relation to which it is living opposition". (Foucault, 2003a,

143–144) Foucault is convinced that the irreducibility of the living to mechanical or chemical elements is of secondary importance in comparison with the fundamental link between life and death.

This shift in the comprehension of death and life in biological modernity was however not accidental. Foucault acknowledges that it was no longer epidemics that were the issue at the end of the eighteenth century, but rather “endemics, or in other words, the form, nature, extension, duration and intensity of the illnesses prevalent in a population.” (Foucault, 2003b, 243) These were the illnesses that were difficult to eradicate and that had become the permanent factors which sapped the population’s strength, shortened the working week, wasted energy, and cost money (in the sense that they led to a fall in production and because treating them was expensive) – thus these were the phenomena affecting a population. Therefore death becomes no longer something that suddenly swoops down on life as in an epidemic but something permanent, something that slips into life, perpetually gnaws at it, diminishes and weakens it. (Foucault, 2003b, 244) This problem is a biopolitical one and it became an important issue at a time of industrialization (in the early nineteenth century) with the problem of aging, when the individuals fall out of the field of capacity, of activity. Heirin lies the significance of medicine for biopower, since biopower “is continuous, scientific, and it is the power to make live.” (Foucault, 2003b, 247) The “power is decreasingly the power to take life, and increasingly the right to intervene to make live”. (Foucault, 2003b, 248)

Intervention for the aim “to-make-live” has gained tremendous extensions with the rise of biotechnology in the last half of the twentieth century, which additionally results in a focus on technological intervention and thus on the “artificiality” of life. Since even medicine has become a knowledge-technology, a practice of engineering, living organisms can no longer be perceived as self-contained and delimited “natural” bodies but rather as constructs composed of heterogeneous and exchangeable elements (e.g. organs, tissues, DNA). Involvement of technologic manipulation of the body in medicine has only been increasing since the middle of the twentieth century and today biotechnology has become a significant supporting technology for medicine. The questions concerning the “natural foundations” of life and how these can be distinguished from “artificial” forms of life have become topical because of bioscientific discoveries and technological innovations. (Lemke, 2011, 27) The ancient relation between “natural” life and politics as problematized by contemporary philosophy of biopolitics has become complex considering how the political is encom-

passing sets of problems that were once understood as natural and self-evident facts but which are now open to technological or scientific intervention. Within the area of “technocratic biopolitics,” as termed by Thomas Lemke, the growing significance of genetic and reproductive technologies has raised concerns about the regulation and control of scientific progress. The results of biological and medical research and their practical application demonstrates how contingent and fragile the boundary between nature and culture is; but this also results in intensified political and legal efforts to re-establish that boundary. It was deemed necessary to regulate which procedures were acceptable and under what conditions. (Lemke, 2011, 26)

With the turn of the millennium an important shift was taking place within life sciences concerning the comprehension and accession to life and body: from genomics and the computer paradigm of life – the paradigm that was significantly marked by the digital age – towards the paradigm of regeneration, which was from the beginning directly linked to its respective applications in medicine. Today, one of the central aims of medicine is to collaborate with biotechnology in order to be able to composite or regenerate tissues or body parts. This is enabled using tissue engineering technologies. Tissue engineering, particularly stem cell engineering, has presented new hopes over the course of the last decade; but perhaps rather more realistic or less utopian and exaggerated in comparison with the reactions of the life sciences when linked to the promises of genomics.<sup>3</sup> Primarily, tissue engineering emerged as a response to transplantation problems, mainly in association with the response of the immune system, which results in the rejection of allogenic tissues. When engineering and cell cultivation in the laboratory is conducted for transplantation purposes, the technology is called regenerative medicine. Regenerative medicine aims to enforce the body’s immanent functions of regeneration. Tissue engineering is a technology of in vitro tissue manipulation, which nowadays mainly uses stem cells in artificially created support systems that are set up for the execution of specific biological functions, particularly for the repair or replacement of parts of a tissue (like skin, cartilage, bone). A stem cell is a non-differentiated cell, which has the ability of self-regeneration, during which two daughter cells are created – the first one is identical to the original but the other one is partially differentiated and more specialised. Somatic stem cells are located throughout the whole adult human being, while embryonic stem cells are found only in the embryo. Stem cells enable several new treatment approaches. Today, the expression “advanced therapy” is well-established in the

<sup>3</sup> Herbert Gottweis reviews the reception of life sciences in the last decades of the twentieth century: (1.) the 70s present the phase of hopes and fears, (2.) the 80s the phase of exaggerations and (3.) the 90s the fantasies being overtaken by contradictory realities (Gottweis, 1999).

EU medical legislation (the EU Act (ES) number 1394/2007 of the European parliament and board) which divides advanced therapies into gene therapy, somatic cell therapy and tissue engineering. Advanced therapy uses principles of self-regeneration in tissue injury as well as in treatment of cancer.

Eugene Thacker, one of the first humanists to discuss tissue engineering, points to the introduction of a new conception of body: "Tissue engineering is able to produce a vision of the regenerative body, a body always potentially in excess of itself." (Thacker, 1999, 183) According to Thacker, it is due to the idea of regeneration that the economy of body parts (transplantations, xeno-transplantations) has been replaced with an economy of auto-regeneration (regeneration of tissues from one's own cells), which is cyclic and proliferative (produces a great number of parts = tissues with division of cells). (Thacker, 1999, 182) Options that are thus presented admit the solution of several health problems (degenerative illnesses, cancer etc.), transformation of body and improvement of life quality – even "rejuvenation," which actually means the prolongation of life and the active age of a social subject. Although longevity and active age have both been prolonging since the human species has been able to make improvements in the quality of life (decrease of life and illness threats, variegation of food etc.) and conduct medical interventions, the options now opened with the regenerative body, enabled with biotechnology, are displacing the limit of life beyond the traditionally attained ones. This is now significantly enabled with the working "from within," – or, even better, with the body itself –, instead of manipulating the body and life "from outside," as tended to be performed earlier with the help of mechanical or chemical interventions.

It could also be claimed that the function of stem cells in an organism testifies to a very important function in the body, which is vitalization; thus, with the acknowledgement of this function of the stem cells, the recognition of the process of mortification in the body with illness (by Bichat) obtains a supplementary recognition with an opposing process, which is a process of "vivification". This is the process that testifies about life as the one opposing death as noticed by Foucault. The process of vivification with stem cells used to defy the natural process of mortification in the organism provides the assurance of a constant resistance to threats of illnesses and thus death. The regenerative capacity has been explored in nearly all tissues, and several factors have been proven to play a role in auto regenerative processes in which proliferation and differentiation are the fundamental processes that assure auto regeneration. This issue could be linked to the notion of immunity as the ability to preserve and protect life, which is the focus of the contemporary debate on bio-politics. For nearly two thousand years, immunity has served almost exclusively political and juridical ends (a legal concept invented in ancient Rome) and it was only in the

1880s and 1890s that biomedicine acknowledged a new vital function, "immunity-as-defence". (Cohen, 2009) With biotechnological support of body's internal force and strength, the discourse about immunity has only intensified. Regenerative medicine as an intervention technology optimizing the body is in the process of presenting a new vision of the body – a self-improving body, which is a self-excessive body. Foucault already analysed one level of the technological intervention in life, combining the regulatory technology of life and the disciplinary technology of the body and used the example of the death of Franco, who was kept alive after he died, to present the meeting of the two systems of power: that of sovereignty over death, and that of the regularization of life. Foucault remarked: "And thanks to a power that is not simply scientific prowess, but the actual exercise of the political biopower established in the eighteenth century, we have become so good at keeping people alive that we've succeeded in keeping them alive when, in biological terms, they should have been dead long ago." (Foucault, 2003b, 248) Today, however, the technological possibilities to regulate life and discipline the body reach far beyond the abilities of his time. Thanks to the attainments of regenerative medicine the power-to-make-live is now coming to exceed the limits of the "natural" life and body, much more than was enabled by the institutionalization of medicine. The biological concepts of life and body need to be transposed; they are now both significantly intermediated by technology. Ultimately the idea of regeneration of the body is generating a utopian vision of immortal active life and body enabled with a reinforced constant process of vitalization victoriously defeating the natural process of mortification.

With the transformation of medical knowledge and technical possibilities there is another shift taking place, albeit very slowly, which is related to the one described above – it is a shift from a mechanical paradigm to the paradigm of the (self-)regenerative body. The function of self-regeneration ought to be recognized as the essential function of the body and life, which already itself opposes the Cartesian notion of the objective body and thus the essence of modern medical thought, but which even has its especially explicit functional derivation in the potential of advanced therapy with stem cells. The modern medicine and biology operated with a concept of an organism as composed of mechanical parts – the human body was thus understood in terms of a kind of complex machinery, corresponding to the Cartesian causal comprehension of the body, in detection of local defects and offering of directed treatments. In accordance with this, medical treatment was conducted on the basis of elimination or exchange of the damaged parts. In aesthetic surgery, the body was as well transformed mechanically, with direct plastic interventions in the body and with insertions using artificial materials. Recent acknowledgements demonstrate that such methods are obsolete because col-

laterally the healthy parts of an organism are damaged. Advanced therapy, on the contrary, suggests the use of body's own material, which should be implanted to improve the quality of body's immanent ability to regenerate itself. Advanced therapy thus no longer suggests mechanical or chemical repair of the body, but develops options of stimulating the self-regenerative body. It is no longer appropriate to speak of anatomo-clinical medicine as Foucault was referring to the eighteenth and especially nineteenth century medicine. Since the second half of the twentieth century medicine has been significantly altered with biotechnological support. Biotechnology, combining biology with technology, has been established as a techno-science or knowledge-technology. In our era, when engineering is highly advocated, even medicine, supported by biotechnology, has become engineering.

Foucault analysed the emerging institutionalization of medicine in the context of normalizing society, when power took possession of life or at least took life under its care in the course of nineteenth century; at the time when "medicine becomes a political intervention-technique with specific power-effects. Medicine is a power-knowledge that can be applied to both the body and the population, both the organism and biological processes; and it will therefore have both disciplinary effects and regulatory effects." (Foucault, 2003b, 252) The role medicine gained for biopower has only been intensified with the emergence of biotechnology, which instantly became the supporting technology of what Foucault called the anatomo-politics of the human body or what we in this case prefer to call the regenerative-politics of the human

body. Regenerative medicine in particular is focused on the performances of the body: it is optimizing its capabilities, concentrating its forces, increasing its utilities. Additionally, biotechnology has become the supporting technology of the biopolitics of the population. Regenerative medicine is used to manage life processes, particularly with regard to improving levels of health, life expectancy and longevity. Regenerative medicine must therefore be acknowledged as one of the leading technologies of contemporary biopower. The political role of regenerative medicine is crucial in slowing down the process of aging, assuring the quality of life, active aging and instant regeneration. Last but not least, all these motifs are represented in popular culture. The cultural tendency towards youth and the need to form one's own aesthetics of the body according to the prevailing cultural standards and as a means of exhibiting the healthy and fit condition of the body is continuing to grow. In this regard, regenerative medicine is presenting novel options and promising solutions for sustainable corrections of the body. Regenerative medicine certainly contributes not only to the politics of the body but also to the politics of life. Regenerative medicine, supporting biomedicine, significantly consolidates the power to make live, established within the emerging normalizing society and analysed by Foucault. At present, the power-to-make-live more than ever testifies that life and death are not natural or immediate phenomena, which would fall outside the field of power, but are decisively subjected to the mechanisms, techniques, and technologies of power.

## PARADIGMA REGENERATIVNEGA TELESA: VLOGA REGENERATIVNE MEDICINE V BIOBLASTI

*Polona TRATNIK*

Univerza na Primorskem, Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče, Garibaldijeva 1, 6000 Koper, Slovenija  
e-mail: polona.tratnik@fhs.upr.si

### POVZETEK

Namen tega prispevka je usmeriti pozornost na pomen biotehnologije za oblast nad življnjem in telesom ter jo analizirati kot sodobno biopolitično strategijo. Biotehnologija je tako razumljena kot politična tehnologija, ki vлага v telo, izboljšuje njegove kvalitete, podaljšuje mladost, skrbi za zdravje in reprodukcijo. V takšnem smislu ohranja oziroma varuje življenje s tem, da izboljšuje zdravje, bogati kvaliteto življenja in omogoča aktivno staranje. Krepi tehnike biopolitike in anatompolitike (ki jih je zaznal Foucault) in implicira posebno izpeljane politike, genopolitike in regenerativne politike, ki dokazujejo, da v sodobnosti obstaja oblast nad življnjem in telesom, ki daleč presega razširitve in tehnološke možnosti oblasti iz biološke modernosti. Avtorica izhaja iz raziskovanja bioblasti, ki ga je opravil ključni raziskovalec teme, Michel Foucault v sedemdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja. V tem smislu je zlasti pomembna njegova analiza anatomsко-klinične medicine, ki jo je prepoznał kot biopolitično strategijo, ki je bila na delu v normalizacijski družbi v osemnajstem in še posebej v devetnajstem stoletju, ko je oblast prevzela posest nad življnjem. Medicina kot vednost-oblast je politična intervencijska tehnika, ki jo lahko prenesemo tako

*na telo kot na populacijo, tako na organizem kot na biološke procese, zato ima tako disciplinske kot regulacijske učinke. Avtorica trdi, da je oblast delati živo, ki jo je opazil Foucault, še vedno na delu, tokrat je ključno podprtta z biotehnologijo in kot taka pridobiva nove dimenzijske oblasti nad življnjem. S širitevijo tehnoloških intervencij v polje »naravnega« in zabilovanjem razlike med naravnim in tehnološkim, pojavom in vpojtvijo biotehnologije v področje telesa in populacije se pričenja novo poglavje biooblasti, ki prej pripada biotehnološki postmodernosti. Tkivni inženiring je tehnologija in vitro manipulacije s tkivi, ki danes uporablja predvsem matične celice v umetno ustvarjenih podpornih sistemih, ki so vzpostavljeni za izpeljavo določenih bioloških funkcij. Zaradi inženiringa in gojenja celic v laboratoriju za namene presaditev se je uveljavil izraz regenerativna medicina. Regenerativna medicina si prizadeva okrepliti telesu lastne regenerativne funkcije. Prispevek je osredotočen zlasti na regenerativno medicino kot vednost-tehnologijo-oblasc, ki odpira nov horizont biooblasti.*

**Ključne besede:** bioblast, biopolitika, regenerativna medicina, tkivno inženirstvo, anatomopolitike, regenerativne politike

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## ORIENTALISM IN BARTOL'S NOVEL ALAMUT – “NOTHING IS TRUE, EVERYTHING IS PERMITTED”

*Mirt KOMEL*

University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences, Kardeljeva ploščad 5, 1000 Ljubljana  
E-mail: mirt.komel@fdv.uni-lj.si

### *ABSTRACT*

*The paper presents a study of Vladimir Bartol's novel Alamut that uses the epistemological framework of Edward Said's Orientalism. Said's conception of Orientalism is further developed through the concept of self-Orientalism in both its versions, here labeled as "Oriental" and "Occidental" self-Orientalism respectively. The main hypothesis of the paper states that Bartol's novel can be interpreted as an example of Orientalism – as well as Occidental self-Orientalism – in literature. Thus, the paper's primary purpose is to deliver an analysis of Alamut's Orientalist and self-Orientalist elements.*

**Key words:** Vladimir Bartol, *Alamut*, Orientalism, self-Orientalism

## L'ORIENTALISMO NEL ROMANZO DI BARTOL ALAMUT – “NULLA È REALE, TUTTO È LECITO”

### *SINTESI*

*Il contributo presenta uno studio del romanzo di Vladimir Bartol Alamut, che utilizza la struttura epistemologica dell'Orientalismo di Edward Said. L'idea dell'orientalismo di Said viene sviluppata ulteriormente attraverso il concetto di autoorientalismo in ambedue le sue versioni, qui denominate rispettivamente autoorientalismo 'orientale' e 'occidentale'. L'ipotesi principale del contributo sostiene che il romanzo di Bartol possa essere interpretato come un esempio di orientalismo – nonché di autoorientalismo occidentale – in letteratura. Lo scopo primario del saggio è quindi di fornire un'analisi degli elementi orientalistici e autoorientalistici di Alamut.*

**Parole chiave:** Vladimir Bartol, *Alamut*, orientalismo, autoorientalismo

## INTRODUCTION

At first glance Vladimir Bartol's novel *Alamut* presents itself as a typical instance of Orientalism in literature, chiefly because it exploits the Arabo-Islamic Orient for aesthetic purposes. However, on a closer inspection, the novel distinguishes itself from similar examples of Orientalism by its distinctive self-Orientalist character. Starting from the epistemological framework of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, we will further develop the concept through the introduction of self-Orientalism, which comprises a specific conceptual permutation of the former. Furthermore, two versions of self-Orientalism will be analysed, for which we propose the labels "Oriental" and "Occidental" self-Orientalism respectively. Before proceeding to the application of this epistemological framework to our case study, a general historical background on Bartol and his times will be provided, with particular attention paid to the shifting receptions and interpretations of his novel *Alamut* in the various historical and geopolitical contexts (its negative reception at home and the success it enjoyed abroad as well as the different interpretations of its content). The central part of the article consists of two separate analyses of Bartol's *Alamut*, one dealing with its Orientalist elements (the "Secret Order of the Assassins", the "Artificial Paradise", the "Tale of the Three Scholars", the "Old Man of the Mountain"), while the other focusing on the self-Orientalist ones (nihilism and Machiavellianism). We will try to show how all the main four Orientalist motives are in the first place an imaginative fruit of the Islamic world itself, exported during the period of the Crusades and given greater currency only later on in the West – and conversely, how and why were the two main self-Orientalist elements (nihilism, Machiavellianism), as distinctively Western inventions, projected upon that Arabo-Islamic Oriental Other par excellence, namely, the "Assassins". Finally, in the conclusion part, we will consider the link between the historical "Assassins" and modern "terrorists" within the specific cultural and political context of the novel's translation into English and its publication in the US – namely the post 9/11 era, marked by a prevailing imperialism/terrorism ideology.

## PISTEMOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK: ORIENTALISM AND SELF-ORIENTALISM

Orientalism was long understood simply as a Western artistic and scholarly tradition of depicting and writing about the Orient but this understanding, as well as the meaning of the concept itself, has slowly started to change, at least since the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* in 1978. Instead of an allegedly neutral scientific or aesthetic interest a careful examination of various Orientalist works in the arts and sciences revealed a plurality of ideological implications. It turned out that Orientalism was far from being a neutral description due to its

becoming evident that it denoted a specific perception of the East by the West that was at the same time essentialist and ahistorical. It also became clear that Orientalism has as its purpose the establishment of the Orient not only as an object of knowledge and/or aesthetic pleasure but also of colonialist domination. Said's work is understood as one of the most important forerunners of contemporary post-colonial studies precisely due to this specific link it established between imagination and domination.

The scientific Orientalist discourse was traditionally understood mainly as a Western scholarly discipline that specialized in the research of certain very narrowly defined aspects of a very broadly conceived Orient (linguistic, cultural, religious, and political). In contrast, Said gave Orientalism the more general meaning of "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'" (Said, 2003, 1-3). The concept can thus encompass the classical Orientalist writings of the European – mainly French and British – scholarly tradition (which constitute the main object of critique in *Orientalism*), as well as the works of poets, novelists, philosophers, political theorists, economists, and imperial administrators – their common denominator being an acceptance of the basic ontological and epistemological distinctions between East and West.

This conception of Orientalism as a specific "style of thought" was itself grounded in Michel Foucault's conception of a "discourse" as a unifying instance of knowledge and power (Foucault, 1972, 37). Orientalism as a discursive style of thought did not confine itself to the traditional Orientalist genres of discourse (scientific or literary writings) for it could be – and indeed was – extended into other, primarily non-discursive fields, such as photography or painting. It was only a matter of time before critical cultural studies research on Orientalism began to focus on television and – especially – films: already in Said's book we are able to find the following assertion:

One aspect of the electronic, postmodern world is that there has been a reinforcement of the stereotypes by which the Orient is viewed. Television, the films, and all the media's resources have forced information into more and more standardized molds. So far as the Orient is concerned, standardization and cultural stereotyping have intensified the hold of the nineteenth-century academic and imaginative demology of 'the mysterious Orient.' (Said, 2003, 26)

If we consider entertainment – bolstered by the culture industry – as the perfect locus for ideology to dress itself up in non-ideological clothing (Adorno, 2001), then cinema can very well be regarded as the medium *par excellence* through which any hegemonic ideology can be reproduced (Comolli, Narboni, 2000, 197). In the context of Orientalism, cinema is consequently also the me-

dium through which the ideological stereotyping of the Orient is replicated – this is especially the case when it comes to the question of representations of the Arabo-Islamic world (Shaheen, 2000, 2001). Orientalism is the movement that constructs the Orient as a twofold object of knowledge and pleasure; an entity painted in negative tonalities as a dangerous and underdeveloped world; yet at the same time exalted for its more fascinating coloration and thus fetishized in all its exoticism and mystery. It comes as no surprise that in the cinematic Orientalist discourse, as is the case in almost all representations of the Oriental Other by the entertainment industry, the phobic elements go hand-in-hand with the fetishistic ones – in cinema and television as well as in literature.

If Orientalism therefore denotes a specific discursive style of thought and the related power-praxis of domination exerted by the West upon the East, resulting in a stereotyped depiction of the Orient as an exotic, yet dangerous entity, then self-Orientalism can be regarded as a peculiar extension of Orientalism, for in this case it is the Oriental Other that inflicts Orientalism upon itself. Self-Orientalism can be generally understood in terms of post-colonial self-exploitation or as an anti-colonialist attempt at cultural self-definition; either way, it is a modus of Orientalism practiced by the Oriental Other itself (Azm, 2000). Often labelled also as "self-othering," or as "reversed" or "complicit" Orientalism (Macfie, 2000), self-Orientalism denotes a reversal of Orientalism, a certain complicit – willing or unwilling – adoption of the Western "style of thought" through a process of self-othering. The most evident cases of self-orientalisation would include a variety of present-day commercial activities modelled for the Western eye, the most flagrant and popular example of which would be, of course, belly dancing (Shay, Sellers-Young, 2003).

Besides this conception of self-Orientalism, there is another version that we must take into account, namely, the kind in which the subject of self-othering is not the Oriental Other, but rather the Occidental subject itself. Already during the colonial era, at a time when the Orientalist discourses were already flourishing, one can find examples of various degrees of such a self-Orientalisation, mostly by famous figures from arts and literature: Byron, in his eccentric voyages to the Balkans; Goethe, with his failed attempt to travel to an imaginary Orient; and most notably Burton, who, disguised as a Muslim, accomplished the ritual Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca. Nicholas A. Germana, for example, argues that German Orientalism, from the Baroque period to Romanticism, demonstrates very different traits than its French and British counterparts, which were the main concern of Said's work (Germana, 2010). The most notable difference is a certain self-othering, which functions in terms of identification with the Oriental Other. A more contemporary example would include, again, belly dancing; this time performed not by the feminine self-Orientalized Arabic Other, but

by self-othered Western women. This is a phenomenon that is spreading mainly in Europe and the United States and that is, according to Sunaina, connected to New Age feminism (Sunaina, 2008).

If the main role of Orientalism as such is to reproduce the basic ontological and epistemological distinction between the Orient and the Occident, then self-Orientalism fulfils the same function in two very different ways: the first form of self-Orientalism achieves this through the identification of the Oriental subject with Western Orientalist ideology while the second achieves it through the identification of the Occidental subject with the Oriental Other as part of a characteristic process of self-othering. To distinguish the two forms of self-Orientalism proposed above, I will refer to the first as "Oriental self-Orientalism" and to the second as "Occidental self-Orientalism." The two proposed forms of self-Orientalism are not to be seen as separate phenomena but rather as complementary versions of the same "style of thought". The distinction between Orientalism and self-Orientalism lies elsewhere, namely in their relation to power: if Orientalism is conceived as a post-colonial praxis of domination, then self-Orientalism (both Occidental and Oriental) could be understood as post-colonial self-exploitation. However, it could also be understood – at least, so I argue – as a genuine attempt at potentially emancipatory and subversive cultural self-determination and self-Orientalisation.

Before proceeding to the analyses of the Orientalist and self-Orientalist elements respectively present in Bartol's novel *Alamut*, a historical contextualization of the emergence of the novel and its subsequent reception is needed. This will help us to understand why it was rejected in its author's time and popularized in our own: for this, factors inherently linked with the question of Orientalism in general and "Occidental self-Orientalism" in particular are pertinent.

## HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION: RECEPTIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF BARTOL'S *ALAMUT*

Vladimir Bartol was a Slovene writer from Trieste (1903-1967), best known for his novel *Alamut*, a novelistic account of an Islamic sect that flourished in 11<sup>th</sup> century Persia and was popularly known as the "Order of the Assassins" and their uncanny master Hasan as-Sabbah, nicknamed the "Old Man of the Mountain".

Bartol's education began in Trieste and continued in Ljubljana with the study of philosophy, which considerably marks his literary works. Klemen Jug, a somewhat controversial figure of the period, introduced him to the works of Friedrich Nietzsche; meanwhile Bartol discovered the work of Sigmund Freud independently and was greatly interested in psychoanalysis. Graduating in 1925, he studied at the Sorbonne in Paris in 1926-27 where he met Josip Vidmar, a Slovenian critic, essayist and politician, who invited Bartol to join the Yugoslav Front. Vidmar told

Bartol about the *Tales of Marco Polo* and suggested the legend of the "Old Man of the Mountain" as material for a short story. This was the spark that ignited the idea for the novel *Alamut*. In 1928 Bartol moved to Petrovaradin where he served in the army, while from 1933-1934 he lived in Belgrade and worked as the editor of the *Slovenian Belgrade Weekly*. Soon after he returned to Ljubljana and worked there as a freelance writer until 1941. It would take ten years for Bartol to study the historical material, write down schemes, drafts and four versions of *Alamut*, before he finally published it in 1938.

During his lifetime Bartol was not recognized as much as he would have liked, neither by the general public nor by his contemporaries in literature; the reasons for this vary widely. For the most part, his fellow writers disliked his work and felt free to disregard him. Nevertheless an element within the younger generation looked at him as an avant-garde cosmopolitan writer; a label that was also to be applied later from abroad, where he was seen as one of the few genuinely cosmopolitan Slovenian authors.<sup>1</sup> From the perspective of his Slovenian literary peers his works were seen as cynical and nihilistic, stylistically poor and at best essayistic philosophy disguised in the form of literature.<sup>2</sup> In between the two wars the then valid estheticical cannon, enforced mercilessly by the Slovenian literary triumvirate of Josip Vidmar and brothers Juša and Ferdo Kozak, regarded Bartol's prosaic work as too distant from the real problems of the Slovenian nation and in dereliction of the duty of Slovenian literature. This type of critique, which was rooted in the orthodox Slovenian perception of literature as a means to achieve national cohesion, was due to a very strong and rigid canon, nowadays still present and influential in Slovenian literature. Allegedly, during the first period, under the regime of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Bartol stated in bitterness that the Slovenian guild of writers is ruled by nationalists; while during the second, under the regime of Socialist Yugoslavia, he said it was ruled by ideologists, himself alone, together with a couple of exceptions, being part of an alternative camp of cosmopolitan Slovenian writers. Bartol's work was to be rehabilitated and recognized by his countrymen only long after his death on the eve of Slovenian independence, supported on the part of the now grown-up younger generation of writers and not contested anymore by the dying or already deceased older generation. One of the

main reasons for this recognition was undoubtedly the success his novel *Alamut* enjoyed abroad – especially in the west – a success that started in Paris in 1988.

While considering the reception of the novel during Bartol's own lifetime, we should also take into account what the author said about it himself and what were the criticisms he attempted to refute. Before the war he had two suggestions as to how his novel should be interpreted (as found in an article from 1938 entitled *Instead of an introduction to Alamut*): on the one hand he said that the novel was "a faithful historical reconstruction of 11<sup>th</sup> century Islamic Persia" while on the other hand he suggested that it was "a living metaphor for the age of dictatorship we live in", comparing the "Secret Order of the Assassins" to the totalitarian regimes of the period and the "Old Man of the Mountain" to Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin. Both interpretations were either accepted or rejected largely depending upon whether it was being applied by the older "conservative" generation or the younger "open-minded" one. But if the historicity of the novel is plainly erroneous – at least nowadays when extensive and more precise research on the sect in question is available – the question of the central character and his sect's functioning as a metaphor for the head of a totalitarian regime is still a possible interpretation.<sup>3</sup> One of the most insistent criticisms of *Alamut* was that its author preaches solipsism and cynical nihilism, as well as amoral decadence and Machiavellianism. It is important to note that in the Slovenia of the 50s any reference to Nietzsche or similar authors was regarded as *bourgeois decadence* at best or fascism at worst. Bartol defended himself by refuting any connection to Nietzsche whatsoever (even if everybody – critics and supporters alike – knew that was his philosophical affiliation), remodelling the previous two interpretations into a more acceptable form by amplifying his statement that *Alamut* was a metaphor for totalitarian regimes. Regardless of Bartol's own assertions and interpretations, his novel continued to be critically rejected, with the most frequent reasons besides nihilism and Machiavellianism being the exoticism of the novel, which was "too far from the real problems of the nation". But the distinctively nihilistic and Machiavellian character of the novel did not deter its French editor from publishing it in Paris in 1988, where its success was followed by a series of translations into other languages: Spanish and

- 1 Boris Paternu, for instance, rejects the interpretation of Bartol being an avant-garde post-modern author and finds the reasons for his revival in the 80s more in his Eco-style "encyclopedicness", which "pleased the taste of the younger generations, not caring so much for its philosophical value as much as the writer's "erudition, irony and his technique of story-telling"; for Paternu, *Alamut* is "not a post-modern novel" at all, but "a pre-modern novel, made in such a way that it pleased the post-modern sensibility" (Paternu, 1991, 89).
- 2 Drago Bajt gives us an insight into some of the period's opinions about Bartol's work being "mere training in essayistic": B. Borko spoke of the collection of short-prose works *Al'Araf* as "intellectualism" and "scientificism", and as "philosophical and psychological treatises" while L. Legiša and T. Potokar declared *Alamut* to be "half report, half psychological study", "nearer to artistic essays than creative prose" (Bajt, 1991, 77-78).
- 3 It is an important to mention the article was written after the publishing of the novel, and that in the same text he tells us that at the time of writing *Alamut* he did not want to consciously give any actual meaning to the novel. But it is also important to know that he first wanted to dedicate the book to Benito Mussolini, but was advised not to do so, and that then he tried to change the dedication into the more generic "To a certain dictator", an attempt for which he was again dissuaded by the editor Janez Žagar (Bajt, 1991).

Italian in 1989, German in 1992, even Turkish and Persian in 1995; later on also in English, Arabic, Greek and even Korean.

As the reasons of the failure at home, so do the reasons for the success abroad vary; however, the most distinctive and influential one is probably the appeal *Alamut* had on account of its chief Orientalist theme, which referred to what is known nowadays as "Islamic fundamentalism". The Paris editor, besides mentioning that it was a "cursed book in its own country", did not see any reason to mention the scandal about the "nihilistic amorality" of the author or his novel; furthermore, he was concerned to downplay the philosophical aspects of the novel, worrying they could be boring for the average reader. On the other hand, he was much more interested in amplifying its Orientalist aspect, promoting *Alamut* as a faithful description and interpretation of "Islamic fundamentalism." The editor probably had the right idea, at least in terms of marketing: the novel had a great success in a climate influenced by the then omnipresent "threat from the East", who went by the name of Khomeini.<sup>4</sup> He was being referred to as a "charismatic leader of immense popularity," considered a "champion of Islamic revival" and described as the "virtual face in Western popular culture of Islam" (Nasr, 2006, 138). It will not comes as a surprise to recall that the Hasan as-Sabbah of the novel was compared to Khomeini and vice versa; that many saw in *Alamut* a key to understanding the otherwise – at least for Westerns – incomprehensible phenomenon of "Islamic fundamentalism." Of course it was not only its political resonance that put the novel under the spotlight for it was also regarded as a masterpiece in "literary hedonism" (as the same Paris editor from promulgated); readable and enjoyable for a very broad audience. Still, it was again its political resonance that favoured the first translation of the novel into English. Al-Qaida's 9/11 terrorist attacks using hijacked planes gave an excellent pretext for the novel's publication in the United States, where *Alamut* was once again read as a rational explanation for what Westerners tend to believe to be the irrational behaviour of Islamic extremists, who disregard their own personal safety and have no moral compunction in killing civilians. As with the French translation, stereotypes about Islam and Muslims in general – as well as about the Assassins/Terrorists in particular – worked in the novel's favour, transforming

it into the most fabulous success Slovenian literature had ever known abroad. In short, as a "best-seller phenomenon" *Alamut* was smuggled into the consciousness of the allegedly "non-ideological" entertainment industry, while all the while reproducing Orientalist stereotypes disguised as answers to complex political and cultural problems.

What the English translation brought of most value was "an exhaustive summary of everything that Slovène 'Bartology' had created so far," as Miran Hladnik tells us about the afterword of his friend and translator of the novel Michael Biggins, adding that "Biggins's analysis of the four classifications of the novel is clearly his great contribution to 'Alamutology'" (Hladnik, 2004, 107). Both statements are bold exaggerations since the summary mentioned consists of no more than four pages in a seven-page afterword, that simplifies the arguments of the not-even-mentioned past or still-existing Bartologists or Alamutists. Let's examine Biggins's classification of the various different approaches used to interpret the novel (Biggins, 2004, 383–390) in detail. First, *Alamut* is a novelistic account of the 11<sup>th</sup> century struggle between the Ismaili sect and Seljuk power, based on historical references.<sup>5</sup> Second, *Alamut* is an allegorical representation of the rise of totalitarian regimes in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, where Hasan as-Sabbah can be seen as the mirror image of Hitler, Mussolini and/or Stalin. The third kind of interpretation, defined as "nationalistic" (of which Biggins complains that it rings "facile and flat" – and for which Hladnik in his commentary on Biggins immodestly explains that in this case we are speaking about his own original interpretation) – is a mirroring version of the second reading, for it compares the Ismailis to the underground organization TIGR ("Trst-Istra-Gorica-Rijeka"), since both were fighting against a foreign invader – and both used *medicine fortis* (as Machiavelli would put it) to achieve their ultimate goal, namely national liberation. While the first three types of interpretation are bound to the past, the fourth ties *Alamut* to the present, characterizing the novel as "actualistic," by stating that it is some kind of a "prophetic vision or at least an uncanny foreshadowing" of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century's fundamental conflict between the West and the Islamic world; according to this kind of interpretation the US is seen as the imperialistic Seljuk power, and conversely, the Ismailis are Al'Qaeda and Hasan as-Sabbah is Osama bin

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- 4 Syed Ruhollah Moosavi Khomeini was an Iranian political and religious leader of the 1979 Iranian Revolution, which following a national referendum became "Supreme Leader" of the country (a function defined in the constitution as the highest ranking political and religious authority of the nation). In his writings and speeches he propagated the Shi'ah Usuli theory of *velayat-e faqih* ("guardianship of the juriconsult") or "clerical authority", to include theocratic political rule by Islamic jurists.
- 5 Biggins' diction is highly exalted, as the novel for him is "a broadly historical if highly fictionalized account of 11<sup>th</sup> century Iran under Seljuk rule", where a reader can "appreciate its scrupulously researched historical background, the general absence of historical anachronisms, its account of the origins of the Shiite-Sunni conflict within Islam, and its exposition of the deep-seated resentments that the indigenous peoples of this area have had against foreign occupiers, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, for over a millennium." The work has some historical background, but considering Bartol used mainly 19<sup>th</sup> century historians, that his research was not as "scrupulous" as his worshippers tend to think, and that it is full of philosophical anachronisms, we can remain skeptical on this and any other account that tries to attribute to *Alamut* a firmer historical fundament that it has in reality.

Laden.<sup>6</sup> The fifth, Biggins's own personal interpretation, self-declared as "non-ideological" (as already the title of his pretentious afterword suggests: *Against Ideologies*), unsurprisingly sees *Alamut* as a "deconstruction of ideologies", itself being an anti-ideological work supposedly based on "personalistic philosophy".<sup>7</sup> Moreover, Biggins reassures us that Bartol was not at all the kind of a person to promote solipsism, nihilism or Medievalism, for he was "in love with life", and to convince us he quotes one of Bartol's own remarks from 1957 about *Alamut* being a novel about "friendship, love and truth", forgetting or not even knowing that this was the period when the author was forced to defend himself from the critiques that condemned his work as nihilistic Machiavellianism.

Besides the interpretations from the fourth group, Biggins tells us that he personally most dislikes those from the third while favouring the first two: for him the nationalistic interpretations, on the one hand, miss the obvious fact that nationalist ideologies are an anachronism in 11<sup>th</sup> century Persia and that Hasan's articulated nihilism is driven from a pure lust for power without any greater goals, while on the other hand, the "actualistic" ones tends to stereotype the Middle East as a trans-historical "home of fanatics and unquestioning fundamentalists"; moreover, the combination of both interpretations can produce a "really perverted reading" by finding in the novel "an apology for terrorism," something Biggins is horrified even to consider. Biggins' categorical rejection can be discarded if we interpret it as a distinctively American ideology, which – if we push it to the extreme – tends to label "every desperate aggressive deed by those that have exhausted all other means to defend their rights as terrorism out of paranoia," as Hladnik replayed to his friend and colleague. What both Hladnik and Biggins miss in this regard is an anachronism typical of our present time, namely the equation between "terrorists" and "assassins": the assassinations of the Ismailis targeted high-ranking military officials, political figures, influential bureaucrats and even heads of states, while civilian causalities were almost

zero; meanwhile modern terrorism is purposely intended to harm civilians in order to spread terror in the population (as its very name tells us) and by doing so to influence mainstream politicians, who are in final analysis again the true targets of such extreme practices.

As we have seen, the receptions and interpretations of Bartol's *Alamut* varied through time; its place in the history of literature being characterized by its rejection in Slovenia during the author's lifetime and by its popularization in the West afterwards. The common denominator of both its successes and failures was precisely its specific Orientalist character and set-up (the "Secret Order of the Assassins" operating in 11<sup>th</sup> century Perisa under the command of the "Old Man of the Mountain"), expressed in a distinctively Occidental self-Orientalist manner through the numerous references to nihilism and Machiavellianism, emblematically represented in the alleged "supreme motto of the Ismailis": "Nothing is true, everything is permitted." We will deal with the Occidental self-Orientalist aspect of the novel later and for now focus solely on the Orientalist elements.

#### **ALAMUT'S ORIENTALISM: THE "SECRET ORDER OF THE ASSASSINS", THE "ARTIFICIAL PARADISE", THE "TALE OF THE THREE SCHOOLFELLOWS" AND THE "OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAIN"**

There are four main motives in the novel that can help us to identify the various Orientalist elements scattered in Bartol's *Alamut*: first of all the "Secret Order of the Assassins" then the motive of the "Artificial Paradise" after the "Tale of the Three SchoolFellows" and finally the "Old Man of the Mountain". All of these motives are, as I will try to show, first of all an imaginative fruit of the Islamic world itself, which were exported during the period of the Crusades and given greater currency only later on in the West.

"Assassin" the name by which the Shi'a sect of the Nizari Ismailis were known,<sup>8</sup> has been traced to some

6 Such was also the *mis-en-scène* of *Alamut* as a piece of theatre from 2005, directed by Sebastian Horvat and dramatised by Dušan Jovanović (coproduction of Ljubljana's theater *Drama* with the *Salzburg Festspiele*).

7 To qualify his statement Biggins mentions the connections between Bartol and personalism, which was seen as an alternative to the mainstream currents of the period, such as, for example, Freudian psychoanalyses. Although it is true that Bartol studied in Paris with a number of his fellow-countryman who would later become "personalist" (like the psychologist Anton Trstenjak or the poet Edvard Kocbek), it is also obvious that his true sympathies were with Nietzsche (he even translated some parts of *Zarathustra* into Slovene) and that the living figures that influenced his life and work were not Trstenjak or Kocbek, but first and foremost Klement Jug, one of the most influential thinkers of the younger generations of Slovenian intellectuals in the interwar period. Jug was an alpinist, writer and philosopher, whose controversial "solipsistic ethics" influenced Bartol (Virk, 1991).

8 Ismailism is a branch of the Shia while the Shia is in turn a branch of Islam, which originated as a faction of Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Mohammed, who claimed power after the murder of Mohammed's third successor. All the different factions of Shia Islam have in common the belief that Ali and his successors in Mohammed's family are the only legitimate rulers and religious authorities from the time that the Prophet died. Shia Islam had become very strong by the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and one branch, represented by the Abbasid dynasty, even took over the Caliphate in Baghdad, but then turned their backs on the other Shia and became the stronghold of Sunnism and the Sunni, who formed and still form the majority of Muslims. The Shia group we are interested in sprang from those Shia that limited the imamate ("leadership") to only one line of Ali's descendants; that is, the line by Mohammed's daughter Fatima. In the context of the dissolution of the Fatimids and their capital in Cairo at the hands of the Seljuk Turks, the scattered Ismailis began with a totally new kind of policy as well as religious and philosophical doctrines and soon split from the Fatimids altogether. Calling themselves

conflicting potential origins. The most common interpretation, present also in Bartol's novel, can be found in de Sacy's famous article *Mémoire sur la dynastie des Assassins et sur l'étymologie de leur nom*, who two centuries ago showed how the term was used not only by Christian and Jewish but also by primary Muslim writers (Sacy, 1818, 322-403). The Arabic form of the name "Assassin" was *hashishiyya* or *hashishiyyun*, meaning quite literally the users of the drug *hashish*, a preparation from cannabis. The use of the drug was attributed to the "Assassins" as an explanation for their apparently "irrational behaviour", with the insinuation that they used hashish to induce some kind of battle-frenzy, disregarding their own personal safety and thus making them suitable for suicidal assassination missions. Apart from the obvious fact that the drug in question is not suited for combat, the most plausible explanation for the connection of the sect with the drug seems – at least according to Hodgson – "that, already despised as a minority, they had special opportunities to become associated with the prevailing vices" in the popular view; moreover, Hodgson mentions another interpretation that goes along same lines; namely that "the term was scornful rather than descriptive" and that a popular name for them would be "less likely to describe a secret practice of theirs than to express the loathing and the fear for them." (Hodgson, 2005, 136) In short, *hashishiyyun* was most probably a popular term from the time used to derogate the Nizari Ismailis and was later picked up as fact by Christian writers during the Crusades. From here it is only one step to the generalization that made the practice of assassination a "specialty" of the sect, which, in fact, merely lent it their name:

The word "assassin", which the West uses for terrorist murderers in general, was originally a nickname of the sect, and had nothing to do with killing. It received this connotation in our language only by analogy to the famous murders of the "Assassins" – whose "chief object", however, was not murder, and especially not "to assassinate Crusaders." (Hodgson, 2005, 1)

It is also questionable whether the *fidai* or "devotee" formed a special rank within the Isma'ili organization: "There seems little reason to suppose that the fidayeen in any case formed a bottom rank in the Nizari hierarchy [...] or that they received special training in languages, or wore special garb, as has been suggested" (Hodgson, 2005, 82-83). Similar adaptations were made also about

the suicidal assassination missions in order to amplify the sinister and "fundamentalist" nature of the sect in question, present in numerous mythological accounts about the "Secret Order of the Assassins" (Daftary, 1994). In Bartol's novel the fidayeen are depicted as a special rank of soldiers, trained and prepared before combat, enacting suicidal attacks following the will of their master – a trait that leads us directly to our next element, the "artificial paradise".

To introduce this second motive, let's return to de Sacy and his own interpretation of the name "Assassins", an interpretation that was meant to be a "scientific" back-up for one of Marco Polo's famous *Tales*, itself one of the main sources for the many legends circulating in the Western minds about the sect in question – Bartol via Vidmar not excluded. De Sacy disposes of one possibility, which was nevertheless repeated after him; namely, that the hashish was used to drive the fidayeen into a state of frenzy. This seemed unlikely to him, because the patience, carefulness and rationality of the murders attributed to the "Assassins" eliminates the probability of any use of such a drug, whether as a momentary stimulant or as a regular habit. That's why de Sacy turned to the legend surrounding the sect as a historical explanation, namely that the fidayeen were artificially prepared beforehand for their deeds. Relaying on Marco Polo's tale, de Sacy deduced that hashish was a secret property of the chiefs of the "Assassins" used to stimulate dreams of paradise as a reward for their obedience. This tale of Marco Polo contains another, more elaborate story about an "artificial paradise", which occupied the popular mind and best suited Bartol's own novelistic intent; a story that is also contained in the *Sira Hakim*, an Arabic novel completed in 1430.<sup>9</sup> This version of the story recounts the exploits of an Ismail from the time of the Fatimid ruler Zahir, who lands at Tripoli with his fidayeen and then installs himself at the fortress of Masyaf, where he builds a vast garden with a four-story pleasure-building in the midst, filled with luxuries and slaves of both sexes. In the evenings he invited men attracted by his personal charm to his nearby residence, drugged them in such a way that they were unaware of it and then conveyed them through a secret tunnel connecting his residence to the garden, where they were told they are experiencing paradise. After the experience, Ismail tells them that if they will keep the secret and serve his cause they will be sent to paradise, thus binding their will to his own. As we can clearly see when reading *Alamut*, Bartol added or changed little of

"Nizaris" (because they started as supporters of Nizar, one of the two sons of the imam Mustansir who disputed the Ismaili imamate in Egypt) they fought against the Seljuks and from a certain point in history onwards even against the whole of Islam, by seizing fortresses, conquering villages, attempting cities by *coup de main* and by means of assassination, a practice for which they became renowned.

<sup>9</sup> In 1813 the Austrian Orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall announced that at the Imperial Library (now National Library) in Vienna he found the unique manuscript of this novel, entitled *Sirat amir al-mu'minin al'Hakim bi-Amr Allah*. Deliberately, the authorship of this work had been falsely attributed to the famous Muslim biographer Ibn Khallikan, probably to enhance its prestige. In fact, the novel is supposed to have been written in Syria in the late Mamluk era either by a local Sunni Muslim or an Arab Christian, who was familiar with the version handed down by Marco Polo (Daftary, 1994, 118-119).

the original story: he changed the tunnel into an elevator, transferred the location from Masyaf in Syria to Alamut in Persia and substituted the main protagonist for Hasan as-Sabbah while retaining the original nickname of "Old Man of the Mountain".

We'll come to this intriguing figure in a moment but before doing so let's take a look at our third Orientalist element, another legend that circulated at the period, but this time about the first famous deed of the Nizari Ismailis from Alamut, namely the assassination of the mighty vizier Nizam al-Mulk in 1092. According to Hodgson, the "tale of the three schoolfellows" was a creation of the Nizaris themselves – a tale that became enshrined in legend after the renown historian Rashid ad-Din published it as part of the biography of Nizam al-Mulk and came to be popularized in the West by Fitzgerald's preface to his own translation of Omar Khayyam's poetry (Hodgson, 2005, 137). This tale goes like this: Omar Khayyam, Nizam al-Mulk and Hasan as-Sabbah were talented students of the same master, who agreed that whoever would rise to high fortune first would help the others. Omar, a *bon-vivant* poet, chose a life of leisure, while Hasan as-Sabbah competed at court with Nizam al-Mulk, who became vizier of the mighty Seljuk Empire. When Hasan was near to overtaking Nizam in influence, the canny vizier tricked his old friend into exile. In exile in Egypt he joined the Ismailis and afterwards, returning in secret to Iran for a mission, he started to organize the supporters of Nizar, stating that with just two men as determined as himself he could overthrow the mighty Seljuk empire. His followers at first considered that he had gone mad and offered him medicine but after this he took over Alamut and began his long-planned project by the act of sending an assassin to take Nizam al-Mulk's life for revenge. After the Sultan's death, which caused the empire to splinter among the quarrelling *amirs* ("princes"), Hasan's followers were told: "Which of the two of us was mad when you gave me medicines?" Later Sunni historians attempted to clean Nizam al-Mulk and to picture Hasan as-Sabbah as a mere madman with the lust for power; these are the versions that mostly also came to occupy the Western mind. Again, Bartol's writing delivers a faithful reproduction of the original story as promulgated by the Ismailis

themselves, portraying Hasan as-Sabbah a man who soberly claimed revenge for an injustice.

And now comes the fourth element, the leader of the Nizari Ismailis at Alamut, a personage concerning whom we have less than satisfactory historical material: an imaginative short biography in Rashid ad-Din, a large excerpt of his writings preserved by Shahrastani as well as, of course, a vast number of references and quotations scattered here and there, where fact cannot be safely separated from fiction. Nonetheless, there is enough evidence to show that a Hasan as-Sabbah existed<sup>10</sup> and that this man stood at the very centre of the new Ismaili movement that started at the fortress of Alamut – in former times called *Aluh Amut*, a place that is surrounded by almost the same legendary aura as its master himself. There a lot of variants of the story about the taking of the fortress, not to mention the mystic coincidences related to it, all served to amplify the importance of the founding-figure.<sup>11</sup> In the version we find also in Bartol's novel, we are shown a Hasan as-Sabbah persuading the former owner of Alamut to sell – for a pre-definite large amount – as much land as could be included within a cowhide; when the naive man accepts, thinking that the man standing before him was crazy, Hasan proceeded to cut the cowhide into strips which laid end to end are used to enclose the whole fortress. As is the case with the "tale of the three schoolfellows," we can see a repetition of the pattern used to characterise Hasan as-Sabbah: first treated as a madman by his surroundings and then the supposed madness being disclosed as geniality, a trait that Bartol was eager to exploit when describing the relations between the master and his subjects in Alamut. In fact, Bartol seized every opportunity to stress the discipline and rigor of his main character, traits that were ascribed also to the real, historical Hasan as-Sabbah. He is portrayed as remaining constantly in his residence, studying, writing and directing operations from there, and – as is invariably stated – during all the time of his stay in Alamut he never went out of his home, except twice – onto the rooftop. His relationship with his fellow men is portrayed as sober, rational and generally cold – the same being true of his relationship with his family members. During a time of want he send his daughters away with their mothers and does not bring

10 The young Hasan was born to a Twelver Shia family, apparently in Qumm, northwestern Iran, and studied in nearby Rayy to enter the clerical profession. Everything else about his youth is questionable; we have only variants of the legendary "tale of the three schoolfellows". There are translations from Rashid ad-Din of what is supposed to be his own memoirs, telling how he was convinced of the truth of the Ismaili's doctrines; but there are many reliable accounts informing how in fact he joined the Ismailis in Isfahan under Abd al-Malik's command and, following that, how he arrived in Cairo in 1078, which was at the time the headquarters of their imam. The only credible fact remaining from the period of his stay in Egypt is that he was there during troubled times, when the question of succession between Nizar and his brother had not yet arisen. Upon his return to Isfahan, he began a series of travels that brought him through the major Ismaili centers in western Iran (Yazd, Kirman, Khuzistan, Iraq Ajami) as well as the major centers of Seljuk power, spending all the 1080s recruiting men and looking for a site to set up his headquarters, which he finally found in the fortress of Alamut (Hodgson, 2005, 41–51).

11 One of the meaningful coincidences the Ismaili believed in was, for example, that the letters of *Aluh Amut* in the numeric reckoning (each Arabic letter has a numeric value; the value of the sum of the letters in a word is the value of that word) give the date of Hasan as-Sabbah's arrival at the fortress.

them back later on. Moreover, he has his own sons executed – one on a charge of murder, the other for being accused of drinking wine. The latter incident was not missed by Bartol who used the killing of the son to amplify his character's "diabolicality" (on a few occasions in the novel he is called "dreamer from Hell"). He thus – knowingly or unknowingly – uses the same explanation given also by the Orientalist von Hammer, known for being excessively disdainful toward the Nizari Ismailis: "Human nature is not naturally so diabolical that the historian must, among several doubtful motives to an action, always decide for the worst; but, in the founder of this society of vice, the establisher of the murderous order of the Assassins, the most horrible is the most likely." (Hammer-Purgstall, 1968, 72) Hence von Hammer deducted, as did Bartol after him (although for completely opposite reasons), that Hasan as-Sabbah's son was killed not for the sake of strict application of the law but rather as a deliberate act intended to affect the community in such a way as to give a picture of himself as someone who disregards all natural bonds of affection. What Bartol therefore did, following Western Orientalists such as von Hammer, was to amplify all these uncanny traits for his own purpose, namely to give a face to what he believed to be the "supreme motto of the Ismailis": "Nothing is true, everything is permitted."

Before proceeding to the analysis of this most explicit trait of self-Orientalism in *Alamut*, a few remarks. It is intriguing to consider that popular Western myths about the Assassins were first born in the Islamic world itself, due to the fact that the majority Sunni population regarded the Shia in general and the Nizari Isma'ilis in particular as a dangerous threat to their more moderate interpretation of Islam. Thus, Orientalism, allegedly a complete Western invention, can be found – at least in our case – already present in the Islamic world itself, from where it spread into and developed in the ideological context of the West, where it gained the institutionalized form we are familiar with. What we are dealing here with is a clear case of "self-Orientalism in reverse" or what we have labelled as "Oriental self-Orientalism": the Orientalist myths circulating about "the Secret Order of the Assassins" turning out to be an imaginative fruit that was first born by the same Arabo-Islamic Oriental Other as its own, internal "Oriental Other".

### BARTOL'S SELF-ORIENTALISM: "NOTHING IS TRUE, EVERYTHING IS PERMITTED"

The two most emblematic elements, through which we can palpably grasp Bartol's "self-othering" onto the Assassins – and especially onto the figure of Hasan as-Sabbah – are related to the distinctively European philosophies of nihilism and Machiavellianism. In the book there numerous references to the teaching of Greek philosophers, which attestably were circulating in the Arabo-Islamic world of the period – while nihilism and Machiavellianism clearly were not.

The primary motif of the novel, which is asserted at the very beginning of the book, is referred to as the "supreme motto of the Ismailis", stating: "Nothing is true, everything is permitted". We have seen how Bartol always insisted on the historicity of the novel, on many occasions stating that he studied numerous historical materials pertinent to the related period and society; he also insisted particularly strenuously that the meaning of the phrase "Nothing is true, everything is permitted" was not a mere echo of Nietzsche. For Bartol *Alamut* represented not only an original work of literature, but also a historically accurate study; thus no doubt is to be cast on the genuineness of the motto's source. Nobody went so far as to research the true origin of the sentence since from the very first literary studies of Bartol's work, his own reassurances on the historicity of the novel were taken seriously and all that followed up until the 90s reproduced the same error.<sup>12</sup> In truth, at least if we read his still living contemporaries, everybody knew the phrase was from Nietzsche, but nobody could find proofs that it was not an Ismaili motto in the first place. Only after Janko Kos went into a tiresome research finding Bartol's original sources (mainly historians and Orientalists from the 19. century), the origin of the misunderstanding showed itself.

As a matter of fact, it was Nietzsche who, in typical Occidental self-Orientalist fashion, popularized the phrase along with the conviction that it is "the supreme motto of the Ismailis". Thus spoke Nietzsche in his *On the Genealogy of Morality* (published in 1887):

When the Christian crusaders in the Orient came across that invincible order of Assassins – that order of free spirits *par excellence* whose lowest order received, through some channel or other, a hint about that symbol and spell reserved for the uppermost

<sup>12</sup> In 1969 Marta Silvester makes reference to the sources, mentioning the names of the Orientalists and historians used by Bartol at the time, but does not use them by first hand, so that she follows Bartol's autobiographical statement that the famous sentence of the Ismailis comes from Hakim I (Silvester, 1960). On the other hand, Nada Ulaga personally consulted his historical references in 1961 but she could do so only for Weil and Malcom, not for Flügel and Michaud. She concluded that the phrase can of course be found in Nietzsche and also in Dostoevsky, but that the true source is the Ismailis themselves, who in turn took it from Hakim I (Ulaga, 1961). The same assumption was followed by latter researchers, who depended entirely on the previous works on the novel: such was the case with Miran Košuta and his research from the years 1983-83 at the Faculty of Arts of Ljubljana; such was also the case with Drago Bajt, who wrote an extensive afterword for the 1984 edition of the novel (Bajt, 1984); and such was again the case with Košuta, who wrote another afterword for the novel, this time for the 1988 edition (Košuta, 1988).

echelons alone, as their secret: "nothing is true, everything is permitted." (Nietzsche, 1976, 150)

As Janko Kos, a contemporary Slovene literary scholar, reconstructs the misunderstanding, it was precisely from Nietzsche that Bartol took the idea in the first place, later bolstering it with erroneous historical sources, which they themselves were probably used by Nietzsche in the first place. In Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes* (first published in 1838), it is mentioned that, according to the Isma'ili teachings, a proselyte must undergo some stages of initiation, from which emerging "at the end he would forfeit the joke of any religion and become a true materialist, not recognizing any god or any moral constraint". However, it is only in Gustav Flügel's *Geschichte der Araber* (published in 1867) that we encounter the phrase for the first time, as a mere comment on Sacy's own articulation, in the passage where it is said that for a student it is necessary to undergo eight levels of knowledge to reach the ninth level and thus gain the supreme wisdom of *Nichts zu glauben und Alles tun zu dürfen* (Kos, 1991, 37–38). The famous sentence attributed to the Isma'ilis is, therefore, another clear case of Occidental Orientalism in reverse, for it was a common slogan in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and was used in journals, essays and other sites of popular philosophy to designate and disqualify atheism/materialism as amoral. Therefore, in reading Sacy's work, it was Flügel himself who paved the road for the erroneous belief concerning the "supreme motto of the Assassins" while Bartol reproduced and popularized it via Nietzsche. Just as in Nietzsche, so also in Bartol's *Alamut* where it functions in terms of a projection upon the Oriental Other of a culturally-specific, nihilistic dilemma between moral restraint and absolute freedom. The phrase itself is, of course, due to its philosophical character, open to numerous interpretations that we cannot explore further here in all their variety. Instead, we shall limit ourselves to a single interpretation, namely by connecting the phrase with the other cornerstone of Bartol's self-Orientalism, namely its Machiavellianism.

Four years before *Alamut* was published, King Alexander of Yugoslavia was shot by Bulgarian and Croatian national radicals. (This assassination can be compared to an earlier, even more famous political assassination 1914 when Franz Ferdinand was shot by Gavrilo Princip, a member of the radical Bosnian nationalist group Mlada Bosna). We already mentioned that Bartol had been invited join the Yugoslav Front by Josip Vidmar and that he sympathized with the underground organization TIGR. Despite the fact that he never became a member of either, we have at least one statement that demonstrates his allegiance: when one of the group's most prominent leaders Zorko Jelinčič was captured and executed by the Italian fascists, his friend and admirer Bartol stated in his diary: "I will avenge you, Zorko!" I mention the two famous assassinations in this context, because TIGR was

also a radical nationalist underground group that made an attempt to assassinate Mussolini. It is precisely in this context that Hladnik discerns the basis for his "nationalism thesis", concluding that "*Alamut* belongs to the genre of the historical novel of which the basic demand is a nationally relevant message." (Hladnik, 2004, 110) One of the reasons why Bartol's work was disregarded in his own time was that it did not conform to the mainstream ideology of Slovenian literature at the time (namely the nation-building mission). However, Hladnik's interpretation seems to direct us in the opposite direction: through a distinctively self-Orientalist gesture Bartol apparently wanted to "join the club" and write a nationalistic novel after all. Therefore, a parallel can be made between the Nizari Ismailis fighting for liberation from the Seljuks and the Partisans in Yugoslavia in general and TIGR in Slovenia in particular fighting for national liberation against the fascist occupier. As tempting as this interpretation sounds, according to my advice, this was not the case since we have many statements from Bartol's diaries that show how he despised his nationalistic literary contemporaries for being "too narrow." Moreover, if we consider his strong affiliation with philosophy and generally apolitical attitude (apart from the two abovementioned very tangential connections with politics), we must search for an alternative interpretation.

As already mentioned, there are many philosophical references scattered throughout Bartol's novel. However, apart from quotations of ancient Greek philosophers (Democritus, Archimedes, Heraclites, Epicurus), which were very-well known to the Muslim intellectuals of the period, most of the quotations or semi-quotations refer to later philosophies, such as, for instance, a Cartesian interpretation of Protagoras (Juvan, 1990, 96–99). But none of the numerous quotations or paraphrases can compete with the weight attributed to the main idea of the novel – "Nothing is true, everything is permitted" – which is, as we showed earlier, a distinctively European product related to the question of nihilism, as popularized by Nietzsche. Flügel, as a traditional Orientalist, used the quote disqualify the Oriental Other. In Bartol, however, we have a clear case of self-Orientalism, for he imbues it with a distinctively positive value, as is clearly seen in the extent and quality of the novel's text that is dedicated to Hasan as-Sabbah's philosophy. Now, first of all, Bartol used Nietzsche's aphorism "Nothing is true, everything is permitted" in connection to another great European writer, namely Dostoevsky, who in *The Brothers Karamazov* states "if there is no God, then everything is permitted." When, in a parallel movement, Bartol's Hasan as-Sabbah deduces "Nothing is true and therefore everything is permitted" from the cognition that "there is no God", this is a typically Cartesian move that links truth with God (God being the guarantee of truth). From the detailed analyses Janko Kos made on the question of nihilism in *Alamut* (1990, 39–51), one is tempted to put forward the thesis that

Bartol wanted not only to enter into the general European discourse on nihilism, but also to challenge the primacy of Slovenian literary colossus, Ivan Cankar. In his work *King of Betajnova*, Cankar develops the classical antagonism between the morally corrupted Kantor and his ethical antagonist Maks, predictably preferring the latter over the former. Bartol, on the other hand, shows an explicit sympathy towards the amoral Hasan as-Sabbah, who uses a nihilistic philosophy to underpin his Machiavellian designs.

Already Hladnik had detected that this was one of the chief reasons for the "disguised, dubious or suspicious Slovene attitude towards this literary work" because modern Slovenian readers (and Biggins together with them) considered ibn Tahir a healthy counter to Hasan's reprehensible manipulations: "In our culture, literature is *a priori* highly respected, and even works with morally questionable messages are attributed with positive characteristics." (Hladnik, 2004, 110) The hypocritical Slovene attitude that Hladnik criticizes should be read in the context of his provocative interpretation, namely that in *Alamut*, we are dealing with a "nationalistic" and "terroristic" novel. A general Slovenian attitude towards the problem of nationalism and what is labelled as "terrorism" is that Slovenians want to have two incompatible things: to carry a successful historical deed of nation-building and at the same time to be an example of moral justness. But, as Hladnik remarks, "Bartol dedicated much of his writing to persuading readers how these two extremes are incompatible and that deciding on one of the two possibilities is inevitable." (Hladnik, 2004, 111) The question that arises is a Machiavellian question *par excellence*, for Machiavelli argued that extreme political measures, such as assassinations, are legitimate means only when it comes to the supreme political act of founding a state (and only then, contrary to some "Machiavellian" interpretations that would like to see the phrase "the end justifies the means" generalized for all kinds of human action).

What Bartol showed through *Alamut* is that nihilism without Machiavellianism – that is, without a political goal such as nation-building – leads to paralysis of action or at best to "vulgar nihilism" (the mentality that one is "permitted to do everything", i.e. one acts as one pleases), while nihilism in connection with Machiavellianism can produce a political action that is in final instance legitimised by its goal. This goal of not only liberation from an occupier (traditionally considered a morally approvable goal) but also the constitution of a nation-state, was a potentially reprovable, but nevertheless actual process unfolding before his eyes at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In sum, it is only by interpreting *Alamut* as philosophical novel connecting nihilism with Machiavellianism that we can see the reasons for Bartol's curious self-Orientalist gesture in projecting these two distinctively European or Western ideas upon the Arabo-Islamic Oriental Other *par excellence*, namely, the "Assassins."

## CONCLUSION

In the previous sections of this article we tried to demonstrate how the historical and cultural background related to the Orientalist mythology of the Assassins shaped Bartol's novel *Alamut* in terms of its four main Orientalisms (the name of the "Assassins," the legends about the "Artificial Paradise", the "Tale of the Three Schoolfellows" and the "Old Man of the Mountain") and two of its self-Orientalist elements (nihilism, Machiavellianism). Now, in the conclusion, we would like to address the question of how the novel fits into the more general context of the post-9/11 era in the West, an era significantly marked by a problematically dichotomist imperialism/terrorism ideology.

At the beginning of the final part of his book, Said stated that Orientalism, especially that which concerns the Othering of the Arabo-Islamic Oriental, entered a new phase after the generally accepted geopolitical shift in power relations between Europe and the US that occurred in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: "Since World War II, and more noticeably after each of the Arab-Israeli wars, the Arab Muslim has become a figure in American popular culture, in the academic world, in the policy of the planner's world, and in the world of business." (Said, 2003, 285–286) Orientalism, at least as conceptualized by Said, always went hand-in-hand with an imperialistic agenda. From this perspective, it is understandable that after the US took over the management of the old British and French colonies in the Middle East, it also took over the European Orientalist tradition and shaped it in to its own culturally-specific purpose; for example, in academia, it would henceforth be euphemistically known as "Area Studies." Melani McAlister's book *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and US interests in the Middle East* delivers a precious historical insight into the development of Orientalism between 1945 and 2000 in American culture, stating that the latter presents in an updated morphing of the former, "a new version of Orientalism, one that revitalizes, in a more subtle form, the insistence that fixed cultural differences must structure the organization of political power" (McAlister's, 2001, 12). Now our analysis of Bartol's novel in the context of the success of its English translation in the US poses a simple, yet intriguing question: how can Occidental self-Orientalism – the identification of the Western self with such an Arabo-Islamic Oriental Other as the Assassin, who is regarded as the forerunner of the modern Terrorist – be possible in a imperialistic context that is so infused with anti-terrorist ideology?

To answer this question, we should take a small step backward and look at the relationship between Orientalism and self-Orientalism. The first conceptualizations of self-Orientalism, or, more precisely, Occidental self-Orientalism, arose through a critical analysis of the thesis that Orientalism presupposes an imperialistic agenda. The

question was simple and yet it had radical consequences for the understanding of what the concept of Orientalism designates. Basically, this can be articulated as follows: What about the Orientalist traditions that were developed in those countries that had no colonies in the Orient and whose colonization consequently took place solely in their cultural imagination? Some scholars tried to demonstrate that self-Orientalist tendencies of identifying oneself with the Oriental Other arose precisely in those countries that had no imperialistic agenda in the East, as the already-mentioned Germana showed in the case of German self-Orientalism from the Baroque period to Romanticism. One can observe a similar movement to be taking place in the instance of Slovenian self-Orientalism, with Bartol's *Alamut* being the most exemplary case. If a large majority of Orientalist products from the Western entertainment industry (from novels to movies and video-games) consolidates the imperialism/terrorism ideology through an Orientalist move (depicting the Arabo-Islamic Other in negative tonalities as the "enemy"), then *Alamut* presents a self-Orientalist subversion of such ideology by allowing Western readers to identify with the Assassins, the alleged forerunners of modern terrorism. The black-and-white depiction of the world in *Alamut* resembles, to a remarkable degree, the world as depicted by the post-9/11 imperialism/terrorism ideology. From this perspective, it is possible to detect a curious resemblance between the subjects of these two ideologies, namely, the Seljuk Empire/Assassins and the US-led-West/Al-Qaida-led-Terrorists. At the very centre of this trans-historical transposition stands the famous sentence, "Nothing is true, everything is permitted", through which the past "Secret of Order of the Assassins" can be superimposed onto the present "Global Terrorist Organization." To be sure, these kinds of misunderstandings are not uncommon, scholarly writings not excluded. Bernard Lewis, for example, in his book *The Assassins: A radical sect in Islam*, devoted almost the entire final chapter, entitled "Means and ends", in an elucidation of the thesis that the Assassins "invented terrorism" – even if he was well aware of the fact that the Assassins did not invent political assassination, but merely lent it their name: "In one respect the Assassins are without precedent – in the planned, systematic and long-term use of terror as a political weapon" (Lewis, 2003, 129). The crucial difference between the assassination policy of the Nizari Isma'ilis and the modern terrorist organizations is the already mentioned fact that, while the latter's primary targets tend to be civilians, the former almost exclusively limited its attacks

to political and religious leaders. As already Hodgson noted in this regard:

It must be noted that the Nizaris and their Shiite predecessors have by no means been alone in using assassination as a technique. It is a weapon which had a particular appeal since it has reduced all men to a common level; for as compared with war it is relatively bloodless and merciful, striking the great and guilty rather than the small people, the large numbers who apart from ignorant prejudice are likely as not indifferent to the cause at stake. (Hodgson, 2005, 84)

Thus, to answer the question proposed above: the distinctive self-Othering of the Western subject, as mediated by Bartol's *Alamut*, is made possible precisely by allowing the reader to identify with the anti-imperialistic Oriental Other, embodied in the figure of the "Assassin", while at the same time keeping its distance from modern Terrorism. As in history, so in the novel, the main targets are not civilian ones, although the political goals of both "Machiavellian techniques" differ from each other: the Nizari Ismailis struggled for recognition in the Islamic world, while Bartol's "Assassins" fought for "national liberation" from the Seljuk yoke.

We began our analysis with a conceptualisation of Orientalism and self-Orientalism. Stating that the latter is a specific permutation of the former with potentially subversive characteristics, we put advanced a distinction between Occidental and Oriental self-Orientalism. Based on this framework we have tried to demonstrate how *Alamut* conforms to the tradition Orientalist mythology in its portrayal of the so-called "Assassins". Apart from identifying Bartol's work as a continuation of the traditional Orientalist exploitation of the mythologisation of the Assassins in Western culture, we have pointed out the distinctive self-Orientalist elements of *Alamut* in order to show its specific mediation of a subversive self-othering for the Western self. Moreover, it turned out that the actualisation of such an Occidental self-Orientalism is facilitated by a distinctive Westernisation of the Oriental Other in question (by way of projecting the dilemmas raised by the European philosophies of nihilism and Machiavellianism). Finally, considering the political and cultural context, we have attempted to discuss imperialism/terrorism ideology through our reading of *Alamut* by applying the distinction to the policies of the historical "Assassins" and their supposed modern heirs.

## ORIENTALIZEM V BARTOLOVEM ROMANU ALAMUT – "NIČ NI RESNIČNO, VSE JE DOVOLJENJO"

Mirt KOMEL

Univerza v Ljubljani, Fakulteta za družbene vede, Kardeljeva ploščad 5, 1000 Ljubljana  
E-mail: mirt.komel@fdv.uni-lj.si

## POVZETEK

V članku je Bartolov roman *Alamut* interpretiran kot primer orientalizma v literaturi. Skozi epistemološki okvir Saidovega Orientalizma je sam koncept razvit skozi njegovo specifično permutacijo kot samo-orientalizem. Vpeljano je razlikovanje med dvema različicama samo-orientalizma: "Orientalni" in "Okcidentalni" samo-orientalizem. Pred samo aplikacijo epistemološkega okvira na Bartolov *Alamut* je podano splošno zgodovinsko ozadje avtorja in njegovega dela, s posebno pozornostjo namenjeno spremenljajočim se recepcijam in interpretacijam romana v različnih historičnih in geopolitičnih kontekstih (negativna recepcija doma, uspeh na tujem, poleg tega pa še različne interpretacije o vsebini). Osrednji del članka sestoji iz dveh ločenih analiz *Alamuta*: prva se posveča orientalističnim ("Skrivna sekta Ašašinov", "Umetni paradiž", "Zgodba o treh šolarjih", "Starec iz gore"), druga pa samo-orientalističnim elementom (nihilizem in makiavelizem). Članek poskuša pokazati, kako so prav vsi štirje poglaviti orientalistični motivi najprej in predvsem domišljjski sadež samega islamskega sveta, ki se je izvozil tekom križarskih vojn in dobil veljavo na zahodu šele kasneje – in podobno, kako sta bila poglavita dva samo-orientalistična elementa (nihilizem, makiavelizem) kot distiktivno zahodni invenciji projecirana na arabsko-islamskega Drugega par excellence, t. j. ašašine. V sklepnom delu članka je obravnavana povezava med historičnimi "Ašašini" in modernimi "teroristi" znotraj specifičnega kulturnega in političnega konteksta prevoda in izdaje romana v angleščino v post-9/11 ZDA, zaznamovano z prevladujočo imperialistično/teroristično ideologijo.

**Ključne besede:** Vladimir Bartol, *Alamut*, orientalizem, samo-orientalizem

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## "I TURCHI AL SOLITO CRUDELI...": IMAGES OF PAOLO ERIZZO AND THE VENETIAN HEROINES ANNA ERIZZO AND BELISANDRA MARAVIGLIA IN HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THE VISUAL ARTS

*Polona VIDMAR*

University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts, Koroška cesta 160, 2000 Maribor, Slovenia  
e-mail: polona.vidmar@um.si

### *ABSTRACT*

*The article explores depictions of the Venetian heroes Paolo and Anna Erizzo and Belisandra Maraviglia in the visual arts and their relationship with historiography and legend. The heroic stories of Paolo and Anna were rarely depicted other than in paintings and graphics with an auto-celebrative purpose. Works on this theme were deemed suitable for the promotion of private commissioners – the Erizzo family – and public commissioners – the Venetian Republic. They became exempla virtutis and were treated similarly to Christian martyrs in Venetian iconography. The legend of Belisandra Maraviglia / Alessandra Maraviglia / Arnalda di Rocas was similarly not a common topic in the visual arts. However, through its representation in the illustrated book by the French Jesuit Pierre Le Moyne, the legendary Venetian figure came to be depicted even as far as north-eastern Slovenia. In this case, it was images of ancient Victories that provided the basis for her depictions rather than images of Christian saints.*

**Key words:** Paolo Erizzo, Anna Erizzo, Belisandra Maraviglia, Andrea Celesti, Claude Vignon, Pierre Le Moyne, virtuous heroes, Baroque painting, Venetian painting

## "I TURCHI AL SOLITO CRUDELI...": IMMAGINI DI PAOLO ERIZZO E DELLE EROINE VENEZIANE ANNA ERIZZO E BELISANDRA MARAVIGLIA NELLA STORIOGRAFIA E NELLE ARTI VISIVE

### *SINTESI*

*L'articolo esplora le raffigurazioni degli eroi veneziani Paolo e Anna Erizzo e Belisandra Maraviglia nelle arti visive e il loro rapporto con la storiografia e la leggenda. Le storie eroiche di Paolo e Anna sono state raramente raffigate, se non in pittura e grafica con uno scopo auto-celebrativo. Opere su questo tema furono ritenute idonee per la promozione di committenti privati, la famiglia Erizzo, e pubblici quali la Repubblica di Venezia. Questi personaggi sono diventati exempla virtutis e sono stati trattati nell'iconografia veneziana in modo analogo ai martiri cristiani. Proprio come le loro storie, la leggenda di Belisandra Maraviglia / Alessandra Maraviglia / Arnalda di Rocas non era un tema comune nelle arti visive. Tuttavia, attraverso la sua rappresentazione nel libro illustrato del gesuita francese Pierre Le Moyne, immagini di questa leggendaria figura veneziana sono state trovate persino nel lontano nord-est della Slovenia. In questo caso, sono state le immagini di antiche vittorie a fornire la base per le sue rappresentazioni, piuttosto che immagini di santi cristiani.*

**Parole chiave:** Paolo Erizzo, Anna Erizzo, Belisandra Maraviglia, Andrea Celesti, Claude Vignon, Pierre Le Moyne, eroi virtuosi, pittura barocca, pittura veneziana

## INTRODUCTION

The Venetian virtuous heroes Paolo and Anna Erizzo did not frequently form a subject for the visual arts. However, they appear in private and public auto-celebrative Venetian artworks serving the familiar function of anti-Ottoman propaganda. Although they have already been the subject of some research (Mantovanelli, 1989, 61–69; Pilo, 2000, 110–115; Fossaluzza, 2008, 176–178), the depictions of Paolo and Anna Erizzo are still to some extent misunderstood and they remain to be published in their entirety. This article is an attempt to correct persistent errors in the understanding of depictions of Paolo Erizzo in works of Venetian public art. The second aim of the article is to present the depictions of the heroic act of Belisandra Maraviglia, which appeared in French and Central European art as a result of the illustrated book *La Galerie des Femmes Fortes* by the Jesuit Pierre Le Moigne (1602–1671), first published in Paris in 1647 (Le Moigne, 1647). The starting point for the discussion is the impact of historiographic literature and Venetian popular legends on the images of these three virtuous heroes in the visual arts. To understand this impact, a section of the paper addresses the historical context and attempts to distinguish the history from the legends and propaganda. Reference is also made to selected historiographic works as well as works by modern historians in order to explain the issue in the context of Venetian-Ottoman relations.

The symbolic meaning of the three heroes' virtuous act and a vivid description of them is provided by the Venetian historian Pompeo Molmenti in his book *La storia di Venezia nella vita privata dalle origini alla caduta della repubblica*. In the chapter *Il Tipo Estetico dell'Uomo e della Donna ecc.*, he describes not only famous Venetian beauties, but also women who distinguished themselves with their extraordinary courage and willingness to die (Molmenti, 1879, 1906). The following passage appeared in the English translation of Molmenti's book (1907): "Nevertheless we meet with examples of sublime heroism on the part of Venetian women: their legendary prototype is Anna Erizzo, daughter of Paolo Erizzo, the gallant defender of Negroponte in 1470. She was imprisoned by Mahomet II on the assurance that she would not 'lose her head'; but by a treacherous trick she was instead sawn through the middle, and so, literally, did not lose her head. Posterity desiring, perhaps, to enhance the glory of her sacrifice, invented the legend, unconfirmed by documents or by contemporary historians, that Anna was executed because she had repelled the advances of Mahomet. The story of Belisandra Maraviglia, on the other hand, is confirmed by the admiration of her contemporaries. After vigorously defending the castle of San Teodoro near Canea, she was captured by the Turks and destined for slavery; to save herself from this fate she fired the powder magazine on board the ship, and blew herself, the enemy, and over a thousand Christian slaves into the air. Examples of heroic patriotism such as these

throw a halo of glory round the women of Venice, whose stories are often a subject that elicit intermingled pity and admiration (Molmenti, 1907, 170–171).

The English translation is misleading, since in the original text Molmenti stated that it was Paolo Erizzo who had been sawn in half by the treachery of Mehmed II, whereas his daughter Anna was slain by Sultan Mehmed himself (Molmenti, 1906, 527). However, the heroic stories of Paolo and Anna Erizzo and Belisandra Maraviglia have to be seen in the historical context of the Venetian-Ottoman wars from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In the case of Paolo and Anna Erizzo, this refers to the defeat of the Venetian town Negroponte/Chalcis on the island of Euboea in 1470 during the second reign of the sultan Mehmed II (1451–1481). In the case of Belisandra Maraviglia, the context is thought to be the fall of the fortress of St Theodore near Canea on the island of Crete in 1645 during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim (1640–1649), and as will be shown later, the fall of the Venetian town Nicosia on the island of Cyprus in 1570 during the reign of Sultan Selim II (1566–1574). According to the eyewitness' report, cited below, the bailo of Chalcis, Paolo Erizzo, was killed defending his city in the street fighting; however, the emotional impact and the fear brought about by the loss of Chalcis and Euboea stimulated popular fantasy (Gullino, 1993, 196). Various stories about Paolo Erizzo were invented, among them the legend of his martyr's death and the myths surrounding his exceptionally beautiful and virtuous daughter Anna, who preferred to die rather than to become the Sultan's slave. Although Molmenti stated that the existence and the story of Belisandra Maraviglia were confirmed by the admiration of her contemporaries, it will be shown that she is also a product of popular Venetian legend. Both women have much in common, although they are separated by centuries: they were captured by the Ottomans and destined for the harems of the sultans, but due to their decision to die rather than become slaves and lose their virginity, they grew into appropriate symbols of chastity. It is also important to note that both these legends are based on European stereotypes concerning the supposed cruelty and lust of the Ottomans, expressed through depictions of the persons of the sultans themselves.

The heroine Anna Erizzo appears frequently in tragedies and opera librettos from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Gullino, 2000); she was also the topic of some Venetian paintings in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. The same is true for the martyr's death of Anna's father, Paolo; however, there are no depictions of Belisandra Maraviglia's story in theatre-based productions, only in the visual arts.

## PAOLO AND ANNA ERIZZO – HISTORY AND LEGEND

The stories of the martyrdom of Paolo Erizzo and the heroic death of his daughter Anna underwent a series of modifications and adaptations in Venetian historiography,

of which only a small selection shall be cited here. Paolo and Anna Erizzo's heroic acts took place during the fall of Chalcis, when "Venice suffered almost her worst loss of the entire fifteenth century", since the city had been, after Crete, her chief naval station in the Aegean (Setton, 1978, 303). Paolo Erizzo, born in 1411 in the old Erizzo palace near San Canzian in Venice, was elected bailo ('bailie') of Chalcis in 1468 (Gullino, 1993, 194). Two years later, Sultan Mehmed II attempted to conquer the Venetian island. The Ottoman fleet was under the command of Mahmud Pasha while the land forces were led Mehmed II himself. At the end of June 1470, the Ottoman cannons began battering the city walls while the Ottoman troops scoured the island, killing all Greeks and Latins over fifteen years of age and enslaving all the others (Setton, 1978, 301). The Ottomans began their final attack on the 11<sup>th</sup> of July, entering the city the following morning. The Venetians continued fighting, culminating in a general massacre, and Mehmed II entered the devastated city on the 12<sup>th</sup> of July. Paolo Erizzo only surrendered after the Ottomans had pledged the safety of those who had taken refuge within the castle walls. The sultan, however, reneged on his promise and ordered their execution. According to the eyewitness Giacomo Rizzato, Mehmed II "limited himself to slaughtering Paolo Erizzo and washed then his hands and his face in his blood" (Gullino, 1993, 196). Another eyewitness, Giovan Maria Angioletto (1451–ca. 1525) from Vicenza, who survived the fall of Chalcis and became a slave and servitor of sultan Mehmed II, and whose memoirs are referred to as "Historia Turchesca", states that Paolo was killed during the first onslaught, that is in the defence of the part of the town named Bourkos on the 12<sup>th</sup> of July (MacKay, 2006, 29).

As regards the historical authenticity of Anna Erizzo and Paolo Erizzo's martyrdom, it should be stressed that the eyewitnesses Rizzato and Angioletto make no reference to either the sawing in half of Paolo Erizzo or the existence of his daughter. Although the historian Kenneth Setton quotes both eyewitnesses' reports, the martyrdom of Paolo was still so firmly anchored in historical thought in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that Setton states as a fact that Erizzo was tied between two boards and sawn in half (Setton, 1978, 302). The same is true for John Julius Norwich who writes: "The Governor, Paolo Erizzo, who had taken refuge in one of the towers, gave himself up only on the condition that he might keep his head; Mehmet, true to his promise, had his body severed at the waist instead." (Norwich, 1988, 351) Setton and Norwich are only two of the historians from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century who were certain of Paolo's martyrdom; others are quoted in Gullino's article (Gullino, 2000).

The first mention of Paolo Erizzo's martyrdom by sawing in historiographic literature is most likely the one in Marcantonio Coccio Sabelllico's *Historia rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita* (Sabelllico, 1487/1718, 739). While this manner of death also appears in the Erizzo family chroni-

cle preserved in Marciana (Gullino, 1993, 196), it did not find its way into all 16<sup>th</sup> century historiographic works. We should mention here Francesco Sansovino's book *Gli'Annali Turcheschi ovvero Vite de Principi della Casa Othomanica* (Sansovino, 1573). Sansovino did not describe the sawing of Paolo Erizzo, but related that all Italian youths were killed, some by impalement and, interestingly, others by sawing in half (Sansovino, 1573, 147). Sansovino also mentions Erizzo's daughter but without using her given name. He described her as a daughter of Paolo Erizzo, young and beautiful, destined for the sultan's harem on account of her beauty, and finally slain because she refused to submit to Mehmed's will (Sansovino, 1573, 147). According to Giuseppe Gullino (Gullino, 2000, 129), the oldest reference to Paolo's daughter is to be found in an anonymous annex to L. Calcondyla's book *Origine et rebus gestis Turcorum libri decem...*, published in Basel in 1556. In the annex with the title "De Nigroponti captione", the daughter of "Paulus Erico" appears without her given name, but the description of her is similar to the later one by Sansovino as the only daughter of the praetor, a chaste and beautiful virgin, who was brought to the sultan because of her beauty and killed because she didn't submit to the sultan's will (Calcondyla, 1556, 331–332).

An important step in building the Venetian legend of Paolo Erizzo's martyrdom and his daughter's heroic act was most likely taken in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, encouraged by the members of the Erizzo family, who sought to highlight their illustrious members for auto-celebrative purposes. It probably occurred somewhere between 1631 and 1646, when Francesco Erizzo was the doge of Venice (Dummer, 2001, 324–325); however, a more accurate statement about the role of Francesco Erizzo can only be made following further research. In 1647 an extensive description of the heroic acts of Paolo Erizzo and his daughter appears in the book *La Galerie des Femmes Fortes* by the French Jesuit Pierre Le Moyne (Le Moyne, 1647, 341–348). Le Moyne related the stories of the martyr's death of Paul Erici and the virtuous decision of his chaste daughter, who appears without her given name, but with the epithet "La chaste Venitienne". Relying on an earlier, but not quoted, historiographic book, Le Moyne reported that Mehmed had fallen in love with the captured daughter of Paul Erici and had promised her wealth, offering her "sceptres and crowns". The Jesuit fleshes out Anna's story with her thoughts on suicide and finally with comparisons between her fate and those of early Christian saints, between Mehmed and Nero and between the dangers of the battlefield and those of an amphitheatre (Le Moyne, 1647, 348).

Giovanni Sagredo's *Memorie historiche de Monarchi ottomani*, which had a significant impact on the European image of the Ottomans in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, is similarly extensive in its description of the stories (Sagredo, 1673, 109–112). Sagredo described Paolo Erizzo as the former bailo of Chalcis, who could have returned safely to

Venice but decided to stay in the besieged town in order to prove his courage and seize this opportunity to distinguish himself (Sagredo, 1673, 109). Erizzo roused the defenders with his speeches and his acts. After a long period of fighting, he submitted himself to the victor to save his head. But the Ottomans, "cruel as usual", sawed him into two parts under the pretence that they had promised to save his head but not his bust (Sagredo, 1673, 111–112). Before his death, Paolo Erizzo was loath to leave his beautiful daughter Anna exposed to the lust of the barbarians and asked the janissaries to kill her. They answered that they would not dishonour her but that she would be reserved for the appetites of the Sultan. Confronting him, Anna appears with the face of a victor rather than a slave. She is not prepared to submit even though the sultan has promised her own apartment, sceptres and crowns, rich clothes and gems. With a stroke of his sabre, the sultan releases her innocent soul, which rapidly rises into glory (Sagredo, 1673, 112). It was Sagredo's book that had the strongest impact on the visual arts, but it was also used as a historical source for tragedies and opera librettos (Mantovani, 1989, 61–66; Girardi, 2005, 45–50; Filippi, 2005, 51–66). Stefano Carli from Koper/Capodistria should also be counted as part of this group; he found inspiration for his tragedy *La Erizia* in Sagredo's book (Zilioto, 1948; Ivetic, 1998; Širok, 1999; Gullino, 2000). This outstanding

tale from Venetian history was suggested to him by his elder brother Gian Rinaldo (Zilioto, 1948, 282). Stefano Carli explicitly quoted Giovanni Sagredo as his source (Carli, 1765, 7).

As regards the historical roots of the legend of Anna Erizzo, a recent interpretation by Reinhold Mueller should also be mentioned (Mueller, 2010). Mueller pointed out that some inhabitants of Chalcis survived the massacre of July 1470 – some young boys, who had been brought up as janissaries in the Muslim faith, and women, had been able to escape by paying off their captors and began trickling back to Venice, some of them finding a home in the Venetian monasteries. Mueller describes the story of the elderly Polissena Premarin and the young and beautiful Beatrice Venier, members of the largest noble families resident in Negroponte. In the story of Beatrice Venier, who was about to hang herself by her long blond hair in order to save her virginity "from the military license of the barbarians", but was led by the miraculous intervention of the Virgin Mary to a Venetian ship, Mueller assumes a vague and tenuous connection to the story of Anna (the supposedly beautiful daughter of Paolo Erizzo). Polissena Premarin and Beatrice Venier had probably taken a vow that they would lead a life of chastity as nuns if they were saved from death and, with other survivors, they founded the San Sepolcro convent for the Observant Franciscan



**Fig. 1: Andrea Celesti: Martyrdom of Paolo Erizzo, private collection (Pilo, 2000, 110).**  
**Sl. 1: Andrea Celesti: Mučeništvo Paola Erizza, zasebna zbirka (Pilo, 2000, 110).**

Third Order in Venice, where they performed many miracles. Their beatification was recorded by the Franciscan hagiographers (Mueller, 2010). Although Mueller was sure of Beatrice's family name (Venier), it should be stated that Bettinelli referred to Beatrice as a member of the Renier family (Bettinelli, 1780, 127, 132).

On the other hand, a certain Anna Erizzo from Neoponte is to be found in the list of women in the harem of Mehmed II, but with no indication that she was the daughter of Paolo Erizzo (Alderson, 1956). As Gian Giuseppe Filippi pointed out, we cannot be certain that the girl was Paolo's daughter or even from the same family, since it was common for servants to take the name of the patrician of the house in which they were employed (Filippi, 2005, 59).

A full discussion of the historical roots of the legend of Anna Erizzo must be left for further research but it can be stated that in popular legend Anna Erizzo stands as, "a woman, who chose to be a martyr" (Mueller, 2010) and who became a "heroine of Venice and of Christianity" (Mueller, 2010) as well as a symbol of "feminine purity, religious constancy and catholic virtue" (Gullino, 2000, 129).

#### PAOLO AND ANNA ERIZZO IN THE VISUAL ARTS

In the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, the painter Andrea Celesti (1637–1712) obtained a commission from a member of the

Erizzo family to execute an iconographical programme glorifying the 15<sup>th</sup> century heroes of the Erizzo family, with the purpose of depicting the Venetian triumphs based on their heroic acts as well as illustrating the contemporary role of the family members (Fossaluzza, 2008, 177). The artworks were commissioned for the Erizzo alla Maddalena palace, which came into family possession through the marriage of Giacomo Erizzo to Cecilia Molin in 1650 (Tassini, 1863, 251; Bordignon Favero, 1988, 22). The 1714 inventory of the palace by the painter Agostino Litterini, compiled soon after the death of Giacomo's son Battista Erizzo (1655–1712), and the descriptions of the palace from the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, have provided us with information about the paintings in the room designated "portello" or "sala del primo ordine" ("main hall") in the Erizzo palace (Fossaluzza, 2008, 177). The room was equipped with two large pendant paintings (brazzi 12 per 6 = ca. 300 x 600 cm) by Andrea Celesti, depicting the Martyrdom of Paolo Erizzo whose body was sawn in half and Mehmed II who sentenced Anna Erizzo to death; above the second one hung the painting Apotheosis of Paolo Erizzo and his daughter Anna with Religion who points to Venice, also by Celesti. Agostino Litterini attributed the personifications of Justice and Peace and the lifesize portraits of Anna Erizzo and of Paolo Erizzo dressed as bailo whom a child offers laurels to the same painter. The last painting, whose author is not specified in the descriptions,



**Fig. 2: Andrea Celesti: Death of Anna Erizzo, private collection (Pilo, 2000, 110).**  
**Sl. 2: Andrea Celesti: Smrt Anne Erizzo, zasebna zborka (Pilo, 2000, 110).**

depicted Niccolò Erizzo during the conquest of Navarino in 1686 (Fossaluzza, 2008, 178). Unfortunately, all the mentioned paintings are lost or at least have not been identified among preserved Venetian paintings. In 1926, both large paintings were still in their original position in the main hall of the Erizzo palace (Pilo, 2000, 113; Fossaluzza, 2008, 211), but in 1954 they were already missing or lost (Mucchi – Della Croce, 1954, 86).

Two paintings by Andrea Celesti depicting The martyrdom of Paolo Erizzo and The death of Anna Erizzo, which are smaller (110 – 180 cm) and preserved in a private collection in Mirano, are regarded differently as the bozzetti for the missing large paintings (Mucchi – Della Croce, 1954, 86; Pilo, 2000, 113) or the finished paintings (Mantovanelli, 1989, 63). They were used as sopraporte ('overdoors') in one of the rooms of the same Palazzo Erizzo alla Maddalena in Venice (Mantovanelli, 1989, 63; Pilo, 2000, 113; Fossaluzza, 2000, 211). According to Pilo, the bozzetti and the large paintings for the hall were commissioned by Battista Erizzo and executed in the early 1680s (Pilo, 2000, 113–114). Fossaluzza proposes a date between 1679 and 1695 (Fossaluzza, 2008, 179), because of the chronological connection of the paintings with Celesti's drawing for a ceiling in the Erizzo palace (Fossaluzza, 2008, 178), which will be discussed below.

As has already been established, Celesti's sopraportas depicting The martyrdom of Paolo Erizzo and The death of Anna Erizzo were inspired by the text in Sagredo's book *Memorie istoriche de Monarchi ottomani* (Mantovanelli,

1989, 62; Pilo, 2000, 113). Celesti's multi-figured compositions have a strong narrative and dramatic, almost theatrical approach. Paolo Erizzo's old naked body is fastened on a wooden table in a cross-shaped position; his facial features are distorted in pain. While a group of Ottomans are performing the execution, others are watching or talking. In the left-hand corner a group of Christian slaves is sitting on the floor, turning their heads away from the terrible sight. Sultan Mehmed, sitting on a throne high above the crowd, indicates the central action with his left hand. In the background we can see dead bodies lying on the shore, the consequences of battle. Three smaller figures connect the scene in the foreground with the background, one of them probably Anna Erizzo herself. The martyrdom scene strongly resembles the contemporary depictions of the martyrs of the Christian saints.

In the painting of Anna Erizzo, the sultan Mehmed is shown in an active role. He has just raised his sabre in order to kill Anna. Both are placed in the middle of the composition. Anna, pale-skinned and blond-haired, is approaching the sultan with such energy that two extremely muscular men are barely able to restrain her. The scene is rich in narrative detail: a Venetian beauty is crying to the right; a young women, very similar to a Christian saint, is portrayed dying by the sabre of an Ottoman; a weapon is lying on the floor; the Ottomans appear in their colourful costumes and turbans; there is an Ottoman fleet in the background and magnificent horses to the left. The paintings are also based on Sagredo's book,



**Fig. 3: Andrea Celesti: Paolo Erizzo abandons the ruins of the fortress of Negroponte, Martyrdom of Paolo Erizzo, Paolo Erizzo in front of Mehmed II who sentenced him to death, Paris, Musée des Beaux-Arts (Fossaluzza, 2008, 177).**

**Sl. 3: Andrea Celesti: Paolo Erizzo zapušča ruševine trdnjave Negroponte, Mučeništvo Paola Erizza, Paolo Erizzo pred Mehmedom II., ki ga obsodi na smrt, Pariz, Musée des Beaux-Arts (Fossaluzza, 2008, 177).**

as we can see from a young man with a high yellow headdress, who hurries to the sultan and Anna, bearing heaps of jewels, a sceptre and a crown.

Andrea Celesti also produced a drawing that featured scenes from the story of Paolo Erizzo, which were to be painted on the ceiling of a room in the Erizzo palace; however, the exact location or even the existence of the ceiling painting is not certain (Fossaluzza, 2008, 177). While George Knox mistakenly alleged that the ceiling painting or the preparatory drawing had been ordered by Nicolo Erizzo, son of Francesco, grandson of Nicola and Ambassador in Rome and Paris (Knox, 1989, 80–81), Giorgio Fossaluzza correctly concluded that the client had really belonged to the branch of the dynasty that owned the Erizzo alla Maddalena palace. In Fossaluzzí's opinion, this could have been Giacomo Erizzo, his sons Battista and Marcantonio or his grandsons Giusto Antonio and Marcantonio (Fosaluzza, 2008, 176, 211). The drawing (371 x 732 mm) is preserved in the Musée des Beaux Arts in Paris (Knox, 1989, 80–81). The ceiling was planned to be carried out in stucco but was possibly instead realised in a wood carving with inserted canvas paintings in the place of frescos (Fossaluzza, 2008, 176). In the centre of the elaborate drawing is the Martyrdom of Paolo Erizzo; to the left Paolo Erizzo abandons the ruins of the fortress

and to the right Paolo Erizzo in front of Sultan Mehmed II who sentences him to death. All three main images depict the story of Paolo and are based on the short passage in Sagredo's book: "L'Erizo doppo hauer difeso per quanto gli fù permesso il di fuori, & il di dentro della Piazza, si fece forte sostenendo per qualche spatio di tempo le rouine della Città. Mà mancata la monitione da viuere, e da Guerra si rese al vincitore salua la testa. I Turchi al solito crudeli, secatolo per lo mezzo, pretesero d' hauer promesso di perdonare alla testa, mà non al busto." (Sagredo, 1673, 111–112). To the left, the armoured Paolo Erizzo steps proudly from the ruins of the fortress towards the fighting Ottomans. The streets of Negroponte are covered in dead bodies, probably also illustrating Sagredo, who describes extensively the 'cruelty of the inexorable Barbarian' after the fall of Negroponte (Sagredo, 1673, 112). In the scene on the right, the still armoured but chained Paolo Erizzo stands in front of Mehmed, who is sitting in an elaborate tent. The artist was familiar with the contemporary attire of bailos, since Paolo Erizzo wears the same kind of headdress as those in which Venetian bailos to Constantinople were portrayed; for example, Giovanni Emo by Pietro Umberti in Museo Correr in Venice (Koch, 1996, 345). The central scene depicting Paolo's martyrdom corresponds exactly to the previously mentioned sopra-



**Fig. 4:** Antonio Guardi: *Martyrdom of Paolo Erizzo*, Collection Vittorio Cini (Morassi, 1975, 96).  
**Sl. 4:** Antonio Guardi: *Mučeništvo Paola Erizza*, Zbirka Vittorio Cini (Morassi, 1975, 96).



**Fig. 5:** Antonio Guardi: Death of Anna Erizzo, Collection Vittorio Cini (Morassi, 1975, 99).  
**Sl. 5:** Antonio Guardi: Smrt Anne Erizzo, Zbirka Vittorio Cini (Morassi, 1975, 99).



**Fig. 6:** Francesco Montemezzano: Martyrdom of Armario Albano (later interpreted as Martyrdom of Paolo Erizzo), Hall of the Great Council, Palazzo Ducale, Venice (Mantovanelli, 1989, 69).  
**Sl. 6:** Francesco Montemezzano: Mučeništvo Armaria Albana (kasneje interpretirano kot Mučeništvo Paola Erizza), Dvorana Velikega sveta, Doževa palača, Benetke (Mantovanelli, 1989, 69).

porta and the lost large painting of his martyrdom in the hall of the Erizzo palace. As Giorgio Fossaluzza pointed out, there is a question as to whether the same composition of the martyrdom appeared three times and in three different rooms of the Erizzo palace, or the central scene of the ceiling was abandoned, appearing instead in the large-dimensioned painting in the hall (Fossaluzza, 2008, 177) and additionally on the sopraporta. The three scenes from the story of Paolo Erizzo on the ceiling drawing are surrounded by eight personifications of virtues, of which six are identified by inscriptions: in the upper section History ('Storia'), a virtue without inscription, Celebrity who scribes the name of Paolo Erizzo ('Celebrità che scrive il nome di Paolo Erizzo') and Fame ('Fama'), in the lower section Fidelity ('Fedeltà'), another virtue without inscription, Love for the Fatherland ('Amore per la Patria') and Courage in martyrdom ('Coraggio nel martirio'). Above the main scene two puttos are bringing the crown and palm of martyrdom to Paolo Erizzo and beneath the main scene two puttos are holding the Erizzo coat of arms, surrounded by war trophies and flags.

Celesti's paintings in the Erizzo Palace are likely to have been the inspiration of two drawings by Antonio Guardi (1699–1760) depicting the martyrdom of Paolo Erizzo and the death of Anna Erizzo (Morassi, 1975, ill. 96 and 120; Fossaluzza, 2008, 210). Perhaps slightly less plausibly, the first may have been inspired by the drawing of Andrea Celesti for the ceiling in the same palace (Knox, 1989, 80). In the martyrdom scene, Guardi alters the poses and positions of the figures only slightly, but strengthens the composition with a more familiar arrangement of the Ottoman banner and weapon. The dark red fabric behind the sitting sultan, which forms part of a tent or a baldachin in Celesti's painting, is transformed by Guardi into a curtain, which makes sense only in a theatre setting. The drawing of the death of Anna Erizzo is executed rather less elaborately, but here Guardi also copies all the main features of Celesti's composition.

Apart from the paintings produced for a private commissioner from the Erizzo family, it is interesting that these images were supposed to be painted on the ceiling in one of the most prominent assembly rooms in Venice –



**Fig. 7: Andrea Zucchi – Silvestro Manaigo: Martyrdom of Paolo Erizzo (Mantovanelli, 1989, 69).**  
**Sl. 7: Andrea Zucchi – Silvestro Manaigo: Mučeništvo Paola Erizza (Mantovanelli, 1989, 69).**

in Sala del Maggior Consiglio ('Hall of the Great Council') in Palazzo Ducale. After the fire in 1577 the flat ceiling of the hall was constructed with gilded cornices sculpted in high relief, which framed a series of paintings. The canvases were dedicated to the glorification of Venice, in remembrance of the numerous military undertakings in the East or on the mainland by Venetian ground troops. A series of monochrome paintings depicts uomini illustri from Venetian history. One of them, portraying the martyrdom of a man who is being sawn in half by the Ottomans, has been recently interpreted as the martyrdom of Paolo Erizzo by Marina Stefani Mantovanelli, Giovanni Pilo, Giuseppe Gullino and Gian Giuseppe Filippi (Mantovanelli, 1989, 64; Pilo, 2000, 114; Gullino, 2000, 128; Filippi, 2005, 59). However, all of these authors have overlooked the Venetian manuscripts from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century published by Wolfgang Wolters (Wolters, 1983), describing the iconographical program of the ceiling paintings in Palazzo Ducale. From these manuscripts it is clear that the painter Francesco Montemezzano (towards 1550 – after 1600), a pupil of Paolo Veronese, actually painted Armario Albano, captain of a Venetian galley who was captured by the army of Sultan Bayezid in 1499, taken to Constantinople and sawn in half (Wolters, 1983, 315). The same theme can be found in Francesco Sansovino's detailed description of the ceiling paintings, published in Giustiniano Martinionis *Venezia città nobilissima e sin-*

*golare from 1663: "Monte Mezzano figurò l'esempio di Costanza, e di Religione dimostrato da Albano Armario..." (Sansovino – Martinioni, 1663, I., 358).*

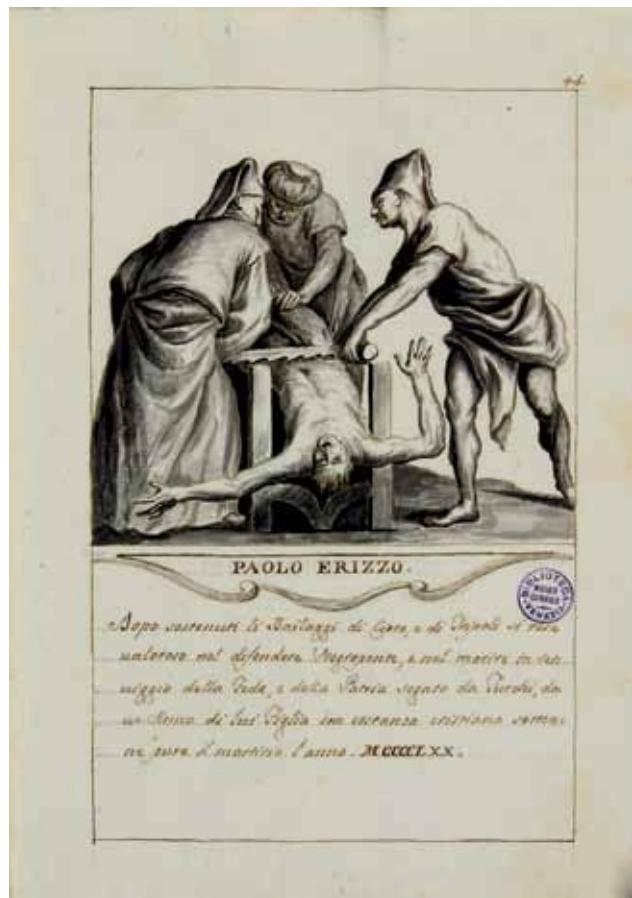
Only later, after the legend of Paolo Erizzo's martyrdom was developed in historiographic works and through the Erizzo family endeavours, was the depiction of Armario Albano reinterpreted as the depiction of Paolo Erizzo. This most likely took place before Andrea Celesti executed the paintings for the Erizzo family, since there are similarities in his and Montemezzano's compositions of Paolo's martyrdom. At the latest, the reinterpretation took place in the first decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. A copper engraving by Andrea Zucchi (1679–1740) and Silvestro Manaigo (1670–1734), based on the mentioned painting in the Hall of the Great Council, bears the inscription "Martirio sop(p)ortato da Paolo Erizzo per la Fede e per la Patria segato per mez(z)o da Turchi à Negroponte l'Anno 1469. Opera di Pietro Longo nella Sala del Gran Consiglio in VENEZIA". The inscription is misleading not only in terms of the painting's theme but also regarding the painter, as it mentions Pietro Longo instead of Francesco Montemezzano. According to Mantovanelli (Mantovanelli, 1989, 64) and Pilo (Pilo, 2000, 114) a lithography based on the same painting in Palazzo Ducale, executed by the graphic artist Paolo Bergnani and the lithographer Filippini, was published in the tragedy Anna Erizzo by Francesco Gambara in 1832. However it could not be verified since in the Aus-



**Fig. 8: Anonymous lithographer: Martyrdom of Paolo Erizzo (Litta, 1819–1883).**  
**Sl. 8: Anonimni litograf: Mučeništvo Paola Erizza (Litta, 1819–1883).**

trian National Library and the Biblioteca statale di Cremona copies, the lithography has regrettably been torn out of the book (Gambara, 1832).<sup>1</sup> An unknown lithographer used Montemezzano's painting and Zucchi – Manaigo's engraving for his depiction of Paolo's martyrdom, which was published in Pompeo Litta's work *Famiglie celebri Italiane* (1819–1883). The lithography simplifies the depicted figures, but preserves all the essential components of the narration. In contrast to the previous compositions, the author depicts a vivid conversation between the main protagonists – Mehmed II and Paolo Erizzo. In the bottom left we can see the signature Pietro Longo dip. and under the lithography the inscription: "Martirio di Paolo Erizzo a Negroponte nel 1469 nella Soffita della Sala del maggior Consiglio in Venezia". Francesco Montemezzano's painting and Zucchi-Manaigo's engraving were also visual sources for Giovanni Grevembroch's (1731–1807) drawing with watercolours "Paolo Erizzo martire" in the fifth volume of his *Gli abiti de Veneziani di quasi ogni età con diligenza raccolti e dipinti nel secolo XVIII* (Venezia, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, mss. Gradenigo-Dolfin 49, V, tav. 46; Grevembroch, 1981). In the drawing, Grevembroch copies only the central part of the composition with Paolo and three Ottomans performing the execution. Even the sultan is not present. The poses, garments and the facial expressions of the protagonists are an almost exact copy of the Zucchi-Manaigo engraving. Under the drawing is the inscription: "PAOLO ERIZZO. Dopo sostenuti li Bailazzi di Cipro, e di Tripoli si rese valoroso nel difendere Negroponte, e nel morire in servizio della Fede, e della Patria segato da Turchi, dove Anna di lui Figlia con costanza Cristiana sostenne pure il martirio l'anno MCCCCCLXX." It is interesting to note the differences in the inscriptions of the lithography published by Litta and the Grevembroch's drawing. Whereas the first mentions the location of the original painting, the second is concerned about the virtuous story of Paolo and his daughter. The motive for the second inscription was probably the attitude of the commissioner of Grevembroch's drawings, since it is known that the commissioner, the Venetian patrician Pietro Gradenigo, was very interested in his fatherland's history (Concina, 2006, 182).

Occasionally, new compositions of the topic were created in 19<sup>th</sup> century painting, probably stimulated by operatic performances. A highly emotional and theatrical contribution was made by the painter Cherubino Cornienti (1816–1860) with his 1842 depiction of the last farewell of Paolo to his daughter ("L'ultimo addio di Paolo Erizzo alla figlia nel momento in cui viene tratto al suplizio. Raccomanda alla medesima il di lei onore, quello della patria e del padre") (Sartori, Zatti, 1996, 41–42). Cornienti competed for the painting award of the Accademia in Venice with this work, but without success. Almost four



**Fig. 9: Giovanni Grevembroch: Paolo Erizzo martyr (Venezia, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, mss. Gradenigo-Dolfin 49, V, ill. 46).**

**Sl. 9: Giovanni Grevembroch: Mučenik Paolo Erizzo (Benetke, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, mss. Gradenigo-Dolfin 49, V, sl. 46).**

centuries after the purported martyrdom, Cornienti selected this theme with the explanation: "un fatto di storia veneta e dei più toccanti per virtù virile e pietà d'affetti" (Sartori, Zatti, 1996, 41). The figural composition is placed on a staircase, with a kneeling Anna and a heroic, naked Paolo – who has been robbed of his armour and shirt – in the centre. The composition strongly resembles a stage scene. The role of sultan Mehmed II is diminished in comparison with Celesti's works; he is standing at the extreme right of the composition and pointing towards the raised podium where the three Ottoman executioners are preparing their tools. Two janissaries in the foreground seem to be overcome by emotion and pity for the daughter; one is holding an unconscious Anna in his arms while the second is pointing to his heart. Both are looking at Me-

<sup>1</sup> A copy of Gambara's book is also preserved in the Civico museo biblioteca dell'attore del Teatro stabile di Genova, but it was not possible for me to consult it since the library staff unfortunately did not reply to my request.



*Fig. 10: Cherubino Cornienti: L'ultimo addio di Paolo Erizzo alla figlia nel momento in cui viene tratto al supplice. Raccomanda alla medesima il di lei onore, quello della patria e del padre, bozzetto, Pavia, Musei Civici (Sartori, Zatti, 1996, 40).*

*Sl.10: Cherubino Cornienti: Paolo Erizzo se zadnjič poslovi od hčere, preden odide v mučeniško smrt. Priporoči ji čast do sebe, domovine in očeta, bozzetto, Pavia, Musei Civici (Sartori, Zatti, 1996, 40).*

hmed with disapproval. Cornienti's bozzetto for the painting makes no reference to the relationship between the sultan and his janissaries, also executed in oil on canvas and preserved in the Musei Civici in Pavia (Sartori, Zatti, 1996, 40). Apart from this emphasis on emotional content, there are only a few differences between the bozzetto and the finished painting, mostly in terms of background scenery and costumes. In both pictures, the painter has accentuated the main protagonists of the touching Venetian legend, placing them in the centre of the composition and bathing them in strong natural light.

Almost two decades later, the Lombard painter Tranquilo Cremona chose the same topic for his painting "Maometto II che indignato della resistenza di Anna Erizzo alle sue voglie è sul punto di reciderle il capo". Cremona's painting was exhibited in 1860 in Accademia di Brera in Milano, but since then its location has been unknown and no reproduction of the painting exists (Bossglia, 1994, 95).

#### BELISANDRA MARAVIGLIA – HISTORY AND LEGEND

As Pompeo Molmenti, quoted in the introduction, was perfectly correct in mentioning the legendary existence of Anna Erizzo, one might expect that he was also right in confirming the actual existence of Belisandra Maraviglia, who was supposed to be admired by her contemporaries. However, this heroine – an example of heroic patriotism – who "... fired the powder magazine on board the ship, and blew herself, the enemy, and over a thousand Christian slaves into the air," (Molmenti, 1907, 170) also existed only in Venetian legends.

Molmenti claimed that Belisandra Maraviglia was captured by the Ottomans and destined to slavery after the fall of the castle of San Teodoro near Canea (Molmenti, 1907, 170), which fell to the Ottomans in the summer of 1645 during the Ottoman offensive on Crete. "The island fortress of St Theodore fell to them, though only after its commander, Biagio Zuliani, seeing that further resi-



**Fig. 11: Cherubino Cornienti: L'ultimo addio di Paolo Erizzo alla figlia nel momento in cui viene tratto al supplizio. Raccomanda alla medesima il di lei onore, quello della patria e del padre, private collection (Sartori, Zatti, 1996, 41).**

**Sl. 11: Cherubino Cornienti: Paolo Erizzo se zadnjič poslovi od hčere, preden odide v mučeniško smrt. Priporoči ji čast do sebe, domovine in očeta, zasebna zbirka (Sartori, Zatti, 1996, 41).**

stance was hopeless, waited until it was overrun and then set light to the powder magazine, blowing up himself, his men, the attacking Turks and the building itself in a single epic explosion which must have been clearly audible in Canea" (the capital of the island) (Norwich, 1988, 547). Obviously, before Molmenti's time, Venetian legend had transformed the commander Biagio Zuliani into Belisandra Maraviglia and loaded the powder magazine from the fortress onto the ship that would have taken Christian slaves to Constantinople.

Another legend, reported by Giuseppe Tassini in his book Curiosità Veneziane in 1863, also existed. He described the story of Alessandra Maraviglia, a sister of Giovanni Maraviglia, secretary of the senate, and wife of Pietro Albino, "great chancellor" of the reign of Cyprus (Tassini, 1863, 374). According to Tassini, Alessandra was enslaved after the fall of Nicosia in 1570 with numerous other Cypriot women and boarded a ship that would sail

them to Constantinople. Before departure, she set light to the powder magazine and blew the ship she was on into the air. The fire engulfed another two ships and all the prisoners died during the explosion and the ensuing fire.

In the setting light to the ship's powder magazine after the fall of Nicosia in 1570, Tassini's book is in accordance with Giovanni Sagredo's Memorie istoriche de' monarchi ottomani of 1673. Sagredo describes at length the Ottoman cruelties during the siege of Nicosia as well as the rich booty and beautiful women that were loaded onto numerous ships for the pleasures of the sultan in Constantinople (Sagredo, 1673, 539–545). Sagredo also mentions the act of bravery of an enslaved Nicosian woman, but she bears another name: "Arnalta di Rocas più degna di corona, che di catena, libera d'animo, se ben schiaua di corpo, vedendosi captiuata con l'altre condannata à satiare dopo la crudeltà anco la libidine Ottomana; infiammatasi di generoso risentimento, accese la monitione, che con



**Fig.12: Gilles Rousselet and Abraham Bosse after Claude Vignon: Cypriot lady (Le Moyne, 1647, 326).**

**Fig.12: Gilles Rousselet in Abraham Bosse po Claude Vignon: Ciprska dama (Le Moyne, 1647, 326).**

ardore più vorace de'Turchi, la Naue con tutto il bottino incenerì. Diè fuoco al Rogo dell'estinta Patria per rinascerre qual Fenice alla Gloria del cielo..." (Sagredo, 1673, 545) The virtuous Nicosian woman is also named as Arnalda di Rocas in the 1769 text On exceptional Women by Elisabetta Caminer Turra (Sama, 2003, 168). In her book, Turra classifies illustrious women according to various kinds of merits, virtues and graces, beginning with women who became famous for their love of chastity or for their conjugal loyalty. In the first instance Turra mentions Arnalda di Rocas, a young Cypriot girl, who was captured in Nicosia and put on a boat bound for Constantinople. Out of fear that she was destined for a harem, she had the courage to meet death by setting fire to the gunpowder on board. According to Turra, the "Levant saw not only this example of chastity and strength. The death of the famous Venetian maiden Erizzo was even more heroic and tragic. In

vain did Mohammed II flatter and threaten her to make her cede to his brutality. She resisted so valiantly that the tyrant killed her himself..." (Sama, 2003, 168). As Molmenti did later, Turra compared the chaste Anna Erizzo with the women who set fire to the gunpowder on board the ship, although in her version the women's name was Arnalda di Rocas and her act occurred after the fall of Nicosia in 1570. In Turra's opinion, Anna Erizzo's death was more heroic and tragic than the death of Arnalda di Rocas because it was not marred by the stain of suicide.

As for the fall of the fortress of St Theodore, the historical context of the fall of Nicosia should also be briefly mentioned. The Ottomans, under the command of Lala Mustafa Pasha, had taken Nicosia on 9 September 1570 after a siege of forty-five days. "The fall of Nicosia was a shock to the Venetians such as they had rarely known since Mehmed the Conqueror had wrested Negroponte from them a century earlier" (Setton, 1984, 995). After the fall, soldiers were allowed a three-day period of rape and plunder, followed by atrocities, such as massacres, quarterings, impalements, desecration of churches and violation of the youth of both sexes. The extent of the looting of Nicosia was unusual. "Nicosia was a rich city, generously endowed with treasures ecclesiastical and secular, western and Byzantine. It was a full week before all the gold and silver, the precious stones and enamelled reliquaries, the jewelled vestments, the velvets and brocades had been loaded on to the carts and trundled away – the richest spoils to fall into Turkish hands since the capture of Constantinople itself, well over a century before." (Norwich, 1988, 476)

A heroine who set light to a powder magazine on board a ship taking the vast Nicosia treasure and Christian slaves to Constantinople appeared in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century in the 47 book of the *Historia sui temporis* by French statesman and historiographer Jacques Auguste de Thou (Thuanus; 1553–1617). De Thou describes briefly the heroic act of a Cypriot lady blowing up the ship boarded with many precious vestments and captured nobles ("... multa pretiosa veste, ac multis primae nobilitatis..."), that Mustapha wanted to give as a present to the sultan (De Thou, 1606, II, 598). De Thou doesn't mention the name of the lady, calling her simply a noble matron ("nobili matrona"). De Thou's writings inspired the French Jesuit Pierre Le Moyne to employ the story of the Nicosian heroine in his book *La Galerie des Femmes Fortes* (Le Moyne, 1647). Le Moyne quotes De Thou as his source, but expands the brief passage of the previous writer into an extensive and colourful narrative, rich in metaphors and comparisons from ancient history and the legends of the saints. The heroine appears without a name: neither as Alessandra or Belisandra Maraviglia nor as Arnalda di Rocas, but simply as a Cypriot lady ('vne Dame de Chypre') or a victorious captive ('la captive victorieuse'). Pierre Le Moyne's book presents twenty virtuous women exemplifying female power and weakness as well as the limits of female ac-

tion (Baumgärtel, 1995, 173; Vidmar, 2011, 237–255). The book functions as a compendium of five heroines of four cultures: Jewish, Barbarian, Roman and Christian. Each of the twenty chapters begins with the story of the heroine followed by a sonnet and a eulogy. It continues with a 'moral reflexion', an extensive 'moral question', and a comparison with another heroine or two heroines who shared the virtue of the one selected. The story of the Cypriot lady is reported with much more detail than the later descriptions by Sagredo, Turra, Molmenti and Tassini. Le Moyne describes extensively how the Cypriot lady, accompanied by an angel and inspired by God, secretly followed the guard into the powder magazine and set alight a barrel of gunpowder. Le Moyne tries to convince the reader of the joy of the four hundred liberated innocent souls, who rose with the fire and smoke from that grand 'holocaust' and applauded their 'Liberatrice' during their ascent (Le Moyne, 1947, 330). He was also well-informed about the extensive booty captured in Nicosia and, probably also from De Thou, knew the name of the Ottoman commander Mustafa (actually Lala Mustafa Pasha), whom he accused of vanity and avarice. According to Le Moyne, the luxurious booty was gathered on the ships along with Christian slaves by Mustafa himself, who wanted to send them as present to Sultan Selim and his sultanans as sign of his victory and personal wealth (Le Moyne, 1647, 331). As a comparison to the tale of the Cypriot lady, Le Moyne describes the story of the chaste Venetian girl – the daughter of Paolo Erizzo. She triumphs over 'Mahomet & du Serail' during the fall of Negroponte like the Cypriot lady triumphed over 'Mustafa & de la Porte' during the fall of Nicosia (Le Moyne, 1647, 342).

#### BELISANDRA / ALESSANDRA MARAVIGLIA RESPECTIVELY ARNALDA DA ROCAS IN THE VISUAL ARTS

Le Moyne's book is illustrated with a frontispiece and twenty copper engravings with etched background scenes depicting the heroines. The engravings with heroines were executed by Abraham Bosse and Gilles Rousselet after the inventions of Claude Vignon (Pacht Bassani, 1992, 437–447; Baumgärtel, 1995, 170; Lothe, 2008). The heroines are depicted prominently, occupying the foreground; while the scenes of their heroic acts are depicted on a much smaller scale in the background. Each depiction carries an inscription with a short description of the virtuous act. On page 326 of Le Moyne's book we find "Vne Dame de Chypre, met le feu aux Galeres des Turcs chargées du butin de Nicosie, et par la hardiesse de sa mort deffuit vne Armée victorieuse; et venge le sac et la seruite de sa Patrie." The Cypriot lady is depicted with a burning torch in her right hand and broken chains on her left wrist. In the background, on the right-hand side, are the fortified walls of Nicosia and the burning ships in its harbour. Lala Mustafa Pasha and his soldiers as well as the



**Fig. 13: Franz Steinpiclher (?): The Cypriot lady, Ptuj Regional Museum (Vidmar, 2005, 99).**

**Sl. 13: Franz Steinpiclher (?): Ciprska dama, Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj (Vidmar, 2005, 99).**

parents of the enslaved Christians have gathered to observe the burning ships. We can assume that no previous depictions of the Cypriot lady existed that Claude Vignon could have used as his iconographic source; therefore, he had to invent her image. His composition features a beautiful young lady with long curly hair, dressed in a kind of oriental attire and adorned her with pearls and jewels. To indicate her heroism through visual means, Vignon uses the well-known image of ancient Victory Goddesses. In the place of wings, the Cypriot lady has slightly raised arms encased in wide sleeves. With her Victory-like appearance, her energetic walk and confidently raised eyes, the depicted lady is an excellent illustration of Le Moyne's "the victorious captive".

According to Pierre-Jean Mariette, who wrote his memoirs around 1740–1770, the series of twenty engravings of virtuous women by Rousselet and Bosse was very successful and the paintings based on them could be found in more than one castle (Chennevières, Montaiglon, 1858–1859, 57). Unfortunately, during my researches of French paintings based on the series of virtuous women, no (preserved) depiction of the Cypriot lady was to be found. Patrick Ramade mentions her depiction

in half-figure in a medallion on a goblet by Jacques II Laudin, the enamel painter working in Limoges, of which all trace was lost after it was sold at Adda sale in Palais Galliéa in Paris on 30<sup>th</sup> November 1965, item 161 (Ramade, 1980, 21, 26).

The search for paintings in Central Europe proved more successful. The paintings based on the series of virtuous women appear in the following castles: Český Krumlov in the Czech Republic with eleven preserved easel paintings; Červený Kameň in Slovakia with a fresco; and Vurberk in Slovenia with two well-preserved easel paintings (Vidmar, 2011). The only depiction of the Cypriot lady is preserved in Slovenia and is attributed to the painter Franz Steinpichler, who had a workshop in Graz, Austria. The painting (186,5 x 149 cm) is part of a large series of almost one hundred preserved paintings, supposedly commissioned by Christina Crescenzia Countess of Herberstein (1658–1737), who owned Vurberk Castle from 1677 until 1737 with her husband Alexander Count Leslie (?–1683) (Vidmar, 2005). It is not the only painting from Vurberk connected with the Ottomans, since the preserved series contains another 47 paintings with Ottoman motives, the so-called turqueries (Ciglenečki, 1999). We cannot be sure if the commissioner of the painting possessed the whole book of Pierre Le Moyne or only the engravings of virtuous women, since it is possible that the series was also distributed as separate leaves, independent of the book (Join-Lambert, Préaud, 2004, 243). Consequently, doubt remains as to whether the commissioner was acquainted with the whole heroic story of the Cypriot lady as narrated by Pierre Le Moyne or only with the shorter version of the engraving inscription quoted above. Even in that case, however, we can state that a commissioner in Styria wilfully decided to have a depiction of a Cypriot lady who set fire to Ottoman ships in Nicosia in her/his castle. The Venetian legend of the Nicosian heroine reached today's North-East Slovenia not from Venice but indirectly through the writings of the

French historiographer Jacques De Thou and the illustrated book by Pierre Le Moyne. Contrary to the legendary death of the Cypriot lady in the explosion of the ship, it can be noted as a curiosum that the Count of Leslie, the presumed commissioner of the painting, lost his life when an Ottoman mine exploded during the siege of Vienna on the 8<sup>th</sup> August 1683.

## CONCLUSION

The heroic story of Paolo Erizzo and his daughter Anna appears rarely in Venetian painting and graphics from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, except in those with an auto-celebrative purpose. Works on this theme were deemed suitable for the promotion of private commissioners – the Erizzo family – and public commissioners – the Venetian Republic. The historical content of these pieces, based on the heroic defence of the Venetian town Chalcis by Paolo Erizzo, was developed simultaneously in Venetian legend and historiographic books, such as Giovanni Segredo's *Memorie istoriche de Monarchi ottomani*, to the extent that the existence of Anna Erizzo came to seem entirely factual and the martyrdom of Paolo Erizzo a historically certain event. Both of them, the courageous defender who was sawn in half by the Ottomans, and the young and beautiful heroine who chose death rather than become a slave in the harem of Sultan Mehmed II, became *exempla virtutis* and were treated like Christian martyrs in Venetian iconography. The legend of Belisandra Maraviglia / Alessandra Maraviglia / Arnalda di Rocas was also not a common topic in the visual arts, but by means of the illustrated book by the Jesuit Pierre Le Moyne, who chose the brave Nicosian lady as one of the twenty most virtuous women of four religions, the legendary Venetian legendary figure came to be depicted even as far as north-eastern Slovenia. In this case, it was images of ancient Victories that provided the basis for her depiction rather than images of Christian saints.

## "I TURCHI AL SOLITO CRUDELI..." – PODobe PAOLA ERIZZA IN BENEŠKIH JUNAKINJ ANNE ERIZZO IN BELISANDRE MARAVIGLIA V HISTORIOGRAFIJI IN LIKOVNI UMETNOSTI

*Polona VIDMAR*

Univerza v Mariboru, Filozofska fakulteta, Koroška cesta 160, 2000 Maribor, Slovenija  
e-mail: polona.vidmar@um.si

## POVZETEK

*Junaški zgodbi branitelja beneškega mesta Negroponte na otoku Evboja med osmanskim obleganjem leta 1470 in njegove legendarne hčere Anne nista bili pogosta tema v likovni umetnosti, vendar ju zasledimo v beneškem slikarstvu in grafiki od 17. do 19. stoletja. Upodobitve junaštva Paola Erizza in njegove mučeniške smrti, ki se v historiografskih delih pojavlja od druge polovice 16. stoletja, so naročali člani rodbine Erizzo z namenom samopočeličevanja rodbine, po navedbah v literaturi pa naj bi bila njegova zgodba upodobljena tudi na stropu Dvorane*

*Velikega sveta v doževi palači med slikami, ki so poveličevale uspehe Beneške republike. V prispevku so te navedbe popravljene, razloženi pa so tudi vzroki, ki so pripeljali do napačne identifikacije slike v doževi palači, ki pravzaprav upodablja Armaria Albana in je delo Francesca Montemezzana. V prispevku je problematiziran odnos med besedilom in podobo, pri čemer je izpostavljeno, da so likovni umetniki upodabljali navedbe iz hagiografskih del (Francesco Sansovino, Giovanni Sagredo etc.), v katerih so zgodovinske okoliščine preinterpretirane in dopolnjene z beneškimi legendami. Likovni umetniki so pri upodobitvah Paola, ki naj bi ga Osmani prežagali na dvoje, ter mlade in lepe Anne, ki je raje izbrala smrt, kakor da bi izgubila nedolžnost in postala sužnja v haremu sultana Mehmeda II., izhajali iz svetniških upodobitev. Kot likovni vir za oba beneška exempla virtutis so se jim zdele najbolj primerne upodobitve mučeniških smrti krščanskih svetnikov, kar je pri Paolovih upodobitvah posledica napačno ali namerno napačno razumljene Montemezzanove slike v doževi palači. V prispevku so navedeni tudi redki primeri upodobitev iz 19. stoletja, v katerih niso več v ospredju pro-krščanski in anti-osmanski motivi v kontekstu beneško-osmanskih konfliktov zgodnjega novega veka, pač pa pridejo do izraza vplivi iz sočasnih dramskih in opernih uprizoritev. Med prvimi je junaško dejanje Anne Erizzo dramatiziral koprski grof Stefano Carli v tragediji *La Erizia* (1763); pomembno temo iz domače zgodovine mu je predlagal brat Gian Rinaldo.*

V drugem delu prispevka je obravnavana zgodba Belisandre Maraviglia / Alessandre Maraviglia / Rinalde di Rocas, ki naj bi jo Osmani zajeli med obleganjem beneškega mesta Nikozija na Cipru leta 1570. Potem ko naj bi jo z drugimi kristjani in bogatim bojnim plenom vkrcali na ladje in poslali kot darilo sultanu Selimu II. v Konstantinopol, je po legendah in navedbah v historiografskih delih zanetila skladisce smodnika na ladji in z epsko eksplozijo osvobodila krščanske duše suženjstva ter preprečila lakomne namene osmanskega poveljnika Mustafe, da bi se z bogatim darilom prikupil sultanu. Dejanje je v beneški literaturi sčasoma preraslo v simbol herojskega patriotizma, že v začetku 17. stoletja pa ga je opisal francoski državnik in historiograf Jacques Auguste De Thou. Iz njegove knjige ga je prevzel jezuit Pierre Le Moyne in ciprsko damo leta 1647 vključil v svoj kompendij dvajsetih krepostnih in močnih žensk. Prispevek tudi v primeru Belisandre Maraviglia analizira odnos med Le Moynovim besedilom in podobo junakinje, ki jo je za ilustracijo knjige pripravil Claude Vignon. Vignon se v svoji invenciji ni oprij na svetniške podobe, pač pa je junakinja upodobil na način, ki naj spodbudi gledalčeve asociacije na antične boginje Zmage. Bakrorezi iz Le Moynove knjige so bili uporabljeni kot likovni vir za slikarska dela v Franciji, na Češkem in v Sloveniji, vendar je upodobitev beneške junakinje ohranjena le z gradu Vurberk v severovzhodni Sloveniji.

**Ključne besede:** Paolo Erizzo, Anna Erizzo, Belisandra Maraviglia, Andrea Celesti, Claude Vignon, Pierre Le Moyne, krepostni junaki, baročno slikarstvo, beneško slikarstvo

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## ITALY IN THE WORKS OF IVO ANDRIĆ

Dragana FRANIŠKOVIĆ

University of Novi Sad, Faculty of Arts, Štrosmajerova 11, 24000 Subotica, Serbia  
e-mail: dragana.franciskovic@magister.uns.ac.rs

### ABSTRACT

*In this paper we discuss the presence of Italy and the Italian spirit in the works of Ivo Andrić. The analysis is based on the novels *The Bridge on the Drina*, *Bosnian Chronicle* and *The Damned Yard*. In these works Italy appears in the form of the characters of individuals who arrived in Bosnia accidentally, remained there; and, through their experiences of these regions, Andrić presents a mixture of East and West in terms of the understanding, conflicts and resistance between these two worlds. In his works, Andrić described Bosnia as the point of contact between the East and the West, firstly of the Byzantine and the Roman worlds, then of Islam and Christianity. This contact was the most strongly felt at the time of the Ottoman and Austrian rule, since this territory was on the border between the divided worlds.*

**Keywords:** Italy, Ivo Andrić, novel, the East, the West, culture, interpretation

## L'ITALIA NELLE OPERE DI IVO ANDRIĆ

### SINTESI

*Il presente contributo prende in esame la presenza dell'Italia e dello spirito italiano nelle opere di Ivo Andrić. L'analisi si basa sui romanzi *Il ponte sulla Drina*, *La cronaca di Travnik* e *La corte del diavolo*. In queste opere, l'Italia si presenta sotto forma dei caratteri degli individui che si sono trovati in Bosnia per caso e ci sono rimasti. Attraverso la loro esperienza di queste regioni, Andrić presenta un mix tra Oriente e Occidente in termini di comprensione, conflitti e resistenza tra questi due mondi. Nelle sue opere, Andrić descrive la Bosnia come il punto di contatto tra l'Oriente e l'Occidente, prima tra il mondo bizantino e romano, poi tra quello dell'islam e del cristianesimo. Tale contatto è stato più fortemente sentito al tempo dell'impero ottomano e di quello austriaco, poiché questo territorio si trovava sul confine tra i mondi divisi.*

**Parole chiave:** Italia, Ivo Andrić, romanzo, Oriente, Occidente, cultura, interpretazione

The territory of Bosnia is a place of contact between the East and the West: firstly of Byzantium and the Roman Empire, then of Islam and Christianity. This contact was the most strongly felt in the Turkish and Austrian times, since Bosnia was situated not only on the border between the divided worlds, but had already divided itself from the inside with many borders. In Bosnian towns (Andrić mainly presents Travnik, Višegrad and Sarajevo), which were usually placed in narrow valleys and surrounded by hills which represented the walls of separation from the rest of the world, there are four different cultural groups living side by side but not with each other; each having its own specific faith and way of life; each in its own hermetic world separated from the others, without any desire to interfere with others; however, being forced to do so on a daily basis. "It was not only a clash between two religions, nations and races; it was a collision between two elements, the East and the West, and our destiny wanted that fight to take place on our territories and to halve and divide our national environment with its bloody wall."<sup>1</sup> (Andrić, 1982, 15) That picture of the wall and of the line between the two worlds represents the primary psychological tension for Andrić's many characters. Quoting Leonardo da Vinci, Andrić wrote: "From the East to the West there is division at every point." "Neither Rome nor Byzantium" was a formula of Miroslav Krleža. Ivo Andrić, in contrast, regarded Rome and Byzantium together, without losing sight of Islam - East and West, Europe and "the other Europe", the Balkans. Italy, representing the West, rubs shoulders with the East in Andrić's works.

In his novel *The Bridge on the Drina* (first publication: Andrić, 1945), Italy is represented by two characters: Franz Furlan and Pietro Sola. Franz Furlan is "a skinny, redhead man with a gold earring in his right ear, a carpenter by trade, but too great lover of music and wine. Soldiers and foreign workers like to listen to him." (Andrić, 1997, 87) Franz Furlan comes to the tavern and spends his time in Višegrad playing the accordion. The other Italian in Višegrad is Pietro Sola, "an entrepreneur and builder, stonemason and painter, in short, the utility man and expert of our town." (Andrić, 1997, 200) Master Pero was a "small, bent, good-natured man, with blue, meek eyes and down-curved moustache. He worked nicely and earned well. In due course he became a real *kasablija* (*kasablija* meaning an unsophisticated provincial person), though he could never acquire the language and pronunciation... Because of his golden hands and good nature, they all loved him in the town, and his athletic strong woman led him through life strictly and as a mother does with her child." (Andrić, 1997, 200) Pietro Sola, the only Italian in Višegrad, came to this town during the occupation, and remained there by marrying Stana, "an orphan girl of not exactly the best repute" (Andrić, 1997, 200). Realism and psychology, objective and subjective perspec-

tives, the chronicle's records of external events and poetic stories of unrealistic states – they all complete each other in shaping human destiny. Thus the character of Pietro Sola was built on a real historical event: the murder of Queen Elisabeth in Geneva who died "by the hands of an Italian assailant, Luchenii" (Andrić, 1997, 200). When Pietro Sola read the news, "he struck his hat on his eyes and frantically grasped his thin pipe that was always between his teeth" (Andrić, 1997, 200). Andrić depicts a man who, because of his origin, alone in the town, projected the opinion of the majority about his guilt in this event. "And whoever he met from the respected and serious people, he argued with him that he, though an Italian, has nothing to do with this Luchenii..." (Andrić, 1997, 200) Of course, all that was his projection, as different from others in origin, with insufficient knowledge of the language, he felt different and not adapted, a little bit guilty for not being the same as others. "People listened to him, soothed him and assured him that they believe and, in fact, they had never even thought something like that about him..." (Andrić, 1997, 200) With his unreasonable actions and, above all, way of thinking, Pietro Sola caused *kasablijas* to laugh at him, and he became the subject of local children's mocking. His wife Stana "pestered him and tried to instil strength and determination into him, and to teach him how to pass freely through the bazaar with his head up and not staring at the ground for anyone" (Andrić, 1997, 201). The news about the death of the Empress was current in the bazaar for a short time, and then "... the poster about the death of the little-known, foreign Empress had changed under the influence of sun, rain and dust, until it was finally torn up by the wind and piece by piece blown down to the river" (Andrić, 1997, 202). During the Italo-Turkish War in Tripoli, several decades later, Master Pero "... by some, for him incomprehensible logic, felt guilty again for something that his fellow-countrymen, the Italians did somewhere in the world, with whom he has had nothing in common for ages" (Andrić, 1997, 226). He causes laughter in the bazaar again. "And Master Pero, so tired and bent, with a tool under his arm, strikes his hat more on his eyes, frantically grasps his pipe with his teeth, and hurries home by Mejdan." (Andrić, 1997, 226) But Andrić gives it a broader framework: "Thus passed all those years in small and big thrills and in constant need of them" (Andrić, 1997, 226).

In *Bosnian Chronicle* (a.k.a. *Chronicles of Travnik*; first publication: Andrić, 1945a) Italian characters are more common, and it could be said that some of them express the deepest thoughts of Andrić about people's fate in the Balkans. One of the main characters in the novel is César d'Avenat, called Davna, originating from Piedmont, a native of Savoy, "and an innate Frenchman" (Andrić, 2006, 20). After his education in Montpellier, somehow he found himself in Constantinople, where as a surgeon and a medical assistant he entered the service of the

1 Citations were translated by the author.

great Capitan Pacha Hussein Kuchuk; and from the Capitan Pasha he was brought to Mehmed Pasha in Travnik as a doctor, a translator and a man needed for any occasion. Andrić describes him as a short and strong man, dark-skinned and black-haired with bright eyes. "Davna approached work with sincere well-intention and tried to be truly useful to his highly respected fellow-countryman." (Andrić, 2006, 20) Davna possessed the combination of the East and the West in himself, since he remained in the East from his early youth and took on many traits of Levantines. "A Levantine is a man without illusions and scruples, having no face, that is, having several masks, forced to act sometimes with condescension, sometimes courage, sometimes melancholy, sometimes delight." (Andrić, 2006, 35) A man from the West may spend ages in the East, but he gets to know it only partially, one-sidedly and incompletely. Davna, uniting in himself the East and the West, combining the audacity of a Levantine, the diligence of a doctor, the clarity of a Piedmontese; he knew how to say and tell anything in detail, briefly and genuinely.

Another interpreter, who arrived in Travnik with Von Mitterer, the second consul, was Nikola Rotta. "It is a small man, humpbacked, but without conspicuous humps, with strong chest, with a powerful head fallen backward and plunged among his raised shoulders, on which his big lips are striking, with bright eyes and naturally curly, greying hair. His legs are short and thin, in low boots with legs turned up or in silk stockings and flat shoes with large, gold-plated buckle." (Andrić, 2006, 104) Rotta was born in Trieste, as the twelfth child of a poor shoemaker called Giovanni Scarparotta, who died of alcohol. Andrić describes his desire to escape from this poor environment and enter the world that opened up in front of him when he began working in the office of a shipping company. "There the weak and reticent child... saw for the first time what noble life looked like in large, clean rooms, the life of polite world in stable and good conditions, where people talk quietly and treat each other in a nice manner, where food, clothing and all other everyday needs are never in question, as things that are self-evident, and all thoughts and efforts go beyond that, towards other, further and higher goals. This boy was comparing to himself the life that he could obtain just an insight into during the day while he toured the offices, with the misery, dirt and poverty of the paternal roof, with the quarrels, malice and cruelty in the family and the neighbourhood." (Andrić, 2006, 104) Nikola Rotta comes to the place of an interpreter in Zemun with hard work, where he marries "a Levantine, the daughter of an exporter from Constantinople, who was to visit her relatives in Zemun. Her father was born in Constantinople, but originally Dalmatian, and her mother was Greek." (Andrić, 2006, 110) In order to describe Rotta's marital experience, Andrić uses a Mediterranean proverb: *Chi vuol fare la sua rovina prende la moglie levantina.* (Who wants to destroy himself, let him

take his woman from the Levant.) The woman was lazy, sickly, wasteful. "If Rotta had not cut so sharply and completely all ties with the life from his childhood, he would have perhaps remembered a Mediterranean proverb, often heard as a child in family discussions." (Andrić, 2006, 111) After a failed marriage and the death of two children, and hard work in Zemun, being somewhere in his forties, Rotta understood that the oath of a sensitive boy was not enough, that even twenty years of hard work were not enough for someone to go from a world into which he was born to another that he had desired when he had seen it. "And what is worse, that new world actually does not exist as something separate, fixed and motionless, which can be achieved and won once and forever, as it had seemed for him in the first years; and similarly, that old world of misery and baseness, from which he fled at the expense of the greatest efforts, may not be so easily and simply shaken off, as he had shaken off his brothers and sisters and those rags from his parental home, but it has followed him invisibly and as a fate through all the apparent changes and successes." (Andrić, 2006, 112) Every abstract consideration was foreign to him, but he still felt deep disappointment in himself, as well as loneliness. "Having lost faith in the sense of a further rise on the road where he had devoted so much effort, but did not bring what he had expected of it, Rotta was let downstream, not wanting anything other than a life free of disease and poverty, with less work and headache and more tiny comforts, stability and profits." (Andrić, 2006, 112)

In *Bosnian Chronicle* there appears another Italian Levantine, Giovanni Mario Cologna, titular doctor of the Austrian General Consulate. "This was a man of indeterminate age, of uncertain origin, ethnicity and race, indeterminate beliefs and views and also uncertain knowledge and experience. Altogether, there was not much given on the whole man what could be defined clearly." (Andrić, 2006, 234) He was the son of a physician, born on Cephalonia. His father was a Venetian, born in Epirus, and his mother was Dalmatian. He spent his childhood with his grandfather in Greece, and his youth in Italy, where he studied medicine. "He spent his life in the Levant, in Turkish and Austrian service." (Andrić, 2006, 235) He knew only Italian well. Though, "his big mouth with few and uncertain teeth were pouring words, the rain of words, rich, heavy, angry, brave, kind, sweet, stunning words. And those were in Italian, Turkish, Greek, French, Latin and 'Illyrian'." (Andrić, 2006, 235) He even wrote his name differently; depending on the service and the type of work, he signed as: Giovanni Mario Cologna, Gian Colonia, Joannis Colonis Epiota, Bartolo cavagliere d'Epiro, dottore illyrico. Mario Cologna once confessed to Defoise: "It is the fate of a Levantine man, because he is the *Poussière humaine*, the human dust, which promotes painfully between the East and the West, not belonging to any of them, but beaten by both. These are people who know many languages, but none of them is their own; who

know two faiths, but are not convinced of either. They are the victims of fatal human detachment from Christians and non-Christians; eternal interpreters and mediators, who in themselves carry so much ambiguity and vagueness; good scholars of the East and the West and their customs and beliefs, but equally despised and suspect for either side. [...] These are people from the border, spiritual and physical, from the black and bloody line, which had been, due to a severe and absurd misunderstanding, drawn between people, God's creatures among whom there should not and must not be borders. This is the edge between land and sea, condemned to perpetual motion and disquiet. This is the third world where all the curses had settled due to the country's division into two worlds. It is..." (Andrić, 1982, 368–369) Andrić, the child of a divided and controversial world, where different interests and conceptions of life and the practical effects clashed, will have the opportunity to develop and put in correlation, to be placed opposite each other, several completely different worlds. Mario Cologna expounds Andrić's thought about the need for harmony in this region: "At the end, the real and final end, all will still be well and everything will be resolved harmoniously. Although here everything seems really out of tune and hopelessly complicated. [...] For why should my thoughts, good and right, be worth less than the same thoughts that originate from Rome or Paris? Because they were born in this deep valley called Travnik? And is it possible that this idea is recorded nowhere, is not put down anywhere? No, it is not. [...] It does not lose a single human thought or effort of the spirit." (Andrić, 1982, 368–369)

One more Italian occurs in *Bosnian Chronicle*, small and perky man Lorenzo Gambini. A native of Palermo, along with his wife, a tall, stout woman with the appearance of an actress and a twelve-year-old daughter found themselves in Travnik on their return from Romania. Andrić outlines the character of this Italian, we learn that he was returning to Italy, to Milan, because he cannot sustain life in the Orient, where he was plundered and destroyed, and where he lost his health. Gambini is an Italian from the south, chatty, persistent; who swears and threatens with suicide, and easily shifts from threats to tearful expressions of love.

In *Bosnian Chronicle* Italy appears in the metatext, some details directly point to a rich cultural tradition and the Italian influence in educational, cultural and social spheres in Europe of that time. Defose and the Franciscan friar Julijan Pašalić communicate in Italian (Andrić, 2006, 83–85), but the Italian that is taught in French boarding schools; the wife of Von Mitterer, the Austrian Consul, Anna Maria "spent most of the day by the harp relentlessly exhausting her rich repertoire of German and Italian songs or losing herself in endless variations and fantasies. Her strong and warm, but fickle voice, in which one could feel constant threat of tears and sobbing, filled the small room and penetrated into other parts of the house.

From his study room, the Colonel listened to Anna Maria's singing, accompanying herself on the harp.

Tutta raccolta ancor  
Nel palpitante cor  
Tremante ho l'alma" (Andrić, 2006, 253).

(All entranced  
In the restless heart  
I hold my trembling soul.)

In *The Damned Yard* (First publication: Andrić, 1956) there are no characters of Italians, but Italian does appear as the language of culture and of communication between Father Peter and Čamil. "They found that both of them were reading in Italian. More as a joke. But still, that somehow delimited them from this world around them and linked them mutually. They were conversing about various cities and regions of the world, about books..." (Andrić, 2005, 52) We learn indirectly that Italian is the language of culture; educated strata of society communicate in it. Italy was the place of exile of Sultan Djem, when his brother sent him into exile, away from the throne. "In February 1489 knights boarded Djem with a small escort to his boat in Toulon, and after a long and difficult voyage they arrived in Civitavecchia, where they were greeted by the large delegation of the Pope. Djem entered Rome with a great escort..." (Andrić, 2005, 98) Djem died in Italy, in Capua, on his way to Naples.

In his meditations on the problems of creativity, Andrić touches on the ontological essence of art and thus joins the very modern and sophisticated treatment of such questions. His essay *Conversation with Goya* from 1935 is inevitable in the interpretation of Andrić's vision of art. The dialogic form in which the essay was written has a very important role because it is really about the importance of the formulated questions and the different options for throwing light on them, and not about the certainty of some solid and final answers that could resolve and cease the permanent life-importance of these issues forever. The conversation with the painter of bygone era touches on "general matters of human destiny", as well as the eternal problems of art.

What is this call like? What is this irresistible urge to be out of the darkness of non-existence or the prison, which is represented by the connection of everything with everything in life, to get out of that nothingness, or from the shackles that are, bit by bit, abducting life and dream of the human, and to formulate and determine "forever" with brittle chalk on a piece of fleeting paper? (Andrić, 1977, 25).

This is one of the questions in the essay expressing the constant dilemma of the artist before the meaning of his calling, but also a step to overcome it. This overview of

his own route in the context of a broader generality makes it possible to detect in that effort a little "of that great instinctive stubbornness with which the ants build ant-hill on a busy place, where it is pre-destined to be destroyed or run over" (Andrić, 1997, 25). The act of creation comes from real life, but it is not a mere act of reproduction. Art creates forms as any other nature; Andrić's Goya would repeat the words of his friend Paolo, an Italian man of Slovenian origin. Creating a work of art aspires to go higher, to be durable, and as such it is the evidence of a human's attempts to overcome the conflict between materialism and spirituality as component units of the world's unique appearance.

The beauty is that which opposes transience; it can overcome the time and can thus be a constant source of joy in life. It is the personification of eternal youth, which in one segment may determine the fate of humans and humanity. Art is the constant to which an artist comes who, like Andrić's Goya, "has broke with God, with the world and with himself" (Andrić, 1997, 25). In art and in beauty there is the *perfect harmony* by which humans succeed to serve intermittently, and so come into contact with a better, dreamed, brighter world. The right path of human activity is creation, from which everyone benefits, in contrast to struggles and conflicts between people. Accord-

ing to Andrić, these are primarily bridges that bring people together connecting distance. Describing the bridge on the Žepa, Andrić says: "In this wild region, among thin cattle and dull people, it was like a lost, solitary representative of a distant, brighter world." (Andrić, 1963, 38; first publication: Andrić, 1931). Andrić believes that only such beauty is salutary that can be shared among all the people, and which is made for all, because life without beauty and art is pointless for Andrić. Life devoid of these highest possibilities becomes a meaningless void, usually filled with hatred that threatens the lives of others. Once created, a work of art connects different people with its beauty, inspiring them to live together, encouraging them to create new works. Its beauty is something that constantly affects people and it always presents the moral force of humanity. Andrić presents the representatives of foreign nations, in this case Italians, with all their virtues and faults, filtering them through good-natured irony, devoid of negative emotions. Italians appear quite rarely, and they are almost always random, lost passers-by, individuals who have been accidentally found in Bosnia. Italy seldom appears, only cursorily, and it is somewhat understandable, because it has been too far away and unfamiliar with the agony of the Bosnian land.

## ITALIJA V DELIH IVA ANDRIĆA

Dragana FRANIŠKOVIĆ

Univerza v Novem Sadu, Filozofska fakulteta, Štrosmajerova 11, 24000 Subotica, Srbija  
e-mail: dragana.franciskovic@magister.uns.ac.rs

### POVZETEK

*V prispevku obravnavamo odnos Iva Andrića do Italije, ki ga analiziramo na podlagi romanov Most na Drini, Travniška kronika in Prekleti dvorišče. V teh delih se Italija izraža skozi značaje posameznikov, ki so po naključju prišli v Bosno in tam ostali; skozi njihove izkušnje s temi deželami Andrić predstavlja mešanico Vzhoda in Zahoda, razumevanje med obema svetovoma ter njune konflikte in nasprotovanja. Andrić v svojih delih opisuje Bosno kot stičišče Vzhoda in Zahoda, najprej bizantinskega in romanskega sveta, kasneje islama in krščanstva. Ta stik je bil najizrazitejši v času otomanske in avstrijske oblasti, saj je omenjeno ozemlje predstavljalo ločnico med obema svetovoma.*

**Ključne besede:** Italija, Ivo Andrić, roman, vzhod, zahod, kultura, interpretacija

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## RILINDJA'S PLACE IN THE ORIENTALISM OF INTELLECTUALS IN POST-COMMUNIST ALBANIA

*Enis SULSTAROVA*

University of Tirana, Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Sociology, 1001 Tirana, Albania  
e-mail: enis.sulstarova@gmail.com

### *ABSTRACT*

*The paper will present the ways Rilindja, which in Albanian historiography denotes the Albanian nationalist movement from the 1850s until the proclamation of independence in 1912, is employed in the contemporary Orientalist discourse of Albanian intellectuals. The European integration of the country is often conceived of in cultural terms as an escape from the Eastern tyranny and backwardness towards Western freedom, modernity and prosperity. Following the critique of Orientalism by E. W. Said, this paper argues that contemporary Albanian intellectuals construct an idealized, simplified and homogenized picture of Rilindja in their projection of European identity of Albanians.*

**Key words:** *Rilindja, Orientalism, Albania, intellectuals, discourse*

## IL POSTO DELLA RILINDJA NELL'ORIENTALISMO DEGLI INTELLETTUALI NELL'ALBANIA POSTCOMUNISTA

### *SINTESI*

*Il contributo presenta i modi in cui la Rilindja, che nella storiografia albanese denota il movimento nazionalistico albanese dagli anni '50 dell'Ottocento fino alla proclamazione dell'indipendenza nel 1912, viene utilizzata nel discorso orientalistico attuale degli intellettuali albanesi. L'integrazione europea del paese è spesso concepita in termini di cultura come una fuga dalla tirannia e arretratezza orientale verso la libertà, modernità e prosperità occidentale. Seguendo la critica dell'orientalismo di E.W. Said il contributo sostiene che gli intellettuali dell'Albania contemporanea, nella loro proiezione dell'identità europea degli albanesi, stiano costruendo un'immagine idealizzata, semplificata e omogeneizzata della Rilindja.*

**Parole chiave:** *Rilindja, orientalismo, Albania, intellettuali, discorso*

## INTRODUCTION

The paper will present the ways National Renaissance, which in Albanian historiography denotes the Albanian nationalist movement from the 1850s until the proclamation of independence in 1912, is employed in the contemporary Orientalist discourse of Albanian intellectuals. We present two interrelated arguments about Rilindja's place in the emergence and development of Albanian brand of Orientalism: (1) Rilindja nationalist movement against the Ottoman Empire provided the epistemic and ontological bedrock for the emergence of Albanian brand of Orientalism, through constructing the binary opposition between Albanians as Europeans and Turks as Asiatic; (2) Rilindja itself is employed as a myth of Europeanism in contemporary Orientalist discourse of Albanian intellectuals, who are concerned with establishing the "European identity" of Albanians, in order to culturally frame the integration process of this country in European Union (EU). The paper is divided in four parts. We start with introducing below our theoretical approach. In the second part we examine the emergence of Albanian Orientalism after 1878. The third part will be devoted to contemporary placement of Rilindja in intellectual discourses about escaping the East and returning to Europe. In the final part of the paper we reach to conclusions.

Edward W. Said's seminal study *Orientalism* (1978) continues to draw attention in the academia and to be employed to study the processes of "othering" in different contexts. According to the wide-spread use of the term, Orientalism refers to degrading representations of cultures and peoples that privilege "modern", "rational", "civilized" Europe or West, against "backward", "irrational", "barbarian" Orientals in different regions of the world. Scholars, who have been inspired by his work, have revised Said's thesis to fit the cases of "othering" within Europe. Similarly to Said, Larry Wolff (1994) surveyed the invention of Eastern Europe during the Enlightenment by Western travelers and intellectuals. In their texts, Eastern European peoples and cultures were considered as semi-European and influenced by Asian barbarism. Another seminal work in this vain is Maria Todorova's *Imagining the Balkans* (1997). She argues that "Balkanism", a term she uses to denote the Western discourse about the Balkans, is characterized by an inherent ambiguity, because the region is imagined as belonging to Europe and at the same time not fully European. In this respect, Balkanism is different from Orientalism: the latter is about an opposition between East and West, or Europe and Asia, while the former has a status of liminality, as an "inside other" within the borders of Europe (Fleming, 2000, 1231).

During the last two centuries Western Orientalism has been internalized by modernizing societies in other regions of the world, becoming part of the local discourses and identities. The Western disciplinary gaze is accepted by its subjects even in the process of anti-colonial

struggle. In the course of modernity the idea of the West become part of self-definition, which is termed as self-Orientalism. Self-Orientalism in turn recreates the cultural or civilizational hierarchies, because, as Ussama Makdisi puts it, "in an age of Western-dominated modernity, every nation creates its own Orient" (2002, 768). Thus, variations of Orientalism have been perpetrated within East European countries and societies by political and cultural elites in the processes of constituting national identities and for building up support for certain regimes of power and social stratification. To explain this reoccurrence of Orientalism among "Oriental", or "Eastern" peoples, Milića Bakic-Hayden has developed the concept of "nesting Orientalism", referring to the gradations of different "Orients": Asia is more "East" than the Eastern Europe, while within Eastern Europe the Balkans is more "Eastern", while within the Balkans, different nations are perceived as more Eastern than the others (Bakic-Hayden, 1995, 918).

However, this is not the end of the story, as nesting Orientalism occurs within a nation-state when a majority culture perceives a minority culture as uncivilized and unfit for modernity: "Orientalism is also a specter that haunts people's minds and serves as a tool for concocting social distinctions across state borders as well as within them" (Buchowski, 2006, 465). Such is the case with Turkey, where modernizing and Westernizing Turkish political and cultural elites have constructed the image of the "native Kurd" and have targeted it for nationalizing and "corrective" projects of modernity (Zeydanlioğlu, 2008). Moreover, within a society and culture one may find further gradations, which may be termed "internal Orientalism", or "domestic Orientalism" (Buchowski, 2006; Jansson, 2005). Given groups or social categories, such as "peasants" or religious communities, especially if they are concentrated in a given region, may be framed and stigmatized as (more) Eastern and as resistant to modernization and Westernization projects of the powerful elites. In this case, Orientalism becomes more imaginary and fantastic, and the same time more resilient, because "such a domestic Orientalism cannot be confined in an isolated space, even if localized, since the Other can now live side by side with 'us', occupy the same place, speak the same language and believe in the same God" (Buchowski, 2006, 467). An example might be the case of secular Albanian elites and secular media distinguishing between an "Albanian Islam", which is tolerant/European and an "Arab Islam", which is extremist/Asian. Then, the Albanian Muslim believers appropriate such labeling in their power struggle for the dominance in the hierarchy of the Albanian Muslim Community.

Self-Orientalism, external Orientalism (which is directed against perceived other nations and societies) and internal Orientalism should not be seen as mutually exclusive but rather as gradations of the same basic discursive strategy of "nesting Orientalism", by which even the victims of Western Orientalism stigmatize those they deem

as (more) "Oriental Others". A case in point might be the study by Aziza Khazoom of Jewish Orientalism. The roots of Jewish Orientalism lie in the stigmatization of Jews as "Orientals" within Europe. In their post-Enlightenment emancipation the Jews were granted citizenship rights in France and Germany, but on the condition they disregard their "Asiatic" appearance and customs and assimilate to the "modern" ways of the dominant society. With time, emancipated Western Jews downgraded Jewish refugees coming from Eastern Europe, because of their "un-modern" appearance and "primitive" behavior. Behind this Jewish Orientalism lied the fear that the newly coming Jews could jeopardize the position that Western Jews had gained in their societies. After the creation of the state of Israel, Orientalist strategies have been employed by Israeli Jews coming from Europe ("Ashkenazim"), to secure their upper political and social position against Jews coming from Middle East ("Mizrahim"), whereas both groups have been discriminating against Palestinians and other Arabs (Khazoom 2003; see also Gerber 2003; Piterberg 2001).

Within this theoretical framework, this article examines the Orientalist discursive strategies used by Albanian intellectuals for forging modern Albanian national identity. Being a European, but a developing, ex-communist country with a majority Muslim population, Albania has frequently been the target of pejorative stereotyping by Western travelers, politicians, literature and media (Alpi-on, 2002; 2005). Despite this, Albanian cultural and political elites have developed their self-Orientalism, because, since the end of nineteenth century, the processes of modernization in the country have been framed along a West-East axis, with Albanians struggling to escape from the consequences and "pollution" of their national "European" identity by a series of "Eastern/Oriental others" (Sulstarova, 2007; 2009). Starting with the National Renaissance period, Orientalism became an essential tool in the struggle against the Ottomans and in the conceptualization of an ancient Albanian nation of "European roots". In the present, while Albania celebrates the 100-an-niversary of independence from the Ottoman Empire, *Rilindja* constitutes one of the founding blocks of Albanian national identity and it is now interpreted as a Europeanizing moment in Albanian history and as a prelude to the contemporary integration of the country to Europe.

### NATIONAL RENAISSANCE

The period from the League of Prizren (1878) to the proclamation of independence of Albania (28 November 1912) is known as the *Rilindja Kombëtare* [National Renaissance]. It was during this time that Albanian nationalists in Ottoman vilayets in the Balkans, as well as in Istanbul and the diaspora, began articulating the idea of the nation and they developed a national language and literature along the way. Similar to other Balkan nationalisms

of the period, the Albanian nationalist intellectual's ideal was a modern national state according to the model of the advanced national states of the Western Europe. To achieve this aim, they appropriated in large part the late 19<sup>th</sup> European discourses about the division of the humanity into races and nations. In this framework they made use of the post-Enlightenment Orientalist stereotype of the "despotic Turk" (Çirakman, 2001), in order to oppose to it the image of Albanians as an old, indeed the oldest, and pure European nation, longing to get rid of the Asian barbarism. For instance, in his programmatic work, *Shqipëria ç'ka qenë, ç'është dhe ç'do të bëhet* [Albania: Past, Present and Future], published in 1898, Sami Frashëri employs the image of the barbarian and despotic Turks to make the case that the contemporary "Asiatic" Turks have not changed even slightly since their brutal appearance in Europe centuries ago, while Albanians, despite being Muslim in majority, are an European people and deserve a fate different from that of the Turks and alike the other nations of Europe.

What are the Turks? – A savage nation coming from the deserts of North Asia with goads in their hands... Where are today the Huns, Vandals, Mongols, Avars, Goths and so many savage peoples that once invaded half of earth by burning, overturning and shedding blood? The Turks had no right to live longer than their friends; they have had a gratuitous life till now, and have no right to live a day longer, because till now they have not founded a nationality and government like the whole world, but still wish to live forever with savagery. They are going to lose and must lose for the sake of the humanity; but what business do they have with us, that they want to take us with them in their demise? What business do we have with them? Did we came [to Europe] with them? Never! We are not Turks coming from the deserts of Asia. We are the oldest people of Europe; on the ground of Europe we have the right to our claims more than any other nation (Frashëri, 1999, 71–72).

Similarly, Sami's brother, Naim, who is considered as the national poet of the Albanians, defined the Albanian nation against the Oriental mirror of the Turk. His major poem is *Historia e Skënderbeut* [History of Skanderbeg], about the 15<sup>th</sup> century Albanian prince who led an uprising against the Ottomans. The poem opens with an idyllic picture of medieval Albania, characterized by wisdom, peace, wealth, honor, hope, friendship and besa (Frashëri, 1967, 80–84). This "golden national age" was interrupted by Turkish invaders:

A big beast,  
Coming from Asia,  
Spread like a shadow.  
It was a damned nation,

With cunning in tongue,  
With cruelty in eyes,  
With a satanic heart;  
Wherever came from or went to  
Brought mourning with him,  
Killed, severed and impoverished,  
Where he stepped, grass wouldn't grow

Civilization drowned in the sea  
Darkness rose like a cloud  
Spread on earth were ignorance,  
Blood, death, wilderness!  
(Frashëri, 1967, 90–100, 109–112).

During much of the poem, Naim juxtaposes the Albanian hero, Skanderbeg, with a series of the corrupted, "Asiatic" and despotic Turkish characters. It should be remembered that the cult of Skanderbeg was at the center of the literary production during Rilindja, as the Albanian nationalists at the 19<sup>th</sup> century thought of their task as a completion of what Skanderbeg had begun. Accordingly, Skanderbeg struggled not only to maintain the national freedom of the Albanians, but also to protect Europe from the Asiatic barbarians. But the then Europe did not help the Albanians, because, says Naim, she was in the deep sleep of ignorance and fanaticism; "it was not like today," it took Rousseau and Voltaire for Europe to wake up (Frashëri, 1967, 17–28). In the meanwhile, the uprising of Albanians served to as a barrier to the fury of the Turks and it conserved Europe for the future Enlightenment to come.

If it was not for Albania,  
The blind Europe, all of it  
Would be taken by Turkey,  
It wouldn't be saved  
(Frashëri, 1967, 265–268).

Therefore Europe is indebted to Albanians and now it has the chance to return the favor and save Albania from the Turkish yoke. Similarly, other Albanian nationalists freely made use of Orientalist stereotypes about the Ottomans, found in Western newspapers and travelogues of that time, to contrast "the Turk" to the imagined European, virtuous and pure Albanian nation, longing for liberty and emancipation from "Asian yoke and barbarism". But it should be remembered that both Sami and Naim Frashëri were not Western travelers to the Orient, looking for adventure and exoticism, nor colonial rulers making a career in the East by "civilizing the natives". Istanbul was their home, more so than their place of birth in Southern Albania. But living within a cosmopolitan milieu shaped by the intellectual currents of European Enlightenment, Romanticism and nationalism (Ypi, 2007) they appropriated the European Orientalist discourse for giving an answer to what they felt was their most fundamental and pressing

question at the time: the fate of the Albanian nation at the coming demise of the Ottoman empire.

### POST-COMMUNISM ORIENTALISM AND RILINDJA

Since the democratic revolution of 1990–1991, the Albanian national identity has been partly reshaped by the work of intellectuals, in the new context of transition to capitalism and liberal democracy. In contemporary dominant political and intellectual discourses, integration in the EU is considered as a *telos* of historical progress, a view also stimulated by the Brussels bureaucracy. Indeed, the signing of the Association-Stabilization Agreement of EU with Albania in 2006 was greeted by political analysts and social scientists in the country as an inaugural end of the transition period. In a sense, "integration" has been "sanctified" up to the point that one cannot argue or criticize it without being treated as blasphemous as EU integration is seen as the only way of salvation. Thus, the goal of integration cannot be contested and it is situated beyond the reach of the public debate (Kajsiu, 2006, 7).

The majority of public intellectuals have considered the integration of Albania to the EU within an identitarian framework. They describe Albanians as an ancient people of European stock who have always wished to be a part of Europe and Western civilization. The blame for Albania's exclusion from Western development for many centuries is placed upon a series of "Eastern" others both outside and inside Albanian society, a discursive strategy resembling the "nesting Orientalism" mentioned by Bakic-Hayden. The Ottoman period is still taken as the most "Oriental" portion of the country's history and serves as a standard against which to judge the subsequent history of the Albanian state. In this respect, the Communist period (1945–1989), arguably the time when Albania underwent a rapid modernization (see O'Donnell, 1999) is included in the rubric of "East", too. Leading contemporary Albanian intellectuals consider the Turks, the Russians, the Chinese and the Albanian communists as part of an "Eastern" history, when Albania was detached from the Western Europe.

Another distinction of contemporary Albanian Orientalism is the emphasis on Islam as a new danger, reflecting the global atmosphere created after 9/11 and the "war on terror." During Communism, Islam, alongside Albania's other religious traditions, was considered as a tradition of bigotry and as a perpetuator of ignorance, against which communism was to educate the atheistic "New Man". Only after the fall of Communism did Islam assume the role of the new "Other" with which Albanian society had to struggle with. Although freedom of religious practice has been re-established in Albania, still a major part of intellectuals consider the public rituals and practices of Islam as strange, exotic, "Asiatic," ignorant, backward, a breach of secularism and religious tolerance, and for some, even as a possible bridge for bringing ter-

rorism to Europe. They argue that at a time of the “clash of civilizations”, Islam is pulling Albania toward the East. By insinuation, the “true” religion of Albanians is thought to be Christianity, especially Catholicism, foremost because it links Albanian history and culture with that of Western Europe.

The typical Orientalist narrative in the writings of Albanian intellectuals takes the reader through different stages of Albanian history: early Christianity, late Byzantine period, the Albanian principalities in the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, Ottoman-Turkish invasion in 15<sup>th</sup> century, uprising of Skanderbeg, the Ottoman-Turkish establishment, *Rilindja*, the peasant rebellion in Middle Albania in 1914-15, the interwar period, Communism, and post-communist transition. Each stage takes its identity according to whether it brings the Albanian people closer to Western or Eastern civilizations, (i.e. closer to Europe or Asia). Each Western stage is followed by an Easter one, thus resembling the history of Albanians to the swinging of a pendulum. Each stage is valued in the narrative according to the role it plays for the reintegration of the nation with Europe: So, if it brings the nation closer to the Western side it is considered as positive, if it brings the nation closer to the Eastern side it is considered as negative. Therefore, the division into stages does not take into account its longevity: a couple of years or decades can be equal, or more significant to several centuries. The sequence of the stages is constructed in the table below, based on the narratives found in various texts of intellectuals published during post-communism.

A brief explanation of the table is required here. Christianity is cited often as one of the cultural roots of Europe, as especially the Latin Church as the founder of Western civilization. As a consequence, very often many Albanian intellectuals and politicians like to emphasize the early conversion of Albanians to Christianity, calling the later as the “true religion of Albanians”, or the “religion of fore-

fathers”. For example the writer Ismail Kadare (1998, 32) notes that “being one of the first Christian countries of Europe, Albania has been, as a consequence, an initial ground of Western European civilization”. The division of the Roman Empire in two parts and later on the schism of Christianity is taken to be the source of the West-East breach. This is one reason why Albanian intellectuals are keen to emphasize that although the Byzantine Empire is considered to be an Eastern influence in Albania, on the other hand, Northern Albanians remained faithful to the Roman Catholic Latin Church, which in the eyes of some intellectuals balances the Eastern influence of Byzantium and the Orthodox Church (see Plasari, 1992, 19–20).

Then follows a brief stage in 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries when Albanian lords become independent from their overlords. This period is praised as a golden age in Albanian history, also because the alleged cultural life in the courts and chancelleries of these princes was at a par with their Western counterparts (Plasari, 1992, 20). Then, the stage of Ottoman invasion is portrayed as a truly Asiatic one, aiming at destroying the whole of Europe (Kadare, 2006, 24–25). This is why the stage of Skanderbeg is very important in the Orientalist narrative, because it represents the Albanian negation to the East: “Gjergj Kastrioti, together with his sensational rebellion against the Ottoman state, proclaimed a new idea and a new ideal: divorce from the East and alliance with the West” (Kadare, 2001, 10). Then comes the Ottoman stage in 16<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries, a period when Albania was “separated from the mother continent and was transformed into the far-off border province of an empire, whose heart was in Asia” (Misha, 1997, 30).

The next stage is *Rilindja*, which tries to bring Albania back to Europe. *Rilindja*'s greatest achievement is the independence of Albania in 1912 and its recognition by the European powers in 1913. As a sign of the acceptance of Albania by Europe, the powers decide to bring Prin-

**Table 1: Stages of Albanian history as presented in the Orientalist discourse by various intellectuals:**  
**Tabela 1: Dobe albanske zgodovine kakor jo predstavlajo razni intelektualci v orientalističnem diskurzu:**

No.	Stage	Longevity	Side of Civilization Pendulum
1	Early Christianity	1st-11th century	Western
2	Late Byzantine period and Slavic invasions	11th - 14th century	Eastern
3	Albanian principalities	14th – 15th century	Western
4	Ottoman invasion	15th century	Eastern
5	Uprising of Skanderbeg	1443-1468	Western
6	Ottoman rule and Islamization	16th – 19th century	Eastern
7	<b><i>Rilindja</i></b>	<b>1878-1912</b>	<b>Western</b>
8	Peasant rebellion in Middle Albania	1914-15	Eastern
9	Interwar years	1918-1939	Western
10	Communism	1945-1990	Eastern
11	Post-communism	1990-	Western

ce Wied as the head of the new state. Prince Wied was challenged by a rebellion in 1914-1915, whose aim it to return Albania to Ottoman Empire, or have a Turkish prince as the ruler of independent Albania. After the World War I, Albanian state is reestablished and a period of relative stability and modernization follows, especially under the rule of King Zog. After the World War II, the communist regime of Enver Hoxha is established in Albania, which now is described as an Eastern or Asiatic stage: "The last period of Enver Hoxha's rule was entirely oriental" (Ngjela, 2006, 23). Enver Hoxha is called "the most anti-European man this country has known" (Kadare, 2006, 8), and his mode of rule is defined as "degenerated Byzantinism" and "Oriental Stalinism" (Plasari, 1992, 51). At last, come the present time, when Albania again has the opportunity to leave behind once and for all the swinging of pendulum and integrate firmly and forever with Europe. To realize this aim, Albanians should be aware not to fall prey to the latest seduction from the East, this time in the shape of Islamic fundamentalism. A strong attachment to Islam is contrary to the European identity of Albanians and may jeopardize their chances of integration with Europe. An example of this warning is the following passage:

*The fact that a large part of Albanian people has a Muslim origin without doubt is not an advantage concerning the idea of integration to Europe and its structures, especially if one takes into consideration the aggressive and anti-Western face that a part of Islamism is showing in the world, in particular in the Mediterranean area – a part of Islam which, regrettably, not very rarely, is identified with the whole of Islam. But this is not a fatality. It can turn into a fatality if we [Albanians] are not careful to show that Albanian Islamism has nothing to do with Islamic radicalism and that the former is not an impediment in the totality of European identity of the Albanian (Misha, 1997, 99).*

Despite the careful wording of the above citation, one can detect in it the clash of civilization thesis, which juxtaposes the West with Islam and which is situated within the Orientalist separation of the West from the East. Another contemporary intellectual and politician, Spartak Ngjela (2006, 49), puts this in a straightforward way: "The clash of Western civilization with the Arab-Islamic one is in its apogee".



**Fig. 1, 2: The brothers Naim and Sami Frashëri are representative of Albanian National Renaissance.**  
**SI.1, 2: Brata Naim in Sami Frashëri sta predstavnika albanskega Narodnega preporoda.**

After this brief exposition of the Orientalist historical narrative, which is predominant in the writings of Albanian intellectuals, it becomes clear that *Rilindja* is situated according to the stages that precede and succeed it. Accordingly, *Rilindja* is thought of both as a continuation and as a radical break. It is a continuation of mission of Skanderbeg and a break with the subsequent period of the Ottoman rule. The continuation argument is emphasized by Ismail Kadare (2001, 12), when he writes that it was during the *Rilindja* that Skanderbeg emerged from obscurity and "gained his splendor as the carrier of Europeanization". As for the radical break with the past, he argues that *Rilindja* by founding the national culture of Albanians, at the same time it marked the liberation of Albanian culture from the perverse and slavish influences of the Oriental culture of invader:

*Against this scum without a proper name rose Albanian National Renaissance. With its clear Europeanist program, with the Swiss model of the state that would replace that of the four vilayet, with its enlightened ideas and spirit, the National Renaissance was struggling to undress from Albanian culture and language the rags of servitude, even before the liberation of Albania.* (Kadare, 2006, 30–31).

In another work, Kadare (2010, 114) makes it clear that in the middle of a total clash between the two continents, a clash involving "regions, skies and gods", *Rilindja* made the right and unshaken choice of Europe. This is because *Rilindja* itself was a European phenomenon. In favor of the European nature of *Rilindja*, another intellectual and politician, Spartak Ngjela, mentions the fact that it originated not from inside of Ottoman Albania, but from the old Albanian colonies in Italy: "This means that it has come [to the Albanian nation] from the West" (Ngjela, 2006, 84).

At the same time, *Rilindja* represents a new orientation, a new start for Albanians, because it is the inauguration of modernity and Westernization of the country. For example the media analyst Mustafa Nano (2006) writes that *rilindasit* [nationalist writers and activists of *Rilindja*]

...were the first to launch the idea of a nonreligious national identity, the first to turn their eyes towards the West, the first to harvest the idea of a secular state, the first to call for the emancipation of Albanian woman... The National Renaissance marks the great turn. Without it we would not even exist [as Albanians]. Firstly the *rilindasit* and later on all the representatives of Albanian culture, one after another and all of them together, have had their eyes towards the West and they have done whatever they could to detach their people from Oriental backwardness.

According to the Albanian intellectuals that employ the Orientalist discourse, the new orientation towards the

West which *Rilindja* started can be properly estimated not only by looking to the historical stage that precedes it, but also to the ones that follow it. Especially the communist stage is considered as another fall back to Orient, thus as the negation of all the ideas of *Rilindja*.

*The whole chronicle of communism in Albania can be summarized in few lines: infringement of the orientation of Gjergj Kastriot and National Renaissance. Rabid enmity against Western orientation. Perverse friendship with those that were not friends to us: Serbs, Soviets, Chinese. At the very end a suicidal isolation.* (Kadare, 2001, 14).

For Kadare, the communist leader of Albania, Enver Hoxha, turned upside down the Western program of *Rilindja*: the anti-Ottoman psychosis of *Rilindja* was turned to anti-capitalist psychosis and he substituted the Soviet and Chinese models of the state for the Swiss model advocated by *Rilindja* (Kadare, 2004, 48–49). The present alliance of Albania with the West proves right the vision of *Rilindja* and proves wrong that of communism. The NATO war against Yugoslavia in 1999 is interpreted as an act which fulfilled the testament of Skanderbeg and *Rilindja* (Kadare, 2001, 16).

One of the strongest invocations of *Rilindja* as the cornerstone of European identity of Albanians in post-communist years happened in 2006, when Ismail Kadare and Rexhep Qosja, a literary critic and academician from Prishtina, were engaged in a lively debate about the European identity of Albanians. Qosja (2006, 31) had written in an essay that Albanians belong to both Western and Eastern civilizations. This caused a prompt response by Kadare and others who brought in the *Rilindja* to contradict the arguments of Qosja. So, Kadare (2006, 18–19) asked whether the poets of *Rilindja*, De Rada and Naim Frashëri, have lied to us when considered Albanians as Europeans? He was followed by the publicist Piro Misha (2006) who argued that to challenge today the European identity of the Albanians is to question one of the basic tenets of the political and cultural philosophy of *Rilindja*. Misha ends his intervention in the debate by asking the rhetorical question: "Are there any realistic alternatives for Albanians except that of political philosophy of *Rilindja*?" (Misha, 2006). Thus, to abandon *Rilindja* would mean to abandon the Western course that Albania has finally taken.

## CONCLUSION

Edward Said originally meant Orientalism to be a representation of the colonial peoples by European powers, an academic knowledge and cultural imagination inter-linked with systems of colonial domination, but he warned that Orientalism is not synonymous with colonialism. Orientalism can be employed by colonial peoples to de-

fine themselves and others. It can also be employed in the absence of colonial experience and within Europe, as nesting Orientalisms in the Balkans attest. Orientalism can be used to designate groups or traditions within a state or society, hence the term of "domestic Orientalism." Indeed, the only stable feature of Orientalist discourse may be the two opposing signifiers, "West" and "East", and this opposition serves as a nodal point for the arrangement of a whole series of binary oppositions that are transferred across time and space.

Intellectuals in different periods of Albania's modern history have conceptualized the modernization of Albania as an escape from East and a movement towards the West/Europe. During the National Renaissance, the "Other" of Albanian national identity became "the Turk," representing the barbarian and Asian invader who was to blame for the regress that the ancient European nation of Albanians had undergone under its rule. In the years of post-communist transition, while the goal is the integration of the country with the EU, the communist past is Orientalized and seen as a cultural consequence of Ottoman and Byzantine yokes.

To present the credentials of Albania as a European country and to culturally advance the process of European integration, some leading Albanian intellectual search for historical periods that would support the existence of a Western tradition, or modernity ethos of Albanian na-

on. Rilindja fits best this need for Western precedents in national history. This is because Rilindja is the movement that formed the cultural base for imagining of an Albanian nation and its dominant ideology was shaped by European ideas of the time. In this process, Rilindja created the myth of Skanderbeg as a national hero for Albanians and demonized the Ottoman Empire as a backward despotism with Asian roots. As such, Rilindja is presented by contemporary intellectuals as a thread that links the Skanderbeg, Rilindja itself, the interwar period and the present time in a project of Westernization of Albanian nation. The counterpart is the Easternization project that is composed of the Ottoman rule and communism.

Theoretically, the contemporary Albanian Orientalism supports the argument advanced by Bakica-Hayden on the gradation of Balkan Orientalism, only by extending the term of "nesting Orientalisms" to include the "internal Orientalism" as well. The Albanian Orientalism, as it is the case with Orientalism in general, is based on binary, homogenizing and essentializing concepts that cannot serve to adequately understand the complex political and social dynamics of Albania and offers but a poor understanding of the contemporary world context. Having its roots in the imperialist endeavors of European powers, Orientalism cannot but frustrate the Albanian project of building a democratic and free society, based on the respect of human rights and dignity for all.

## MESTO RILINDJE V ORIENTALIZMU INTELEKTUALCEV POSTKOMUNISTIČNE ALBANIJE

ENIS SULSTAROVA

University of Tirana, Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Sociology, 1001 Tirana, Albanijska  
e-mail: enis.sulstarova@gmail.com

### POVZETEK

*Albanija predstavlja zanimiv primer za preučevanje orientalizma, saj dokazuje, da je slednji predvsem kulturni diskurz, ki se ohranja v različnih kontekstih in ni niti geografsko nespremenljiv niti nima stalnih subjektov in objektov. Po Edwardu W. Saidu naj bi orientalizem prvočno pomenil predstavo o kolonialnih narodih, kakršno so si ustvarile evropske velesile, področje akademskega vedenja in kulturne domišljije, prepleteno s sistemi kolonialne nadvlade; toda Said je opozarjal, da orientalizem ni sinonim kolonializma. Pojem orientalizma lahko uporablja tudi kolonialni narodi pri samoopredeljevanju in opredeljevanju drugih. Lahko se uporablja tudi v okolju brez kolonialnih izkušenj in znotraj Evrope. Pričujoči prispevek predstavlja načine, kako se Narodni preporod (Rilindja), ki v albanskem zgodovinopisu označuje albansko nacionalistično gibanje iz obdobja od petdesetih let 19. stoletja do razglasitve samostojnosti leta 1912, uporablja v sodobnem orientalističnem diskurzu albanskih intelektualcev. Pred-*

stavljeni sta dva medsebojno povezana argumenta glede mesta, ki ga zavzema Rilindja v nastanku in razvoju albanskega orientalizma: (1) Rilindja, nacionalistično gibanje proti osmanskemu cesarstvu, je z vzpostavljanjem binarnega nasprotja med Albanci kot Evropejci in Turki kot Azijati omogočila epistemično in ontološko podlago za pojav in razvoj albanske vrste orientalizma; (2) Rilindja je uporabljena kot mit evropeizma v sodobnem orientalističnem diskurzu albanskih intelektualcev, ki se ukvarjajo z vzpostavljanjem 'evropske identitete' Albancev, da bi kulturno uokvirili proces integracije te dežele v Evropsko unijo (EU). Prispevek kritizira sodobni albanski orientalizem, ker – kot velja za orientalizem na splošno – temelji na binarnih, homogenizirajočih in esencialističnih konceptih, ki ne morejo pripomoči k ustreznemu razumevanju zapletene politične in družbene dinamike Albanije in omogočajo le slabo razumevanje sodobnega svetovnega konteksta. Ker izvira iz imperialističnih prizadevanj evropskih velesil, orientalizem neizogibno onemogoča albanski projekt gradnje demokratične in svobodne družbe, ki bi temeljila na spoštovanju človekovih pravic in dostenjanstva vseh ljudi.

**Ključne besede:** *Rilindja, orientalizem, Albanija, intelektualci, diskurz*

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## URBAN LEGENDS BETWEEN MULTICULTURALISM AND ASSIMILATION

*Ivan KOVACEVIĆ*

University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Ethnology and Anthropology, Čika Ljubina 18,  
11000 Beograd, Serbia  
e-mail: ikovacev@f.bg.ac.rs

### *ABSTRACT*

*As a form of folklore, urban legends contain prejudice and ethnic stereotypes very often. It is because of contents like these, noted in legends dating as far back as ancient Rome, that the emergence of legends in which xenophobic characters are mocked, attracts attention. It poses the question to what extent contemporary multiculturalism and the insistence on political correctness have influenced modern folklore. An analysis of three such legends recorded across Europe and two legends recorded in Serbia should answer the question of whether there is tolerance within these urban legends and if there is what it pertains to.*

**Key words:** urban legends, preaching tolerance, Serbia, 'Others', Chinese, Romanies, restaurant, acculturation

## LEGGENDE METROPOLITANE TRA MULTICULTURALISMO E ASSIMILAZIONE

### *SINTESI*

*Le leggende metropolitane, come forma di folclore, molto spesso contengono pregiudizi e stereotipi etnici. È proprio a causa di tali contenuti, notati già in leggende risalenti ai tempi dell'antica Roma, che la comparsa di storie nelle quali i personaggi xenofobi vengono derisi, attrae tanta attenzione. Ci si pone la domanda in quale misura il multiculturalismo contemporaneo e l'insistenza sulla correttezza politica abbiano influenzato il folclore moderno. Un'analisi di tre leggende di questo tipo registrate in tutta Europa e due leggende registrate in Serbia dovrebbe rispondere alla domanda se esiste la tolleranza in queste leggende metropolitane e, se sì, riguardo a che cosa.*

**Parole chiave:** leggende metropolitane, predicare la tolleranza, Serbia, 'Altri', Cinesi, i Roma, ristorante, acculturazione

## INTRODUCTION

The xenophobic components of urban legends are widely known. In many folk forms, the stranger is shown as being a dangerous and contaminating entity. In most cases, this type of stranger is a person who differs from the norm in terms of racial or ethno-constructs, i.e. the components which make up these constructs: skin colour, facial features, the language they speak or the religion they practice. Urban legends can also ascribe "otherness" to people with different lifestyles, a prime example of this is the punk rocker described as the "nonconformist deviant". The foreign enemy can also be disguised in the form of spiders crawling out of exotic plants (Klintberg, 1985, 281–285), which the Westerner brought home from the holidays, or as snakes slithering out of a carpet the protagonist bought at a store which sells "eastern" goods (Brunvand, 1981; Miller, 1992). Or it can turn out that the "little dogs" brought from Mexico or Malaysia are actually bloodthirsty rats. (Brunvand, 1986)

Urban legends dealing with evil and dangerous "others" have existed as far back as ancient Rome, where Christians were accused of kidnapping and ritually sacrificing children (Ellis, 1983). These stories still exist in the modern age in the form of new legends about children being abducted in shopping malls only to be found severely injured later on (Brunvand, 1986; Carroll, 1987) or legends about abductions for the purpose of organ theft or forced prostitution. (Campion-Vincent, 1995, 21; Anto-nijević, 2007)

However, the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, marked by political correctness which bridged the gap between the assassination of Martin Luther King and the election of Barrack Obama as president of the USA, gave rise to stories which the French folklorist Veronique Campion-Vincent, in an article titled 'Preaching Tolerance?', claims have a completely different message. These stories ironically present characters who get into funny or inconvenient situations because of their prejudices. "These exemplary stories appear to reflect educated critical judgments, when hostile gut feelings are overcome and the stranger is no longer perceived as a devil or a monster." (Campion-Vincent, 1995, 21-22)

The aim of this paper is to explore the hidden meanings of two urban legends recorded in Serbia, the contents of which correspond with those of certain legends which are thought to preach tolerance. When considering three such legends told in Europe, Campion-Vincent uses the title of her article to point out the dilemma of whether these legends actually do preach tolerance, as it would seem at first glance (Campion-Vincent, 1995, 22). Having in mind that Campion-Vincent leaves the issue open, this paper is an attempt to determine to what extent these urban legends, as a representation of the worldview of the population which creates and tells them, belong to the wider idea of tolerance which has for decades been

the basis of the ideology of political correctness. Comparison with three European legends referred to as "The Elevator Incident", "Sharing by Error" and "The Eaten Ticket" should demonstrate the relationship between tolerance of "others" and "otherness" and the extent to which tolerance displayed in urban legends depends on how much the "others" are willing to change and diminish their "otherness".

The wider theoretical context of studying urban legends which describe and evaluate "others" is widely familiar within folkloristics, the anthropology of ethnicity and other similar disciplines that deal with ethnic prejudice and stereotypes. Various narrative forms, from rumours, attitudes (prejudice and stereotypes) to forms of folklore such as ethnic jokes or urban legends, display a relationship with "others"; the relationship can be anything from xenophobia to assimilating tendencies to tolerance of "otherness". Research into specific phenomena that function as the bearers of meaning shows how the studied environment perceives and experiences various "others" and attempts to isolate the characteristics of these "others", which serves to position them on the scale between desirable or undesirable.

The interpretation of the legends themselves will be accomplished through the use of an analytical procedure inspired by the formal analysis of fairy tales (Prop, 1968), the structural analysis of myth by Claude Levi-Strauss (Levi-Strauss, 1958; 1973) and transformations of this type of analysis (Kovačević, 1985; 2001, Kovačević, 2007a; 2009). This method can be described as social semantics and purports to the analysis of parts that constitute the narrative e.g. urban legend, the forming of units of meaning, the placing of these units into a wider social and cultural context and a determination of the meaning the studied phenomenon carries.

## EUROPEAN LEGENDS

### "The elevator incident"

"The Elevator Incident" tells the story of provincial women lost in the city who are extremely frightened by the presence of a big black man and his dog in a lift. They misunderstand the command "Sit" that has been addressed to the dog and sit down on the floor of the lift expecting to be robbed. The black man, who is often a renowned figure in sports or pop music, laughs and subsequently pays their hotel bill or sends them flowers. His good humour and generosity shows the women's fear to be foolish and the menace imaginary." (Smith, 1975).

### "Sharing by error"

"A British traveller – often a woman – sits at the same table as an immigrant – generally a Pakistani man – at

a station buffet or in a dining car. The traveler is astonished when the immigrant helps himself to a biscuit from a packet she thinks she has just put on the table. She says nothing, but helps herself to a biscuit too. Silence is kept on both sides, and the packet is shared till the last piece, which is cut in two by the immigrant, who offers her half. The embarrassed traveler later discovers her own unopened packet – in her purse or under his newspaper."

### "The eaten ticket"

"An elderly lady and a punk are sitting opposite each other in an S-train. The dress and hairdo of the punk are conspicuous, to say the least. He is sitting inclined towards a large "ghetto-blaster" listening to rock music. The elderly lady does not like punks and she isn't reluctant to say so. She tells the other passengers what she thinks about the awful youth of today. The punk silently puts up with her grumbling.

Then a ticket controller enters into the train wagon and the lady takes her ticket from her handbag in good time and holds it up in the air. Suddenly the punk grabs her ticket, puts it in his mouth, chews and swallows it. The lady is sitting there speechless. When the controller asks her to show her ticket, she can only point at the punk, saying: "He ate it!"

The controller shakes his head. That is too fanciful an excuse to be believed. The other passengers have followed the drama fascinated; nobody says anything. In spite of her loud protests, the lady has to pay a fine of 200 crowns.

When the controller has left the wagon, the punk can no longer keep a straight face. He draws out his wallet, gives the lady 200 crowns and says with a broad smile that the fun has been worth it." (Campion-Vincent, 1995, 24)

After analysing these legends and comparing them with animal stories, jokes and short newspaper articles, including literary and film variations, Campion-Vincent concludes that the messages are more ambiguous than it may seem at first glance. According to her hermeneutic interpretation, the "saintly" character of the immigrant is caused by his acknowledgment of the hostile world he lives in. Still, the description of the environment as "intolerant" towards "others", a world filled with prejudice, latent hostility, hatred, contempt etc. does not mean that the legend doesn't preach tolerance. The messages aren't mixed up because the legends contain descriptions of an intolerant environment as Campion-Vincent believes, because it is precisely an environment like that which is needed in order for the legend to stultify and make fun of it against the backdrop of the tolerance which is being preached (Campion-Vincent, 1995, 28).

However, ambiguity exists in these stories and the messages are mixed – it's just that this occurs in a completely different place in the story.

## TWO LEGENDS FROM SERBIA

### The Gypsy's tavern in Banatsko Novo Selo

Banatsko Novo Selo is a village with a population of 7,000 in the Banat region, situated in the northeast of Serbia. The ethnic make up of the village is such that the majority of the population is made up of Serbs and Romanians, but also Roma who mostly declare themselves to be Romanians, although there are those who declare themselves to be Roma who speak the Romanian language. The Roma who work abroad have built themselves huge houses, some of which are regular villas, richly decorated with a lot of details and plaster ornaments. The owners of these houses come back to the village whenever they can, or the houses are inhabited by their children and older members of the family.

Banatsko Novo Selo, which is mostly an agrarian community, has only got its first small catering businesses over the last twenty years – a sandwich shop and a small grill. Both of these facilities are too small to accommodate tables, which means that people can't sit down and order food. During the 1990's one of the migrant Roma workers opens a spacious restaurant on the ground floor of the house in which he lives. This causes quite a stir and not long after people start gossiping. When the restaurant officially opens for business the guests are mostly local Roma. The rest of the population of different ethnicities have mixed feelings about the restaurant but their attention is kept up by frequent inspections which come to "the Gypsy's". The inspections mostly come due to reports of irregularities pertaining to the operation of the restaurant. Sanitary inspections are the most frequent. It is a open secret that the reports leading to the inspections have come from competitors. The talk is mostly about poor hygiene in the restaurant in the vein of "what else would you expect from Gypsies?" as well as about poor upkeep and bad conditions for the storing and preparation of food. It is said that the dishes used for the preparation of the food are washed only with water – and cold water at that – that one dishrag has multiple functions – that it is used to wipe tables and ashtrays, which inevitably "someone saw". Then there are stories about the meat of dead (i.e. not slaughtered for that purpose) chickens being used as additions to salads in sandwiches, about how bread is kept in boxes under the food preparation surfaces, where all manner of bugs are crawling around, and how, every now and then, one can see mice running around in the corners. There is also talk about how pre-prepared and half-cooked meat is kept for days and only fully prepared when there is an order, and that people have found hairs, pieces of glass and even nails from somebody's finger

which still clung to pieces of meat in their hamburgers. Because it is a family business, there are objections because "everyone does everything", so that the same person who tidies up and cleans the toilets without using gloves and taking other necessary precautions, also prepares the food so that someone else can have a day off. Aside from the rumours about food preparation, there are stories about suspicious patrons, mostly Roma, who are said to be engaged in illegal activities.

The inspections which frequently visit "the Gypsy" never find anything which would confirm either the village gossip or the claims made in the reports. There are some minor irregularities but nothing that would in any way endanger the patrons. Today, the local police unit can often be seen there – as patrons – and many young people wrap up their weekend's partying by "going for a burger at the Gypsy's". In the meantime, the business flourishes and the gossip dies out completely. Nowadays people often order food from home, which is a new option introduced by the restaurant. Because of the high standards maintained – which have been verified by the regular inspections – the credibility of the restaurant and the trust of ever more numerous patrons only increases. In the end, it was precisely the numerous inspections that assured people that they were choosing the right place from which to order food.

### **The Chinese restaurant in Novi Beograd**

Two girlfriends decide to have a Chinese dinner. One of them, who is financially well off and mostly frequents upscale restaurants in town – those she calls "verified" – suggests a Chinese restaurant in Novi Beograd. When they arrive, the other girl, who doesn't frequent elite restaurants but is familiar with her friend's habits, is completely confounded. From the outside, the restaurant seems a bit dodgy – nestled between buildings, it's almost unnoticeable and it certainly doesn't fit the profile of the places that her friend usually goes to. The inside of the restaurant is snug and has a nice atmosphere, but again it's completely unlike the other places that the girl has been to with her friend. The restaurant itself is quite small, but it doesn't lack hygiene: everything is tidy and seems – at least at first glance – to be clean. There are four tables with cotton tablecloths on each side, metal chairs and a printed menu on each table. The interior is otherwise simple – two mirrors and a picture, which might be a detail from Chinese tradition. Across from the door there is a counter where food is delivered from the kitchen, which is situated in the back. When they have ordered their meals, the girl asks her well-off friend how she even knew about this place and how come this modest restaurant was her place of choice for Chinese cuisine.

Her friend gives her an unexpected explanation: seeing as the Chinese man who owns the restaurant is new to the catering business and new in this part of town,

some unexpected things happened, which, inadvertently provided him with great publicity. Namely, the other caterers and owners of similar small fast food joints in the neighborhood saw the Chinese man as threatening competition because his restaurant offered something new and interesting to the population at an affordable price. Before the Chinese restaurant opened, the other caterers had often reported each other to different state inspections and there were frequent altercations aimed at eliminating the competition. But, in light of recent events in the neighborhood, the caterers had united with the intention of eliminating the new competition, by focusing their reports to the state inspections on one caterer – the Chinese man. Since he opened for business, the Chinese man always had different inspections nosing around – financial inspections, market inspections and, most frequently, sanitary inspections, which are the subject of the largest number of reports. These reports – which again is an open secret – mostly came from the other local caterers. Most of the reports to the inspection referred to the poor hygiene in the restaurant which certainly affects the quality of the food on offer. There are stories about how the restaurant gets its meat from sick and underdeveloped animals, which the Chinese man gets at a minimum price or that the meat doesn't have the necessary veterinary health certificate. The stories usually went like this: "... I know the guy that he gets the meat from, you don't want to know what he feeds those animals... and how he keeps them... the last thing you want to do is eat that." The contents of the malicious rumours that attracted the inspections get more imaginative over time. People were saying that a patron once found hairs in his meal as well as bits of raw meat which might not actually be meat, which had a specific rotten and rancid smell, which they try to cover up with strong spices for which Chinese cuisine is renowned anyway – strong spices being the only way to hide, at least to some extent, the fact that the ingredients in the food were dodgy. There was also talk about how someone got food poisoning at the restaurant and that they "barely made it" and people "personally saw" where and what kind of vegetables the Chinese man buys and that these are stale and of the lowest quality, which saves him a lot of money. Stories were also circulated about the personal (un)hygiene of the employees who live in crowded rooms with no running water, because they can't afford better accommodation. Ultimately there were stories about how the food in the restaurant isn't kept in cooling facilities – which makes it spoil easily – and that the restaurant recycled leftovers by serving them to new guests. This was especially said about rice and vegetables which are a staple of Chinese cuisine and which aren't extensively altered by preparation so this can "pass unnoticed".

These stories circulated around town. It was always someone else who "heard" about the incidents, and the Chinese caterer had a lot of problems because of this.

However, the numerous and frequent inspections were never able to confirm any of the reports and malicious rumours. The operation of the restaurant was up to all standards which were confirmed by numerous certificates issued by the state inspections. This way the Chinese man inadvertently got good publicity despite the stories. The certificates issued by the inspections made the restaurant safe for the increasing number of patrons. The Chinese man not only succeeded in his business, but news of his specific circumstances traveled fast and earned him the reputation of one of the best Chinese restaurants in the city.

### BASIC FORMULA AND MESSAGE CARRIERS

The basic formula of the story is made up of actions performed by four different actors. These actors are:

The Gypsy, the Chinese man – the stranger, the other Proprietors of other shops – competition

The inspection service – organs/emissaries of the state

Serbs, Romanians – us, our people

They perform these actions:

Opening a tavern, a burger joint – a shop with food  
Making reports to the inspection because of poor hygiene, bad quality of food etc. – reporting to the inspection

Frequent inspections – positive reports by the inspection service

Many young people wind up "at the Gypsy's", more patrons come to the Chinese restaurant – a large number of patrons (business is booming)

The two key relations that characterise the legend are:

1. opposition: US (Serbs, Romanians) - OTHERS (Gypsies, Chinese)

2. a cause-effect sequence of undefined direction:  
CONTROL - QUALITY

The message carriers are usual and widespread; they consist of made up of stories about food preparation and stories about success.

1. Food stores, grocery shops, diners, restaurants, taverns, food stands, burger joints, solitary fast food shops or franchises like "McDonald's" always garner attention and become the focus of folk forms, which is in the nature of things. People have to eat but they can get food poisoning, they can get ill or even die from eating the wrong thing. Because of this, stories that have food as their basic theme are always listened to carefully and in turn used to send messages not pertaining to food.

The transformation of the process of producing food for consumption that occurred over time was followed by a transformation of the legends that speak of food contamination. Legends from the 19th century (or earlier) considered all food prepared outside the home or the kitchen, and food not prepared by a familiar cook, a family member or other member of the community to be suspect. Because of this, taverns and bakeries were considered places where food was contaminated by adding the meat of cats and dogs. In the modern age, the local bakery or the local tavern have become a part of the Us-group, and a familiar baker, butcher or cook or restaurant owner, who have been part of the local community for generations, warrant that the chicken meat actually comes from chickens and isn't part rat. On the other hand, the depersonalised fast food chain, as a far off and unfamiliar producer of food, became someone who can contaminate it. "Anxiety and guilt arise from the change from eating personally prepared food to eating what profit-making enterprises serve; these emotions have been projected onto the commercial establishment, and transformed into fear." (Fine, 1980, 232)

	Us-group	Far-off, depersonalized, others
19th century Pickwick's Wellerism (Charles Dickens)	Home	Bakery, butcher shop, tavern
20th century Kentucky fried rat (G.A. Fine)	local bakery/butcher shop/ tavern	Fast food chain

Pickwick's Wellerisms are, actually, urban legends of the time, included by Charles Dickens in his books (Bear, 1983, 173-183; Simpson, 1983, 462-470), and are an example of 19th century stories about contaminated food. These stories can often be told in a xenophobic framework and thus become the carriers of xenophobic messages,

because it is explicitly stated that the proprietor of the tavern or bakery that produces the contaminated food is either a complete newcomer and stranger, or the member of an ethnic minority.

The legend of the Chinese restaurant in Novi Beograd is a bricolage of the classical urban legend about the Chi-

nese restaurant known all over the planet, combined with the legend of the immigrants from the Far East who eat cats and dogs (Brunvand, 1984). The new legend quotes old legends, putting the contents of oral storytelling into a written document. The superficiality of such bricolage is evident in shifting into another genre without accommodating for narration, because something which is in the domain of rumours and which is told as a rumour becomes the written text of a "report to the inspection". When the legend states that "people talk" or "people spread rumours", or even when the legend uses the qualifier "malicious rumours", it shows that the old legend is being used to qualify the attempts of the competition to undermine the Chinese restaurant in accordance with the intentions of the new legend on the narrative level.

2. The second usual message carriers are stories about success. Because they enable comparison, imitation or can act as a warning to each listener, they are also listened to eagerly. They can carry a message about success itself through the ways in which it is achieved, but also to other messages not directly pertaining to success. (Kovačević, 2007)

Stories about success are popular with audiences and have a high potential for diffusion since they represent regular ethno-manuals for succeeding in life. These stories can carry a message in two basic ways: firstly, the story "provides" patterns, ways, paths and recipes for success that one should learn and then apply. Secondly, the story about success can carry other messages that don't have much to do with the ways of achieving success represented in the story.

### TOLERANCE OR ASSIMILATION?

Does the legend speak about tolerance as recognition of the Other, with all the properties that constitute its otherness, or about assimilation as recognition of others once they are not different anymore?

The relationship between the actors in the legend (Us : Others) can't be interpreted without clarifying the nature of the empirical relationship inspection – good food, which is here generalized as CONTROL : QUALITY. The relationship between control and quality is not defined in the narratives except stochastically in the sense that they always occur in connection with one another. However, in the narratives this relationship isn't one of causality. Because of this it is possible to isolate two possible sequences:

CONTROL causes QUALITY and  
QUALITY causes THE RESULTS OF THE CONTROL

Some sort of quantitative approach would, through the use of a sociological or socio-psychological questionnaire, probably be able to determine the percentage of those who interpret the relationship between quality and

control in either of the two ways, including both audiences and storytellers. The estimated result of such "research" would be that, for instance, 56% of the listeners understood the legend one way and 44% understood it the other way, as well as that the percentages don't vary too much among the storytellers. But, these kinds of results wouldn't help the interpretation nor would they explain the ambiguity of the legend in any way. Instead, we need to scrutinise the meaningful aspects of both proposed relationships between Control and Quality.

The first option consists of the idea that frequent control (with bigger or lesser objections) leads to the removal of the causes of the objections and through this process lead to the prime quality of the food sold by the establishment in question.

The second option is that the inspection never finds anything to be wrong with the food in the first place, and that the initial high quality of the food caused the positive findings of the inspection crew.

These two possible relations between Control and Quality determine the two possible attitudes pertaining to the Us : Others relation. The first attitude toward the Other implies that it is necessary to direct Others and make them accept Our rules (rules about hygiene, standards of food production and preparation) and that it is only when we manage to articulate (assimilate) them that we can allow them to engage in a business as important as the preparation and selling of food. The second attitude implies that Others' rules are the same as our own and that our attempt to catch them red-handed at not knowing or not obeying our rules is just the result of the wrong assumptions We have about Others.

These two attitudes have their roots in two sets of ideas that stem from two different social theories.

The first attitude has its roots in the thesis that social (state) intervention in the market is necessary and that the market itself isn't a safe or timely mechanism of regulating vital issues like the consumption of food. Through a system of control, the state oversees and directs the blind market race and proscribes the rules that keep the race from harming citizens. Its influence is a double blessing, since, through quality control, it enables the participant in the market race to succeed in his endeavor.

The second attitude also includes the motivation for the control, since the results of the testing of Others' behaviour were positive for the Others. The motivation for "sending" an inspection to establishments owned by Others is on the side of the market race in which the Other, as a new participant, can alter the income of Us. Therefore those who report being indigenous, domestic Us rely on the assumption that Others are different, of a lower class, not familiar with Our rules, and hence worthy of suspicion; so they try to eliminate them from the market race. In social theory, this kind of attitude has an explanation in xenophobia, nationalism and violence towards minorities in an attempt to push the better, more

skilled or just new contender out of the game.

The first message of these stories is assimilating and, basically, implies that Others are different and that they can live with us only if they learn our rules. The other message is anti-xenophobic on the surface, in the sense that it denounces those who fear that the Others will put Us in peril through their quality or their mere existence which, in turn, makes it necessary to qualify them as Others and bar them from relevant areas of life.

Only now is it possible to answer the question of why the legend remains somewhat incomplete and allows for ambiguous interpretations. And all that without a statistical analysis of the audience and the storytellers! The legend is being told in a society in which both ideological and political concepts are present and hence it remains the same, containing within itself heterogeneous and incompatible ideas, while these contents themselves independently make up other legends and public discourses.

However, these legends do not preach tolerance of the Otherness of Others. They just show that Others can become Us through a form of training which We will impose, organise and oversee, ultimately making Them, completely and voluntarily, introject all the relevant rules. But, these legends do exclude essentialist ideas about identity, considering it to be susceptible to socialisation (acculturation, assimilation). Identity is not acquired through birth, blood, skin colour, mother's milk or any of the other essentialist transmitters; rather it is a relatively stable construct, something which can be imitated, adopted, learned... Hence, the first characteristic of these legends is that they are antiessentialist.

As far as preaching tolerance is concerned, the legend about the Chinese restaurant in Novi Beograd does not speak about meals made up of inedible or tabooed animals, or those that the majority of the population consider grossly inedible finding their way onto the menu. The legend of the Chinese restaurant doesn't speak about a "new dish" like that attracting a lot of customers to the restaurant in Novi Beograd. A legend like that would firstly be a legend of tolerance and secondly even a legend about the reception of the Otherness of Others. Neither

does the legend of the "Gypsy's tavern" in Banatsko Novo Selo speak of an element of the ascribed identity which would primarily disturb the majority of the population, but would, through a legendary turn of events, become acceptable or even favoured, which would lead to an onslaught of new customers. On the contrary, the Chinese menu in Novi Beograd and the entirety of the "Gypsy's Tavern" in Banatsko Novo Selo in the legends are made up of elements that are basically "acceptable" and which are the result of the proprietors of these establishments striving to provide exactly what the environment determines as the norm.

The same can be said of the legends described by Campion-Vincent. Gentlemanly behaviour (payment of a hotel bill or sending flowers), sharing selflessly (the last biscuit) or the responsible compensation for damage that was done are traits and behaviours which we ascribe to Us: therefore, anyone acting in that manner has the chance to stop being an Other and should be treated like one of Us. Someone who has become rich in accordance with Our rules must become a part of Us. The same goes for reputations acquired in accordance with the rules that We make and which enable someone who was originally an Other to occupy any and even the highest place in the social hierarchy. Legends recorded in Serbia leave both options open: that the transformation occurred voluntarily as the result of the newcomers striving to adapt to their new surroundings, as well as the possibility that the environment forced the Others to adapt to the social norm through repression and the strict enforcement of rules.

Based on all this, it is possible to reformulate what these legends are actually about. They are not about the tolerance of the Otherness of Others. Also, they do not essentialise identities nor do they petrify those which were already constructed; rather they speak of the possibility of overcoming them. To use an older anthropological terminology, these legends speak about acculturation and assimilation. They are stories about the reconstruction of ethno-constructs, which occurs in spite of various identity petrifiers and various types of re-exoticising.

## URBANE LEGENDE MED VEČKULTURNOSTJO IN ASIMILACIJO

Ivan KOVAČEVIĆ

Univerza v Beogradu, Filozofska fakulteta, Oddelek za etnologijo in antropologijo, 11000 Beograd, Čika Ljubina 18  
e-mail: ikovacev@f.bg.ac.rs

## POVZETEK

*Med preučevanjem urbanih legend si je francoska folkloristka Véronique Campion-Vincent zastavila vprašanje, ali se nekatere novejše legende zavzemajo za strpnost. Legendi »Dogodek v dvigalu« ali »pogolnjena vstopnica« odražata drugačen odnos do Drugih, kot ga lahko zasledimo v klasičnih ksenofobnih urbanih legendah. Tak, nov odnos lahko opazimo tudi v dveh legendah, zabeleženih v Srbiji, in sicer v legendi o ciganovi gostilni in legendi o kitajski restavraciji. Po analizi sodeč, dvoumnost teh dveh »strpnostnih legend« ne izhaja iz dejstva, da govorita o ksenofobičnem okolju, hkrati pa je njun razplet »pridiga« o strpnosti, ampak bolj iz dejstva, da se »pridiganje« bolj nanaša na tiste Druge, ki so prestali proces akulturacije, se asimilirali in sprejeli pravila »naše« kulture. Take legende se ne zavzemajo za strpnost do Drugačnosti Drugih, ampak za strpnost do Drugih, ki se trudijo ali pa jim je že uspelo postati »Mi«.*

**Ključne besede:** urbane legende, zagovarjanje strpnosti, Srbija, 'Drugi', Kitajci, Romi, restavracija, akulturacija

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## ČEZMEJNI IN TRANSKULTURNI IMAGINARIJI: ALPSKO-JADRANSKI PROSTOR V KONTEKSTU NJEGOVEGA ZAMIŠLJANJA IN O(D)SMIŠLJANJA

*Marija JURIĆ PAHOR*

Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Erjavčeva 26, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija  
e-mail: INV@inv.si ; juric.pahor@alice.it

### IZVLEČEK

Izhajajoč iz Lefebvrejevih teoretskih doganj o treh neločljivo med seboj povezanih modusih produkcije družbenega prostora – percipirani, koncipirani in (do)živeti prostor –, Foucaultovega pojma »drugih prostorov«, ki vključuje »drugo prostorov« (npr. v obliku pulzij, fantomov), Castoriadosovo koncepcijo »družbenih imaginarijev« ter relevantnih razprav o čezmejnosti, transnacionalnosti in transkulturnosti, se avtorica sooča z dekonstruiranjem prevladujočih raziskav in stališč o nastanku in razvoju prostora Alpe-Jadran. V nadaljevanju predstavi imaginariji prostora Alpe-Jadran, ki se je izoblikoval pod vplivom intelektualnega vrenja, ki ga je sprožilo študentsko gibanje. Imperativ »Auschwitza nikdar več!« je nastal prav tem času. Zato so bile še posebej pomembne vizije politik in družb onkraj totalitarnih vzvodov in travm. Avtorica ponazori, da so te vizije pogojevale tudi ustanovitev prostora Alpe-Jadran. S pomočjo analize nekaterih dolgotrajnih čezmejnih kulturnih iniciativ in pobud izpostavi težnjo po transkulturnosti, to je po takšni artikulaciji kulture, ki omogoča sposobnost dialoga in medsebojne izmenjave. Čeprav je prostor Alpe-Jadran danes skorajda razformiran, ostaja njegov »duh« v tem prostoru še naprej močno prisoten, verjetno močneje kot kdaj koli poprej.

**Ključne besede:** čezmejni imaginariji, transkulturni imaginariji, prostor Alpe-Jadran

## GLI IMMAGINARI TRANSFRONTALIERI E TRANSCULTURALI: LA REGIONE ALPE ADRIA NEL CONTESTO DELLA SUA IDEAZIONE E (GRADUALMENTE INDEBOLITA) GIUSTIFICAZIONE

### SINTESI

Derivando dalle conclusioni teoriche di Lefebvre sui tre modi di produzione dello spazio, inscindibilmente collegati tra di loro – lo spazio percepito, lo spazio concepito e lo spazio vissuto –, dal concetto di “eterotopia” di Foucault, che coinvolge “l’altro degli spazi” (per es. in forma di pulsioni, fantasmi), dalla concezione degli “immaginari sociali” di Castoriadis, e dalle discussioni rilevanti sui concetti dello spazio transfrontaliero, di transnazionalità e transculturalità, l’autrice fa fronte alla decostruzione delle ricerche e opinioni predominanti sulla formazione e sviluppo dello spazio Alpe Adria. Quindi presenta l’immaginario della regione Alpe Adria, formatasi sotto l’influsso del fermento intellettuale provocato dal movimento studentesco. L’imperativo “Mai più Auschwitz!” è emerso proprio in questo periodo. Per questa ragione le visioni delle politiche e società al di là delle leve totalitarie e traumi sono state particolarmente importanti. L’autrice illustra come queste visioni condizionassero anche l’istituzione dello spazio Alpe Adria Mediante l’analisi di alcuni progetti e iniziative culturali transfrontalieri di lunga durata, l’autrice accentua l’aspirazione alla transculturalità, ossia a un’articolazione della cultura che permetterebbe la capacità al dialogo e all’interscambio. Sebbene oggi lo spazio Alpe Adria sia quasi scomposto, la presenza del suo “spirito” qui rimane ancora forte, probabilmente più forte che mai.

**Parole chiave:** immaginari transfrontalieri, immaginari transculturali, spazio Alpe Adria

Še preden se bomo soočali s tematiko zamišljjanja in osmišljanja prostora Alpe-Jadran ter z vprašanji, ki se našajo na njegovo transnacionalno in transkulturno specifiko, je potrebno, da se nekoliko zaustavimo pri pojmu »imaginarij« – lat. *imaginarius*, le v mislih, domišljiji obstoječ, iz-, za-mišljen, glagol pa je *imaginare*, predstavljeni, domišljati si, sanjati o čem –, ki se ga v pozni moderni družbi vse bolj uporablja v navezavi na prostor. Pojem, ki sovpada z naraščajočim pomenom vizualnih prezentacij (Bachmann-Medick, 2006, 239–380), se lahko izrazi samo prek imaginacije, s stvaritvijo podob in predstav (lat. *imago*, fr. *image*), ki zagotavlja vstop subjekta v svet znakov in je ključen element ustvarjalnega procesa.

Z ozirom na naš predmet lahko rečemo, da imaginacija zajema tisti del predstav, ki niso nujno resnične in dejanske (ni jih moč zreducirati zgolj na »fikcijo« ali »utvaro«),<sup>1</sup> pa vendar delujejo v sovisnosti od družbenih uveljavljenih predstav dejanskosti in imajo temu ustrezeno usmerjevalno vlogo. Ta vloga, v katero se projicirajo tudi nezavedni in transpersonalni vzgibi, lahko postane kolektivna last neke družbe, idejne usmeritve ali civilizacije, pa čeprav ni nič za vselej določeno ali nespremenljivo. Družbena stvarnost je rezultat procesov nastajanja in je odprta za nove vzorce. To sugerira tudi tako imenovani »prostorski obrat«, ki ga je s svojo prelomno in temeljno študijo *Production de l'espace* (1991 [1974]) spodbudil francoski sociolog in filozof Henri Lefebvre.<sup>2</sup>

Lefebvre v tej študiji poudarja, da prostor ni naravna danost, ampak družbeni proizvod (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974], 26). Na podlagi zgodovinskega pregleda o različnih razvojnih stopnjah prostora – od grške antike preko renesanse do kapitalizma 20. stoletja – prihaja do sklepa, da »vsaka družba proizvaja prostor, svoj lastni prostor« (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974], 31). Lefebvrejeva razmišljjanja o prostoru se nadaljujejo s konceptualno triado, ki se v različnih priredbah in interpretacijah pojavlja v številnih delih, ki se posvečajo teoretičizaciji družbene prostorskosti. Družbeni prostor po Lefebvreju tvorijo *prostorske prakse, reprezentacije prostora in prostor reprezentacij* (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974], 33, 38–39).

Prvi prostor (*spatial practice/l'espace perçu*) je percipirani ali zaznavani prostor, ki ga akterji producirajo in

reprodukcirojo v svojem vsakdanjem življenju. Ta prostor je neposredno dostopen čutilom, s katerimi ga »povnanjimo«. Mehanizem, ki je tu na delu, je sledeč: čutno zaznavanje, ki poteka večinoma neodvisno od zavestne refleksije, se poveže z zaznavanjem, katerega izvor je v *zunanjem svetu*. V Verbinčevem Slovarju tujk temu ustrezeno beremo: »Percepција - e ž [lat. *perceptio* iz *percipere* (s)prejeti, zaznati] zazna(va)nje, dojemanje vtisov iz zunanjega sveta s čutili; zaznava, dojetje« (Verbinc, 1982, 537). Prostор predstavlja v tem smislu materialno silo, ki je tesno povezana z zaznavalno sposobnostjo, vendar ta po Lefebvreju ne izhaja iz »naravnega stanja« ali sama iz sebe, temveč vedno skozi interakcijo z drugimi in drugim (v sebi, zunaj sebe).

Drugi prostor (*representation of space/l'espace conçu*) je koncipirani ali zamišljeni prostor, prostor znanstvenikov, prostorskih načrtovalcev, urbanistov. Ta prostor »tendira [...] k sistemu verbalnih, torej umsko oblikovanih znakov« (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974], 39), torej k ustvarjalnosti, ki je v funkciji zamišljjanja (mislečega predstavljanja) in osmišljjanja prostora. Tovrstno »misleče predstavljanje« sugerira tudi v etimologiji besede »videti« vsebovan za-stavek – »vedeti«. Sorodstvo obeh besed povzema rek znamenitega renesančnega slikarja Leonarda de Vincijs: *saper vedere*, »zнати видети, ki hkrati napeljuje na predpostavko, da je podoba pred besedo, četudi je predstavljena na način »teksta«, kot diskurz.

Tretji prostor (*representational space/l'espace vécu*) je (do)živeti prostor. Posredovan je preko podob in simbolov, tako globoko zapisanih v nezavedno, da so njegova struktura, engrami ali »vtiski«. V človeški psihi so kot pred-oblikovani modeli, ki igrajo nekakšno vlogo motorja in unifikatorja. Prostor reprezentacij je v tem smislu veliko prej (do)živet kot percipiran ali koncipiran. Tendira »k bolj ali manj koherentnemu sistemu ne-verbalnih simbolov in znakov« (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974], 39). Ker se Lefebvre v tem sklopu nanaša na interaktivno moč določenih umetnikov, ne gre prezreti »odprtosti« simbolov in poetičnih podob, ki so pomemben del sleherne resnične umetnine, ki lahko rezonira tudi v kasnejših družbenih obdobjih – kar sta na primeru Peršernovega *Krsta pri Savici* in *Sonetnega venca* (podobe

- 1 Predstava, da imaginacija (imaginarno) nima nič skupnega z resničnim, da je torej nekaj nerescničnega ali fiktivnega, je slej ko prej močno prisotna v raznih slovarjih. Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika (Bajec et al., ur., 1985, 23, II. knjiga) jo takole ponazarja: »imagináren -rna -o prid. (â) ki v resničnosti ne obstaja; izmišljen, namišljen: vse se dogaja v imaginarnem prostoru; živi v imaginarnem svetu / opisuje neko imaginarno osebo / ekspr. njegovi strahovi so čisto imaginarni // ekspr. nedoločen, nejasen: o tem ima imaginarno predstavo [...].«
- 2 Naj poudarimo, da je Lefebvrova medtem že klasična študija *Production de l'espace* (1991 [1974]) predstavlja odgovor na »periferizacijo družbene prostorskosti« (Soja, 1996, 2), ki je vladala še v sedemdesetih letih. Do občutenega »prostorskega obrata« je polagoma prihalilo šele od sredine 80-ih, še zlasti pa od 90-ih let dalje. (Šele v tem času je bil Lefebvre proglašen za bistvenega predhodnika sodobne teoretičizacije družbene prostorskosti oziroma tako imenovanega *spatial turn*.) K prostorskemu obratu so, kot bomo še ponazorili, bistveno prispevali globalizacijski procesi ter družbene spremembe ob koncu 80-ih let. Odločilna gonilna sila zanj pa je bil padec tako imenovanega »vzhodnega« in »zahodnega« bloka. Ukinitev prostorsko-politične polarnosti sta se spremenili celotna prostorska konstellacija in kartografija Evrope in sveta, odprl pa se je tudi nov izkustveni prostor, treba se je bilo na novo orientirati; več o tem gl. prispevek Karla Schläglia, enega vodilnih iniciatorjev prostorskega obrata v nemškem prostoru, *Die Mitte liegt ostwärts: Europa im Übergang* (Sredina leži proti vzhodu: Evropa na prehodu) iz leta 1986. Prispevek je priobčil tudi v njegovi znani, istoimenski knjigi, ki je izšla poldrugo desetletje kasneje (Schlägel, 2002).

Julije Primic) lucidno ponazorila Marko Juvan (1990) in Rastko Močnik (2006).

Lefebvrova koncepcionalna triada prostora predstavlja, da prostor ni en sam, ampak da se trije prostori – percipirani/zaznavani, koncipirani/zamišljeni, (do)živeti – med seboj prepletajo; ni jih mogoče misliti linearno, ampak sinhrono. Ti prostori so vedno odprtji, prehodni, podvrženi preobrazbi, upirajo pa se tudi binarni redukciji razlik med njimi na eno samo alternativo med Istim in Drugim (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974], 39). Lefebvrejeva kritika dialektike in s tem napad na binarne delitve in totalizacijo je tako sociološko spoznanje »narave« družbenih prostorov kot tudi politični projekt, ki si prizadeva za alternativne prostorske modele. Implicira pa tudi premik v smer *imaginacije* in *imaginarnega*. Že novembra 1956 je Lefebvre na ljubljanski univerzi predaval: »Zdi se mi, da je podoba neko posredovanje, neka živa posrednica med mislečim in čutečim človekom, in celotnim svetom in življenjem, ki ga obdaja, družbenim življenjem, in tudi njegovim lastnim življenjem. Vez med človekom in njegovim življenjem se razvija, s tem da postaja zavestnejša. Podoba torej ni samo izraz: podoba je tudi sredstvo raziskovanja, [...].« (Lefebvre, 1957, 138).

Arjun Appadurai (1998, 22) pripisuje imaginaciji celo neizpodbitni osvobajajoči potencial. Moč imaginacije predstavlja zanj gonilo za oblikovanje družbenih vzorcev možnega življenja številnih ljudi v raznolikih družbah. Celo ranljivi posamezniki in skupine po vsem svetu – na primer begunci, otroci, ki trdo garajo (v tekstilni industriji, na poljih), pripadniki manjšin – svojega življenja ne smatrajo nujno kot rezultat danosti, temveč kot »ironični kompromis med tem, kar si lahko predstavljajo, in tem, kar družba dopušča« (Appadurai, 1998, 22). Pomembno vlogo igra v tem sklopu cirkulacija predstav in podob, ki so – kot se je posrečeno izrazil Felix Guattari – v globaliziranem svetu »migratorične«, in ne več »teritorializirane« (Guattari v Thill, 2005, 77). To pa hkrati pomeni, da jih ni več mogoče misliti s konceptualimi orodji, ki sta jih proizvedla modernost in nacionalizem.

Globalizacijski procesi ustvarjajo transnacionalne vezi in prostore, povečujejo vrednost regionalnih in lokalnih kultur in postavljajo v ospredje transkulturne identitete in pripadnosti (Beck, 1998, 30), ki implicirajo dialoškost v bahtinovskem smislu, kot mnogoterosti glasov in perspektiv, neizvedljivih na eno samo linearo in homogeno – v našem primeru nacio-etno-kulturno – pozicijo. Édouard Glissant (1990), znani antilski pisatelj, pesnik in mislec, govoril prav v tem smislu o *Poetiki Odnosa* in misli v Vse-Svetu. Svojo analizo, ki je prvotno veljala za »lokalno« stanje na Karibih, je dojel kot možen zgled za globalizirani svet. Sam naslov knjige je nastal pod vplivom branja *Anti-Ojdipa* Gillesa Deleuza in Félix Guattaria iz leta 1972, ki sta od tedaj nenehno vzbujala učenjaško sfero. Od njiju si je Glissant sposodil tudi zamisel o razlikovanju dveh vrst identitetnega mišljenja: ene, ki zraste iz ene same korenine, in druge, pomnožene, *rizomske*,

kjer se korenine vzajmeno prepletajo in širijo v smeri razmerja do Drugega (Glissant, 1990, 31, 157–158; 2005, 39). To slednjo identiteto, ki ohranja idejo ukoreninjenja, vendar zavrača idejo edinstvene in totalitarne korenike – korenike, ki vse vsrka vase in uniči vse okoli sebe –, Glissant imenuje »identiteto odnosa«. Glissant torej predlaga, da se odnos oblikuje v srečanju z Drugim, drugačnim in različnim. Skupaj s Patrickom Chamoiseauem pa si je prizadeval tudi za »družbo odnosov«, za sprejemanje »raznolikosti sveta in njihovih kultur« in, s tem povezano, za takšne meje, ki niso zaprte ali zamrznjene, temveč odprte in fluidne, mesta prehajanja, medsebojnega vplivanja in spreminjaanja (Glissant, Chamoiseau, 2011).

Pomenljivo je, da se tovrstne težnje potrjujejo tudi v razvoju prostora Alpe-Jadran, ki ga je leta 1978 na osnovi predhodnih stikov med deželami Koroško v Avstriji, Furlanijo-Julijsko krajino v Italiji in republiko Slovenijo v nekdajni Jugoslaviji v Benetkah priklicala v življenje istoimenska delovna skupnost. Gre za razvoj, ki je sovpadal s težnjami po vzpostavitev takšne prostorske politike, ki naj bi prebila predstavo o (nacionalno)državno ločenih družbenih prostorih in jih nadomestila s čezmejno povezanimi regijami, aktiviranjem kohezijskih in delovanjskih praks ter novim pojmovanjem meja. Slednje naj ne bi več predstavljale zidu ali branika pred Drugim, drugačnim, temveč »most« ali prehod, ki naj bi omogočal in spodbujal čezmejne stike med državami, regijami in ljudmi, s tem pa redukcijo nacio-etno-kulturnih konfliktov kot latentnega potenciala nasilja in vojn.

### ZAMIŠLJANJE IN OSMIŠLJANJE PROSTORA ALPE-JADRAN

Pojem prostora Alpe-Jadran je akt »zamišljanja« in, posledično, osmišljanja, ki ga po Benedictu Andersonu ne bi smeli asociirati s »potvarjanjem« ali »iznajdenjem«, temveč z »ustvarjanjem« (Anderson, 2007 [1983], 23). Gre torej za akt, ki napeljuje tako na spoznavno razsežnost intencionalnega načrtovanja kot tudi na kreativnost domišljije in predstavljanja. V resnici, tako Anderson, niso zamišljene ali koncipirane le nacije, ampak tudi vse skupnosti, ki so večje od prvotnih vaških skupnosti in preraščajo neposredni človeški stik. Nekaj analognega velja tudi za vsa ozemlja, teritorialne skupnosti in družbene prostore. Skupnosti in prostorov torej ne bi smeli razlikovati po tem, ali so pristni ali lažni (brez ustreznic v realnosti), temveč po tem, na kakšen način so zamišljeni (Anderson, 2007 [1983], 23).

Te prostore ni mogoče videti zunaj družbenokulturnih okvirov, ki jih je Cornelius Castoriadis (1987 [1964]) imenoval »družbeni imaginarij«. Ti okviri, ki segajo prek Andersonovega pojma o »zamišljeni skupnosti«, igrajo pomembno vlogo pri oblikovanju družbene stvarnosti. So proizvod ustvarjalnega procesa, hkrati pa vplivajo nanj. Castoriadis govoril tudi o *magmi*, ki se zmeraj uresniči v žarku zaznavajočega/zajemajočega pogleda, ki skupaj

artikulirata »smisel« in »pomen«, in sicer še pred nastankom racionalnosti. Ta notranji zgradbeni princip deluje v vseh omembih vrednih kulturnih sistemih in izhaja iz osnovne sposobnosti ljudi, da si ustvarijo simbolne reprezentacije. Vse družbe so imele osrednji imaginarij, da bi se lahko odzivale na osnovna vprašanja v zvezi s svojo identiteto in položajem v svetu. Po Castoriadosovem mnenju se ta kot vizija alternativne družbe razteza prek meja institucionalnih družbenih oblik. To je poimenoval radikalni imaginarij, ki nenehno izziva družbeni imaginarij, ta pa ga nikoli ne more popolnoma nadzirati ali zamejiti. Radikalni imaginarij je povezan s sposobnostjo družbe, da presega samo sebe, kar velja še zlasti za družbe, ki se nahajajo v transformaciji. Take družbe ustvarjajo svoj lastni *eidos* (gr. podoba, predstava, ideja, *dobljena na podlagi izkustva*), ki odstopa od tradicionalnih osrednjih imaginarijev oz. imaginarnih predstav. Oblikujejo se skozi njihovo odzivanje na pretekle in sočasne dogodke in zagotavljajo orientacijo v svetu.

Ko danes govorimo o bolj ali manj jasno začrtanem »izvoru« in skupnih značilnostih prostora Alpe-Jadran (npr. »prepletanje narodov, jezikov in kultur«, »stičišče treh velikih kultur: romanske, germaniske, slovanske« itd.) – kakor to na primer sugerira obsežni zbornik, ki podaja kronološko razporejeni zgodovinski pregled, ki ga je zasnoval Andrej Moritsch (Moritsch, 2001), ali pa knjige s simptomatičnima naslovoma *Der Alpen-Adria-Raum in Antike und Spätantike* (Strobel, 2003), *Karantanien und der Alpen-Adria Raum im Frühmittelalter* (Hödl, Grabmayer, 1993) – je treba imeti pred očmi, da ta prostor do sredine šestdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja in še dlje ni obstajal niti kot misel, kaj šele kot politični cilj. Pa tudi o njegovi preteklosti je mogoče posredovati le to, kar družba v vsakem obdobju lahko rekonstruira s svojimi aktualnimi referenčnimi družbenimi okviri.

Vsaka rekonstrukcija preteklosti je selektivna, zaznamovana s tistim, česar bi se radi spomnili in česar bi se radi otresli, pri čemer odigrajo pomembno vlogo oblastne instance. Zamišlanje in osmišlanje prostora »med Alpami in Jadranom« je zato nujno povezano z redefiniranjem in modifikacijo njegove zgodovinske preteklosti oziroma ju predpostavlja. Poudariti velja, da je ustvarjanje tega prostora potekalo pod vplivom »duha časa«, ki je nastajal v obdobju, ko je bila vsa Evropa pod vtisom študentskega gibanja (Lefebvre velja za enega izmed njegovih »očetov«), ki se je skoraj istočasno odvijalo po celiem svetu in v Franciji pripeljalo skoraj do vstaje. Že od konca petdesetih let dalje je bilo v tej državi mogoče zabeležiti izjemno intelektualno in politično vrenje, ki je trajalo vse tja do srede sedemdesetih let. Povsem inovativne in vplivne misli k temi prostorji so nastajale prav v tem obdobju in predvsem v frankofonem prostoru.<sup>3</sup>

Naj ob Lefebvreju omenimo še Michela Foucaulta, ki je zaslovel zlasti z novo koncepcijo oblasti, takšne, ki nima središča in jo je treba misliti »lokalno«, »regionalno«, »periferno«, disperzno, kot heterogeno polje sil (gl. Deleuze, 1988). Manj znano je, da gre za filozofa, ki je v predavanju *O drugih prostorih* že leta 1967 naznani začetek »dobe prostora« (Foucault, 1967, 317). Foucault v tem temeljnem tekstu predpostavlja, da »svet danes ni več toliko razumljen kot veliko živo bitje, ki se razvija skozi čas, temveč kot mreža, katere vrvi se križajo in povezujejo točke« (Foucault, 1967, 317). Ta svet Foucault označi tudi kot prostor »sosedskih odnosov« in »prostor relacij«. V navezavi na Gastona Bachelarda izpostavlja, da gre hkrati za prostor neposredne zaznave, sanjarij in strasti, ki je obeležen s številnimi kvalitetami in je »morebiti poln fantomov« (Foucault, 1967, 318–319). Foucault tu napeljuje tako na *druge prostore* (npr. psihiatrične ustanove, zapore, taborišča, pa tudi mejne ali liminalne prostore), ki jih ustvarja vsaka družbena organizacija, kot tudi na *druge prostore*, ki ni lokalizabilno in napeljuje na človekovo notranjost, na združitev imaginacije in spomina. Čeprav se Foucault v svojem predavanju tej komponenti izrecno ne posveča, je očitno, da v takšni združitvi lahko rečemo, da podoživljamo svojo preteklost, in sicer v kontekstu razvoja moderne in njenih totalitarnih vzvodov zlasti v 20. stoletju, ki so se pokazala kot generator najrazličnejših fantomov, tesnob, kriznih stanj ter posledično – mnogih travm, spletenih okoli bivanjske in družbene stvarnosti.

Za predmet naše raziskave je pomembna predvsem sporočilnost tovrstnih zamisli, ki je bila v tem, da je treba prekiniti s podobo sveta, ki je vrgla razdejanje in senco izprijene humanosti na vse človeštvo. Zato so bile še posebej pomembne vizije družbe prihodnosti brez militarizma, genocida, uniformnosti in instrumentalne discipline, pa tudi brez moralne brezbrižnosti, ločnic in segregacij. Kategorični imperativ »Auschwitzu nikdar več«, ki je stopil v ospredje prav v tem času, je v skladu s to vizijo.<sup>4</sup> Zlasti v študentih in mladih se je akumuliralo upanje za spremembe v svetu – utrip nove *aetas*, ki je vključeval odmev ontološke realnosti vojne generacije in je dal občutiti slutnjo ne-bitja. Nespregledan je namreč premik od herojskih k travmatskim spominom, ki implicirajo nujo, da »golo življenje« (Giorgio Agamben) ne bi spet postal »vložek« totalitarnih sistemov.

Ta nuja se simbolično zgošča v prelomnem zgodovinskem dejanju, ki se je zgodilo v decembru leta 1970, ko je zahodnonemški kancler Willy Brandt spontano pokleplnil pred spomenikom vstaji v varšavskem getu. Brandtov simbolični padec na kolena je postal ikona obdobja. Sovpada z njegovo »novo vzhodno politiko«, ki je bila tesno povezana s političnimi prizadevanji za zmanjšanje napetosti med državami zahodnega in vzhodnega bloka,

3 Tedaj so potekale tudi tri pomembne mednarodne konference o obmejnih prostorih, leta 1969 v Bruslju, leta kasneje v Lillu in nato v Gorici leta 1972, vse tri v soorganizaciji Sveta Evrope (gl. Kralj, Rener, 2009, 41).

4 Nedvomno je k temu imperativu prispeval Eichmannov proces leta 1961 ter frankfurtski procesi proti zločincem iz Auschwitza 1963–1968, ki so odmevali daleč preko meja Nemčije.

ki so se raztezala tudi na države »med« blokoma, to je na nevtralne države in neuvršcene države, in dosegle svoj vrhunec v podpisu Sklepne listine Helsinške konference o varnosti in sodelovanju v Evropi leta 1975, ki se je izkazala kot ključni element pri končanju hladne vojne. Listina, ki vključuje 10 načel miroljubnega sožitja,<sup>5</sup> se med drugim zavzema tudi za ponovno združevanje družin, predvideva pa tudi splošno čezmejno zblževanje ljudi, še posebno mladine (CSCE, 1975). In zdi se, da so prav tovrstne potrebe krajevnega prebivalstva bistveno soprispevale k težnji po čezmejnih stikih. Hellwig Valentin (2008, 18) poudarja, da se je čezmejno sodelovanje na ožjem območju prostora Alpe-Jadran začelo že v povojskem obdobju, in sicer prav na iniciativno obmejnega prebivalstva. »V Furlaniji Julijski krajini, Sloveniji in na Koroškem je iskallo neposredne stike s sosednjimi deželami, da bi v regionalnem okviru uresničilo to, kar se je zdelo na državnih ravnih le s težavami uresničljivo, namreč sklepati prijateljstva med ljudmi različnih političnih, jezikovnih in kulturnih pripadnosti – in sicer preko meja.« (Valentin, 2008, 18)

Helsinška sklepna listina je imela, če se povrnemo k njej, tudi močno simbolno ost: državne meje naj ne bi bile več pojmovane kot ločnice, temveč kot »most« ali »prehod«.

### ČEZMEJNA (SOSEDSKA) POLITIKA

Osimski sporazumi iz leta 1975 govorijo o tem, da se je »helsinški duh« uveljavljal tudi v prostoru med (vzhodnimi) Alpami in (severnim) Jadranom. Osimski sporazumi so močno sprostili prekomejno prehajanje oseb, ki se je sicer že po odpravi vizumov leta 1967 odvijalo bolj sproščeno. »Confine aperto«, odprta meja med Jugoslavijo in Italijo, je postala sinonim nove, odprte oblike čezmejnega sodelovanja med obema državama in širše (Bufon, 1995, 56–59). Z Osimskimi sporazumi je bila potrjena vloga Videmskega sporazuma iz leta 1955, ki ni bil zgolj italijansko-jugoslovanski bilateralni sporazum o obmejnem prometu, še manj čisto lokalna zadeva, saj je vplival na več kasnejših mednarodnih pobud, med drugimi tudi na proces Konference za varnost in sodelovanje v Evropi (KVSE), ki je leta 1975 privedla do sprejema Helsinške sklepne listine. »Namen sporazuma je bil olajšati življenje prebivalcem ob meji, ki je razdelila družine, sorodnike, Slovence, Italijane, parcele in celo nekatere hiše« (Mamić, 2005). Jasen indikator za postopno izboljševanje mednarodnega ozračja je bila ob Videmskem sporazumu tudi Avstrijska državna pogodba,

ki je bila sprejeta 15. maja 1955. S to pogodbo je bila obnovljena državnost Avstrije, potrjene so bile njene meje pred 13. marcem 1938.

K obremenjenemu razmerju sosednjih dežel Koroške, Julisce krajine in SR Slovenije/Jugoslavije po drugi svetovni vojni – določali so ga zasedbene oblasti, deportacije in poboji s strani jugoslovanskih oblasti, zelo pomajkljiva defašizacija in denacifikacija ter boji za meje – je koroški deželnih glavar Hans Sima leta 1968 zapisal, da ga je »mogoče preseči le z obsežno politiko brez nasilja«, in dodal, da se je mladina demonstrativno priznala k združeni Evropi,<sup>6</sup> »s čimer je bila v prostoru Alpe-Jadran oživljena dolgo zasuta skupna dediščina na stičišču treh kultur: romanske, germanske in slovanske« (Sima v Valent, 1998, 173).

Čeprav ni mogoče trditi, da se takšna ali drugačna »skupna dediščina« lahko neokrnjeno ohrani skozi dolga zgodovinska obdobja, kar predpostavlja zmotno misel, da se je treba do nje le dokopati in jo potegniti na plano, so se je kreatorji prostora Alpe-Jadran v smislu politično motiviranega »strateškega esencializma« (Spivak, 1996, 159) vendarle posluževali. Nanjo so gledali kot na v prihodnost obrnjeni diskurz o preteklosti, ki zavrača polarizirano in konfrontacijsko gledanje, usmerjeno na singularno kategorizacijo, znotraj katere ne bi smela šteti nobena druga identiteta razen (mono)nacionalne ali (mono)ideološke. Za alpsko-jadranski prostor so od sredine šestdesetih let dalje začeli ustvarjati nov besednjak prostorske politike s tópi, kot so: »misija povezovanja narodov«, »izgradnja sosedskih stikov«, »most prijateljstva med tremi sosednjimi državami«, »dobro sosedstvo« (gl. Valent, 1998, 173). O njihovi vztrajni re-produkciji pričajo tudi besede predsednika Skupščine (župana) mesta Ljubljane Marjana Rožiča na 18. tradicionalnem sejmu Alpe-Adria aprila 1979. Sejem je označil kot »manifestacija prijateljstva, sožitja in razumevanja med narodi, še posebej med sosednjimi narodi« (Bratok, 1979, 3).<sup>7</sup>

Nič čudnega potemtakem, da se navedeni tópi najdejo tudi v Evropski okvirni konvenciji o čezmejnem sodelovanju teritorialnih skupnosti ali oblasti iz leta 1980 (Svet Evrope, 1980), ki je znana tudi pod oznako Madridska konvencija. Šlo je za prvi najpomembnejši dokument o kodifikaciji čezmejnega sodelovanja, ki sta mu bila leta 1995 in 1998 priložena še dva protokola (Svet Evrope 1995, 1998). Julija 2006 pa je ta dokument nadgradila Uredba (ES) št. 1082/2006 o Evropskem združenju za teritorialno sodelovanje (EZTS). Madridska konvencija, ki so jo pripravljali že od leta 1964 dalje (Levrat, 2007, 26), opredeljuje

5 Ta načela so: 1. suverena enakost držav; 2. izogibanje grožnji s silo in njeni uporabi; 3. nedotakljivost meja; 4. ozemeljska celovitost držav; 5. mirno reševanje sporov; 6. nevmešavanje v notranje zadeve; 7. spoštovanje človekovih pravic in temeljnih svoboščin; 8. enakopravnost in samoodločba narodov; 9. sodelovanje med državami; 10. izpoljevanje obveznosti po mednarodnem pravu (CSCE, 1975).

6 Anton Pelinka je o avstrijskem študentskem gibanju v Avstriji zapisal, da ga je opredeljeval »predvsem aspekt evropeizacije« (Pelinka, 1998, 148–157).

7 Podatek Marjana Rožiča, da je sejem Alpe-Adria leta 1979 – vse do danes se odvija v Ljubljani – potekal že osemnajstič zapored, se ujema s podatkom Hellwiga Valentina (1998, 174), po katerem je bila oznaka Alpe-Adria, ki jo slovenimo z Alpe-Jadran, v uporabi že leta 1962, pa čeprav se je tedaj še omejevala na jugoslovansko-italijanski obmejni prostor.

čezmejno sodelovanje kot krepitev sosedskih odnosov med lokalnimi ali regionalnimi skupnostmi dveh ali več držav. V navezavi na Ludgerja Priesa bi lahko tudi govorili o »transnacionalnem socialnem prostoru« (Pries, 2008), ki je čezmejen, pluri-lokalen in zasidran v najmanj dveh ali treh različnih državah. Glavno vlogo v tem prostoru imajo akterji ali akterske skupine, ki jih opredeljujejo mnogostranske medsebojne kooperacije in sodelovanja.

Čeprav se v strokovni terminologiji uporablja izraz »čezmejno« tudi sinonimno z izrazom »transnacionalno« (Levrat, 2007, 14–15), pojma nista identična. Če je za transnacionalne kooperacije lahko značilna tudi velika, celo prekoceanska prostorska razdalja med posameznimi akterji, tega o terminu »čezmejno sodelovanje« ni mogoče trditi. »Čezmejno« je v Madridski konvenciji omejeno na »sosedsko« kot označitev »bližine« teritorialnih skupnosti, ki se vključujejo v čezmejno (transnacionalno) sodelovanje. Čeprav v konvenciji ni jasno izrečeno, da poteka takšno sodelovanje med teritorialnimi skupnostmi, ki *mejijo druga na drugo*, pa govorijo značilnosti in prednosti, ki jih običajno pripisujemo čezmejnemu sodelovanju, v prid takšni interpretaciji. Tudi Uredba o Evropskem združenju za teritorialno sodelovanje, ki predstavlja korenito spremembo Madridske konvencije,<sup>8</sup> potrjuje to pojmovanje. Iz 1. člena Uredbe izhaja, da želi EZTS poenostaviti in pospešiti *najširše teritorialno sodelovanje*, in sicer čezmejno, transnacionalno in medregionalno. Evropski viri te pojme takole tolmačijo: »čezmejno ali »med sosednjimi območji« – prek kopenskih ali morskih meja; transnacionalno – znotraj širšega geografskega območja; medregionalno – med bližnjimi teritorijami« (gl. npr. ICI IIIA, 2006, 52).

Termin »čezmejno sodelovanje« bi tako v *ožjem smislu* označeval sodelovanje med sosednjimi teritorialnimi skupnostmi največ treh držav. Organizacija, kot je DS Alpe-Jadran kot združenje obmejnih regij, katere članice prihajajo iz večjega števila držav in zato niso vse neposredne sosedje, bi bila torej nosilka čezmejnega sodelovanja v *širšem smislu te besede*.

To pojmovanje podkrepuje tudi Evropska sosedска politika (ESP), ki jo je EU uvedla leta 2004 ob širitvi na nove države članice, da bi zagotovljala okvir za »odnose s sosednimi« na vzhodu in na jugu, ki nimajo možnosti za članstvo v EU.<sup>9</sup> Napovedala je, da želi vseeno imeti »tesne in miroljubne odnose« z njimi in z njimi sodelovati (gl. Delanty, Rumford, 2008, 160). To pa hkrati pomeni, da se EU zaveda problematičnosti togih meja – govora je bilo

in je o »trdnjavi Evropi« ali o »schengenskemu obroču« – in da ustvarjanje okov ni ključnega pomena za varnost in stabilnost, marveč je treba zagotoviti prepustnost meja (Delanty, Rumford, 2008, 163–168).

Ta usmeritev daje misliti na Deklaracijo, ki jo je 9. maja 1950 predstavil francoski zunanj minister Robert Schuman in z njo položil temeljni kamen evropskega združevanja. Schumanov ideal je bil zgraditi »Evropo, osvobojeno vseh bratomornih jalovih bojev, ki je odločno stopila na pot skupnosti, poroštva blaginje, varnosti in miru« (Schuman, 2003, 11). Na drugem mestu svoje knjige *Za Evropo* pravi: »To, kar hočemo, je odvzeti mejam togost, [...] nepopustljivo sovražnost [...]. Namesto, da bi bile ovire, ki ločujejo, bodo morala postati stičišča, vzdolž katerih se organizirata in krepita blagovna in kulturna menjava.« (Schuman, 2003, 22–23)

### PROSTOR ALPE-JADRAN (ALPE-JADRAN-PANONIJA) VS. EVROREGIJA »BREZ MEJA«?

Delovna skupnost Alpe-Jadran (DS Alpe-Jadran), hkrati z njo pa tudi prostor Alpe-Jadran, sta bila ustanovljena leta 1978 v Benetkah na osnovi več kot desetletje trajajočih predhodnih stikov med Furlanijo Julijsko krajino, Koroško in Slovenijo. Temu začetnemu jedru neposrednih sosedskih regij, ki je deloval od leta 1965 dalje, se je proti koncu šestdesetih let pridružila še SR Hrvaška (Reiterer et al., 1991, 14). Tudi ime »Alpe-Jadran«, ki ga je DS izbrala izbrala zase in za novo nastajajoči prostor, je opozarjalo na sodelovanje med deželami in regijami v avstrijsko-jugoslovansko-italijanskem obmejnem območju. Pomenljivo je, da so se za sodelovanje odločile dežele, države in kasneje tudi županije iz različnih političnih in družbenih sistemov, kar je bil v Evropi – pa tudi v svetovnem merilu – enkraten in zgodovinsko pomemben korak k vzpostavitvi dialoga in čezmejnega sodelovanja regij iz držav NATO, neuvrščenih in nevtralnih držav ter iz držav varšavskega pakta.

Iz uradne spletnne strani DS Alpe-Jadran (<http://www.alpeadria.org/>) izhaja, da je imela le-ta v času svojega formalnega nastanka leta 1978 sedem ustanovnih članic: ob Furlaniji Julijski krajini, Koroški, Sloveniji in Hrvaški še zvezni deželi Zgornjo Avstrijo in Štajersko v Avstriji ter deželo Veneto v Italiji. Slobodna država Bavarska in dežela Salzburg sta pri Delovni skupnosti sprva sodelovali kot aktivni opazovalki in se ji kasneje aktivno pridružili. Leta 1981 so se DS Alpe-Jadran pridružili še italijanski deželi Trentino-

- 8 Z uredbo o EZTS se je EU lotila ustvarjanja prostora, ki vsem akterjem zagotavlja evropski pravni okvir, s katerim je mogoče širiti razvojne poti in usklajevati regulativne sisteme za upravljanje in organizacijo evropskega teritorialnega sodelovanja. Ustanovitev EZTS omogočajo zakonodaje držav članic, ki se prilagodijo temu pravnemu okviru. Pravo, ki se uporablja, je pravo države, v kateri ima EZTS svoj registrirani sedež. Skladno izvajanje Uredbe o EZTS v različnih državah članicah je ključ za njen uspeh. EU tako omogoča državam članicam možnost soodločanja v EZTS, medtem ko se je Madridska konvencija omejevala na *subnacionalne*, to je regionalne in lokalne oblasti. Uredba načeloma tudi zagotavlja nevmešavanje EZTS v notranje zadeve držav članic, obenem pa daje organom teritorialne oblasti večjo neodvisnost od centralnih oblasti pri sklepanju čezmejnih in transnacionalnih povezav in sodelovanj (gl. Levrat, 2007).
- 9 V krog teh sosednjih držav spadajo: Belorusija, Ukrajina, Moldavija, Gruzija, Armenija, Azerbajdžan, Sirija, Libanon, Jordanija, Izrael, Palestinska uprava, Egipt, Libija, Tunizija, Alžirija in Maroko. Čeprav je sosednja država EU tudi Rusija, so odnosi med EU in Rusijo zajeti v ločenem strateškem partnerstvu.

-Južni Tirol in Lombardija, v letih 1986 do 1994 pa avstrijska dežela Gradiščanska, švicarski kanton Tessin/Ticino, italijanska dežela Emilja Romanja ter županije Györ-Moson-Sopron, Vas, Zala, Somogy in Baranja, ki se nahajajo v panonskem delu Madžarske. Močan porast prostora Alpe-Jadran se je sprva kazal v zmanjšanju fleksibilnosti delovanja, vendar je z izstopom nekaterih dolgoletnih članic – Salzburg in Emilja Romanja (1999), Bavarska, Tessin/Ticino in Trentino-Južni Tirol (2005), Györ-Moson-Sopron (2006), Somogy (2008), Zala (2009), Zgornja Avstrija (2010) – DS Alpe-Jadran razvoj zožila na nekakšno razširjeno prvotno jedro recipročne čezmejne kooperacije, ki pa se je – kot bomo še videli – z odločitvijo o izstopu treh ustanovnih članic marca 2012 vsaj na formalni ravni izjalovila.

Izstop članic DS Alpe-Jadran, ki ga beležimo od leta 1986 dalje, so pogojevale spremenjene konstelacije v mednarodnem sodelovanju, še zlasti pa v sklopu širitev EU. Tako so se na primer madžarske županije po vstopu Madžarske v Evropsko unijo težiščno osredotočale na sodelovanje v okviru transnacionalnega projekta Matriosca-AAP (v izvirniku: Management Tools, effective Relations for new Interregional Organisation aimed at Strengthening the Cooperation Among regions in the Adria Alpe Pannonia Space), ki se je od junija 2005 do decembra 2007 izvajal v sklopu programa Interreg IIIB (Matriosca AAP, 2007). Pomemben cilj in rezultat projektnih partnerjev<sup>10</sup> je bila izdelava skupne strategije, po kateri bi bilo možno doseči integriran in usklajen razvoj v prostoru Alpe-Jadran-Panonija. Na sklepni konferenci projekta Matriosca AAP 14. 11. 2007 je potekala tudi razprava o okrepitevi sodelovanja s članicami DS Alpe-Jadran. Predstavniki v projekt vključenih partnerjev pa so predvidevali tudi preoblikovanje DS Alpe-Jadran v evoregijo Alpe-Jadran-Panonija, in sicer na temelju Uredbe (ES) št. 1082/2006 o Evropskem združenju za teritorialno sodelovanje – EZTS (Matriosca AAP, 2007). V ta namen sta bili sprejeti tudi Izjava iz Pamhagna »Od Delovne skupnosti Alpe-Jadran v Alpe-Jadran-Panonija« 21. novembra 2008 (DS Alpe-Jadran, 2008) in Izjava iz Vile Manin 19. novembra 2009 (DS Alpe-Jadran, 2009a). V tem procesu je bila ob avstrijski deželi Štajerski posebno aktivna Furlanija Julijska krajina, obe pa sta se potegovali za to, da bi v Gradec oziroma v Trst umestili uradni sedež te tedaj še morebitne prihodnje evoregije. V »tekmo po regionalni prevladi se je vključila tudi Slovenija, ki je samo sebe oziroma Ljubljano prav tako videla v »središču te »nove evoregije« (Bufon, 2011, 199).

Tej »tekmovalni« drži, ki je sad Uredbe o EZTS, saj od zainteresiranih regij zahteva, da se dogovorijo o sedežu, ki naj prevzame vlogo koordinatorja in izvrševalca čezmejnih, nadnacionalnih in medregionalnih sodelovanj, se je pridružila še zahteva po dogovoru o ozemeljskem obsegu evoregije, ki mora po Uredbi o EZTS prav tako biti jasno določena. Slovenija je že zelela – kar pa velja tudi za avstrijsko zvezno deželo Štajersko – načrtovano evoregijo razširiti na vse partnerje, ki so bili vključeni v čezmejni projekt Matriosca AAP. Tej zahtevi so ugovarjali »nekateri drugi partnerji, ki bi raje obdržali kompaktno skupino regij, sorodnih z zgodovinskega, kulturnega in gospodarskega vidika in ki so že dolgo časa v bi ali trilateralnih odnosih« (ICI IIIA, 2006, 74). Gre v prvi vrsti za predstavnike dežel Furlanije Julijske krajine, Koroške in Veneta, ki so predlagali, da naj nastajajočo evoregijo – sprva so jo imenovali evoregija »Villa Manin« (ICI IIIA, 2006, 69), kasneje se bo zanje uveljavilo ime evoregija »Brez meja« – tvorijo »prav tisti protagonisti«, ki so leta 1978 »ustanovili delovno skupnost Alpe-Jadran« (Illy, 2006, 6–7),<sup>11</sup> v nadaljnji fazi pa se jim naj pridružijo mejne hrvaške in madžarske županije in druge regije. Slovenija pri podpisu sporazuma o zasnovi te evoregije 12. junija 2007 v Vili Manin v Passarianu ni sodelovala, sta pa sodelovali hrvaški županiji Istra in Primorsko-goranska.

17. novembra 2009 je bil v Benetkah potren politični dogovor o uvedbi evoregije z imenom »Brez meja«, katerega jedro naj bi ob začetku sestavljeni Furlanija Julijska krajina, Veneto in Koroška (gl. DS Alpe-Jadran, 2009b). Dva dni kasneje je Renzo Tondo, predsednik Furlanije Julijske krajine in predsedujoči DS Alpe-Jadran, na Plenarnem zasedanju v Vili Manin poudaril, da ostaja evoregija »odprta za širitev na Slovenijo in hrvaške županije, ki bodo tudi postale članice, čim se bodo odločile stopiti na to začeto pot«. Pristavil je, »da bi morale vse članice DS Alpe-Jadran pripadati eni sami Evoregiji, ki bi si morala že od začetka prizadevati, da se dodatno razširi na območja srednje in jugovzhodne Evrope že v letih 2010 in 2011 »kot Alpe-Jadran Panonija, ki naj bo prestižno poimenovanje, poznano po vsej Evropi« (DS Alpe-Jadran, 2009b; izp. v kurzivi MJP).

Predsedstvo Alpe-Jadran te »obvezee« (DS Alpe-Jadran, 2009b) po kontinuiteti in razširitvi prostora Alpe-Jadran v Alpe-Jadran-Panonija ni držalo. Predsedniki in člani treh deželnih odborov – Furlanije Julijske krajine, avstrijske Koroške in Veneta – so 16. marca 2012 na skupnem zasedanju v Trstu odobrili statut in konvencijo za formiranje EZTS z imenom »Evoregija brez meja«<sup>12</sup> (»Euroregione

10 Partnerji v projektu Matriosca AAP so bili: Avstrija: Štajerska (vodilni partner), Koroška in Gradiščanska; Italija: Veneto in Furlanija Julijska krajina; Slovenija: GOSP – Služba vlade za lokalno samoupravo in regionalno politiko; Hrvaška: Istra in županija Koprivnica-Križevci; Madžarska: županije Györ-Moson-Sopron, Vas, Zala, Baranja, Somogy, Tolna. Pridružena projektna partnerja: Vojvodina/Srbija in Varaždin/Hrvaška.

11 Riccardo Illy, nekdanji predsednik Furlanije Julijske krajine, prispeva k tej skupini sledeče dežele in regije: Furlanijo-Julijsko krajino in Veneto, Slovenijo, Koroško, Istro in Primorsko-goransko županijo (Illy, 2006, 7).

12 Ime nove evoregije se navezuje na znano, vendar neuspešno kampanjo Furlanije Julijske krajine, Koroške in Slovenije za organizacijo olimpijskih iger v Beljaku, Trbižu in Kranjski gori za leti 1998 in 2006. Ta kampanja je potekala pod imenom »Ohne Grenzen – Senza confini – Brez meja«.

senza confini». Ta evroregija bo ustanovljena v Benetkah, takoj ko bo italijanska vlada potrdila obo dokumenta. Na skupnem zasedanju je bilo nadalje poudarjeno, da se ima EZTS namen širiti v prvi vrsti na Slovenijo in na hrvški županiji Istra ter Primorsko-goranska, v perspektivi pa tudi na Bavarsko (Primorski dnevnik, 17. 3. 2012).

Vzopredno s snovanjem nove čezmejne skupnosti so se Furlanija Julijska krajina, Koroška in Veneto odločile za izstop iz DS Alpe-Jadran (*ibid.*). Delovna skupnost se je tako prav v trenutku, ko bi prostor Alpe-Jadran lahko nadgradila v uspešen primer evroregije Alpe-Jadran-Pannonija, z izstopom treh ustanovnih članic bolj ali manj razformirala.<sup>13</sup> Predsednik Dežele Furlanije Julijske krajine Renzo Tondo je ob tej priliki dejal, da se je »začela nova pot, nov način pojmovanja Evrope« (*ibid.*). Ta drža odgovarja sodobni polit-managerski strategiji, ki se zna hitro otresti zavezajočih obljud in odvisnosti, ki ovirajo svobo do manevriranja. Na to opozarja tudi ustanovitev Panskega evropskega združenja za teritorialno sodelovanje z omejeno odgovornostjo (Pannon EGTC)<sup>14</sup> avgusta 2010 s sedežem v Pécsu. Sodelovanje obsega 56 krajev na Madžarskem v štirih županijah (Baranya, Somogy, Tolna in Zala), ki so vse sodelovale v projektu Matriosca AAP. V soglasju s slovensko vlado se je Panonn EGTC v Sloveniji pridružila Lendava, po vstopu v Hrvaške v EU, ki v letih 2011–2012 predseduje DS Alpe-Jadran, pa si združenje obeta tudi njeno sodelovanje (Pannon EGTC, 2012).

Ustanovitev obeh evoregij sugerira, da evropska integracija ne poteka več v helsinškem duhu (v smislu graditve zaupanja in varnosti, vzpostavljanja odnosov dobrega sosedstva ipd.), temveč se krepi asimetrični vpliv kohezijske politike, ki jo pogojujejo neoliberalni globalizem ter ureditve in rešitve, ki so v službi učinkovitosti gospodarske rabe prostora, pa tudi različne konkurenčne zmogljivosti posameznih regij. DS Alpe-Jadran, ki ji gre zasluga, da je skoraj 35 let ohranjala pri življenju drugačno idejo o Evropi, idejo o ponovno združeni Evropi, spravljeni s svojo zgodovino, končno osvobojeni tragičnih razkolov druge svetovne vojne – idejo, ki se je navezovala na zgodovinsko zakoreninjeno lokalno prostorsko organizacijo kolektivnih in individualnih človekovih izkušenj –, se zdi »preživeta« in nezdružljiva z novo prostorsko obliko, ki jo je Manuel Castells (1996) opredelil kot »prostor tokov«.

S tem prostorom, ki je v napetostrem razmerju s prostorom krajev (lokacij ali skupnosti), so mišljene de-territorializirane ali geografsko nevezane družbene prakse, ki so svet mobilnosti in mrežnih povezav. Glede na oblikovanje Evrope kot enotnega prostora je mogoče reči, da ga omogoča prav ta svet. Ole Brandt Jensen in Tim Richardson (2004, X) uporabljata zanj tudi izraz »monotopija« ali enoprostorskost. Pri tem mislita zlasti na Evro-

po, ki je ovrgla omejitve za fizično premikanje blaga in ljudi (meje med državami). Ključni izrazi, ki razkrivajo težnje prednostnih nalog evropske Unije, so mobilnost, dostopnost in povezljivost: Evropa globalnih tokov je prevladala nad zamislio o Evropi kot prostoru krajev (Jensen, Richardson, 2004, X, 223–224).

V tem sklopu pa se postavlja tudi vprašanje, v kolikšni meri so sodobne evoregije lahko še izraz »zraslosti z bazo«<sup>15</sup> ali »volje ljudstva«. Prej se zdi, da so »instrument« evropskih načrtovalcev razvojnih strategij na eni strani ter interesov lokalnih političnih in gospodarskih elit na drugi strani. Nezanemarljivo vlogo igra pri tem tudi boljša izhodiščna pozicija partnerjev iz tako imenovanih zahodnih ali gospodarsko bolj razvitih držav v primerjavi z državami, ki so nekoč pripadale »socialističnemu bloku« in so gospodarsko manj »razvite«. To se kaže tudi v tem, da so meje proti vzhodu slej ko prej bolj označene z nezaupanjem in predsodki kot meje oziroma države proti zahodu, ki se zdijo bolj atraktivne in mikavne; Kristian Gerner (1997) je ta pojav proučil zlasti na primeru meja Madžarske. Iz ankete, ki je bila opravljena leta 2007 in se nanaša na miselne vzorce /mental maps/ Slovencev na slovenski strani Tromeje (med Avstrijo, Italijo in Slovenijo), izhaja, da je skoraj polovica povprašanih (48 %) mnenja, da gledajo Avstrijci – v manjši meri pa tudi Italijani – nanje »zviška, podcenjevalno«, in da jih imajo še vedno za »Juževiče, Balkance« in »reveže« (Gosar, 2008, 332). »V opravičilo Italijanom, da jim niso namenili podobno visokega odstotka (35 %), so menili, da so tudi oni postali reveži [...] in da zaradi močnega tolarja bolj prizanesljivo gledajo na vzhodne sosedje.« (Gosar, 2008, 332)

Na tej točki se pokaže, kako se celo na sodobne prostore oziroma ljudi, ki v njih živijo, preslikavajo etnocentrizmi iz časov nacionalizma, ki pa so »cepljeni« na ponotranjenje in s tem normaliziranje neoliberalnih vrednot, znotraj katerih zavzemajo osrednjo pomembnost (globalnemu) trgu in kapitalu prijazna politična agenda ter to, kar francoski filozof M. Foucault imenuje *gouvernementalité*. Gre za mentalitet oblasti v smislu upravljalnih tehnik, to je pravil in postopkov, ki so danes prevzete iz podjetništva in proizvajajo obsesivno, nepretrgano in neustavljivo tržno-orientirano vedenje, ki nujno spodbuja tudi vprašanja: Kdo bo reyen? Kdo bo bogat ali bo vsaj integriran v institucije bogatih? Manj podcenjevalen odnos, ki ga naj bi v primerjavi z Avstrijci do Slovencev imeli Italijani, sugerira, da tudi v tako imenovanem zahodnem ali bogatem svetu obstajajo »reveži«, to je skupine prekernih, ki jih opredeljuje negotova narava njihove zaposlitve, ter skupine tistih, ki jih je svetovni (post)kapitalistični sistem izvrzel kot odvečne in neuporabne, to je revne oziroma najrevnejše, begunce, (ilegalne) imigrante in prisilce za azil.

<sup>13</sup> Izstop bo stopil v veljavo ob koncu leta 2012. Tedaj bo DS Alpe-Jadran sestavljalo le še 5 članic: avstrijski zvezni deželi Štajerska in Gradiščanska, republiki Slovenija in Hrvaška ter madžarska županija Vas. Iz uradne spletnne strani DS Alpe-Jadran je mogoče sklepati, da sta iz DS Alpe-Jadran ob koncu lanskega leta izstopili tudi italijanska dežela Lombardija ter madžarska županija Baranja.

<sup>14</sup> EGTC (The European Grouping for Territorial Cooperation) je angleška kratica za EZTS.

<sup>15</sup> Delli Zotti (1994, 182) je opozoril na to »zraslost z bazo« pri DS Alpe-Jadran kot pomemben pogoj uspeha čezmejnega sodelovanja.

Ker enotnost evropskega prostora danes primarno nastopa v povezavi z neoliberalno idejo globalizacije, se to odraža tudi na terenu pozitivnega vrednotenja kulturne, jezikovne in druge raznolikosti ter »ustvarjalnega gospodarstva«, ki so podvrženi predpostavki o kompetitivnosti in dobičkonosnosti. Neoliberalna koncepcija gospodarstva uporablja kulturno bogastvo Evrope in evropskih regij, ki temeljijo na njeni/njihovi raznolikosti kot orodje, ki mora biti tržno zanimivo (gl. npr. Inforegio-PANORAMA, 2009). Neoliberalni multikulturalizem nima »ničesar skupnega z izvornimi cilji in prizadevanji za multikulturalizem v družbi, ki temelji na odpravljanju diskriminacije etničnih skupin, rasizma in na oblikovanju načinov prepoznavanja raznolikosti etničnih skupnosti v družbi in v javnih institucijah« (Kymlicka, 2011). Usmerjen je le v iskanje sredstev in odgovora na vprašanje, kako narediti Evropo oziroma evroregijo »Brez meja« bolj konkurenčno v globalni ekonomiji. Ta usmeritev pa zavira možnost, da se vsak pripadnik etnije, narodnosti ali naroda sooča z bližnjimi sosedi v prostoru, iz katerega je izšel in v katerega je vpet, v težnji po stiku in sodelovanju ter po jasnejši predstavi tako o sebi kot o tistih, ki ga obkrožajo.

### **PROSTOR ZA POMIRJENJE IN PLURALIZACIJO ODNOSOV: VLOGA KULTURE IN TRANSKULTURNOSTI**

Velik pomen je Delovna skupnost Alpe-Jadran imela od vsega začetka zlasti za čezmejno sodelovanje na zgodovinsko konfliktnih območjih ob slovensko-italijanski oziroma slovensko-avstrijski meji, kasneje pa še ob »železni zavesi« oziroma politično-ideološkimi pregradami med Avstrijo, Slovenijo, Hrvaško in Madžarsko. »Alpe-Jadran« je postal znak za politiko dobrega sosedstva, ki postavlja to, kar je skupno, pred to, kar ločuje, in sicer preko državnih meja (Fercher, Seidenberger, 2003, 434). Imel se je – in se še ima – za protiutež državno-nacionalnim razmejitvenim strategijam (tudi zahodni, vzhodni in jugovzhodni »bloki« so same sebe videli kot zvezo načij z različnimi družbenimi sistemi), ki implicirajo nenehno pripravljenost na obrambo ali vojno v prid afirmaciji tistih momentov, ki jih zaznamuje težnja po razumevanju, prijateljstvu in miru.

To se je izkazovalo tudi v času razpada nekdanje federativne Jugoslavije. Predsedniki vlad DS Alpe-Jadran so tedaj v *Izjavi iz Linza* 20. septembra 1991<sup>16</sup> obsodili uporabo vojaške sile proti Sloveniji in Hrvaški, poudarili svojo »voljo, da bodo ob ohranitvi regionalne raznolikosti, z vsemi močmi pospeševali medregionalno sodelovanje« in se zavzemali »za načelo subsidiarnosti, ker je to načelo najsmotrnejši in najprimernejši model humane Evrope«. To načelo jamči, da se pobude sprejemajo, če je to pravno možno, na nižji – v tem primeru na regionalni in »občanom dostopnejši« ravni. Nadalje je v Izjavi pou-

darjeno, da naj DS Alpe-Jadran v skladu z ustanovnimi načeli izvede »jasno definirane projekte v dobro človeka in okolje s čim manj birokracije«. Birokratizacija, tako je vedel povedati že Max Weber, deluje v skladu z »objektivnim« opravljanjem posla«, kar pomeni, »predvsem opravljanjem posla v skladu z izračunljivimi pravili brez ozira na osebe« (Weber v Bauman, 2006, 41–42).

Pomembno je poudariti, da imaginarija prostora Alpe-Jadran prvenstveno niso narekovali skupni gospodarski interesi, temveč prav hipoteka preteklosti, ki naj bi v prid želji po skupni prihodnosti in skupnemu sodelovanju stola v ozadje (Fercher, Seidenberger, 2003, 435; Valentin, 2011, 159). »Podajanje rok prek meja« se je v ožjem prostoru Alpe-Jadranu pričelo s kulturnimi, kasneje tudi športnimi srečanjimi, ki so se jim od leta 1965 dalje pridružila še čezmejna kooperacija na področju čezalpskih prometnih povezav, pristaniškega prometa, pridobivanja in prenosa energije, kmetijstva, gozdarstva, turizma, zaščite človekovega okolja in narave, urejanja prostora, turizma, znanosti in drugih nalog reševanja skupnih potreb – vse to tudi z namenom, da med seboj povezane regije razvijejo in utrdijo zavest skupne odgovornosti in pripadnost onkraj togih ločnic in navidezno nespravljivih identitet.

Da se je čezmejna kooperacija med Koroško, Slovenijo in Julijsko krajino začela s kulturo, in sicer zlasti z ljubiteljsko kulturo, ki jo je občasno popestrila tudi visoka/elitna kultura, ni naključje. Že od nekdaj je bila kultura pomembna združevalna, pa tudi mobilizacijska sila, ki blaži napetosti in konflikte ter spaja in krepi vzajemni duh. V kulturo so akterji v obmejnih regijah ožjega prostora Alpe-Jadran že od leta 1948 dalje vlagali zaupanje, da lahko skrajša politične, ideološke in druge razdalje med posameznimi državami in skupnostmi. O tem govorijo številna srečevanja pevskih, gledaliških, folklornih in drugih skupin ter gostovanje ljubljanske Opere v Celovcu, do katerega je po posredovanju slovenske narodne skupnosti na Koroškem prišlo leta 1950 (Walzl, 1999, 268–270; Valentin, 2011, 159–160). Ugotovitve se ujemajo z raziskavami (Sussi, 1973; Valentin, 2007), iz katerih izhaja, da so se »uradni« čezmejni odnosi v prostoru Alpe-Jadran utrdili šele v drugi polovici 60. let, in sicer prav na osnovi kulturnih izmenjav med obmejnimi prebivalstvom, ki so jim v večji meri sledili še stiki na področju lokalne politike, družbenega življenja in gospodarstva. Pomenljivo je, da so precejšen del, če ne kar večino čezmejnih kulturnih, političnih in družbenih stikov vzpostavljalci pripadniki slovenskih manjšin in tako odigrali pomembno posredniško vlogo, odpirali pa so tudi prostor za normalizacijo (pomirjenje) in pluralizacijo odnosov.

Naj v tem sklopu omenimo pevske koncerte *Dober večer, sosed / Guten Abend, Nachbar*, ki jih na dvojezičnem ozemlju Koroške ob priliki avstrijskega državnega praznika koroški Slovenci prirejajo že dobreih 30 let. In to običajno po sledečem scenariju: slovensko kulturno dru-

16 Izjava iz Linza je v celoti objavljena v Nećak, 1998, 403–404.

štvo povabi medse koroški nemški pevski zbor iz sosedstva, ki se mu ponekod pridruži še pevski zbor iz Slovenije (gl. npr. Sienčnik, 2010, 53). Skupni koncerti so pojmovani kot izraz »živetega dialoga«, ki se ga lahko udejanja le skozi bližnjika/drugega. Dirigirata pa ga prvenstveno interes in/ali nuja, ki temelji na želji po boljšem medsebojnem spoznavanju in zblževanju, ki implicira premaknjenje pogleda izza varnih nacionalnih in lokalnih okov; dva (ali več) zbora/-ov prekoračujeta/-jo ločitveno črto med seboj. Koncerti so priljubljeni in zajamejo veliko občanov predvsem na regionalni, lokalni in društveni ravni.

V avstrijski državni radioteleviziji ORF – deželnemu študio Gradiščanska so ob začetka leta 2000 uvedli stalni štiri jezični TV-magazin *Servus – Szia – Zdravo – Del tuha*, ki ga do danes oddajajo šestkrat na leto, in sicer v nemščini, romščini, gradiščanski hrvaščini in madžarščini. Oddaja je nastala iz interesa, da bi se večinsko in manjšinsko prebivalstvo čim bolje vključilo v gradiščansko/avstrijsko in širše čezmejno družbeno življenje, na drugi strani pa jo je vodila težnja po samoreprezentaciji narodnih in etničnih manjšin (Council of Europe, 2006, 58–59). Pendant k omenjenim oddajam – stalnicam je trijezična oddaja *Servus – Srečno – Ciao*, ki ga prav tako od leta 2000 dalje predvajajo v nemščini, slovenščini in italijanščini 3 ure dnevno v sklopu koroškega radia ORF, tedensko pa v okviru televizijske oddaje ORF *Kärnten heute* in Slovenskega sporeda ORF *Dober dan Koroška*; oddajo ponovijo tudi na RTV Sloveniji (Council of Europe, 2006, 60). V širšem okviru DS Alpe-Jadran pa sta Avstrija in SR Slovenija pripravili tudi vrsto koproduktijskih televizijskih oddaj: prva oddaja *Dve je bolje kot ena* (1980) se je nanašala na narodnostno mešano ozemlje Koroške, leta 1984 je bila na sporedu nadaljevanka o Juliušu Kugyju, vodilni simbolni figuri alpsko-jadranske ideje, v duhu te ideje pa so bile koncipirane tudi oddaje *Maribor – Gradec* (1982), *Ljubljana – Dunaj* (1983), *Goričko – Južno Gradiščansko* (1985) in *Gornja Radgona – Radgona* (1986) (Druškovič, 1986, 151).

Le malokdo (še) ve, da se je pobuda o skupni čezmejni televiziji porodila na TV Koper – Capodistria, ki je nastala maja 1971 in je v velikem delu Italije legenda predvsem zato, ker je z uvedbo inovativnega barvnega sistema, drznimi informativnimi programi, filmi in prenosni tekem legendarnih jugoslovanskih košarkarjev resno načela monopol državne italijanske radiotelevizije RAI v Italiji.<sup>17</sup> Pet let pozneje, 10. februarja 1976, pa so na TV Koper – Capodistria uvedli prvo slovensko oddajo *Odprta meja*, ki je že z imenom napovedala, da ustvarja program za prebivalce na narodnostno mešanem ozemlju ob slovensko-italijanski meji. Program je zrasel s pomočjo italijanskega uredništva TV Koper – Capodistria ter slovenske manjšinske radijske in televizijske Agencije Alpe Adria v Trstu, ki je bila ustanovljena 20. 9. 1975 in je svoje prispev-

ke ponujala tudi italijanskim medijem v Sloveniji in Italiji (gl. Sau, 2001; Pahor, 2008). Z njeno ukinitevijo leta 1989 pa je vsaj začasno usahnila tudi ideja širjenja in poglabljanja čezmejnega sodelovanja in informiranja. Tradicijo *Odprte meje* nadaljuje projekt *Čezmejne televizije*, ki ga je leta 1999 iničiral Regionalni RTV center Koper – Capodistria ob tesnem sodelovanju z deželnim sedežem RAI za Furlanijo Julijsko krajino in ob podpori vseh predstavnihstev slovenske manjšine v Italiji in italijanske manjšine v Sloveniji ter na Hrvaškem.

Kot ena zelo pomembnih in trdoživih kulturno-političnih pobud DS Alpe-Jadran se je izkazala bienalna razstava *Intart*, v okviru katere so od leta 1967 predstavljali svoja dela umetniki Furlanije Julijske krajine, Koroške in Slovenije. 25. jubilejna postavitev leta 2003 je bila denimo zamišljena kot *hommage* pisateljem in pesnikom Petru Handkeju, Srečku Kosovelu in Pier Paolu Pasoliniju. Dejan Mehmedovič (2003, 39) je ob tej priliki zapisal: »Približevanje literaturi, ki si ga pričujejoči jubilejni XXV. Intart jemlje kot lastno vsebinsko osnovo (tri regije [...] – trije pesniki [...]), pomeni svojstveno obogatitev v smislu prehajanja meja. Prehajanje meja pa je vsekakor bazična (pra-namenska) zamisel te tradicionalne mednarodne manifestacije. Pluralnost umetniškega v njegovem najširšem orisu vsekakor inventivno plemeniti prostor, v katerem se dogaja.«

Prav pojma »prehajanje meja« ter »pluralnost« pa dajeta misliti tudi na pesniški festival *flusSIdiverSi – Poesia e poeti di Alpe Adria* (Različni tokovi – Pesništvo in pesniki na območju Alpe-Jadran), ki ga od leta 2008 dalje letno prirejajo na trgih in ob promenadah v Caorlah, majhnem obmorskem mestecu v beneški laguni (flusSIdiverSi, 2012). Na tem festivalu, ki ga organizirajo dežela Veneto, občina Caorle in DS Alpe-Jadran, sodelujejo pesniki iz dežel in pokrajin severne Italije, iz Slovenije, Hrvaške, sosednjih avstrijskih dežel, Madžarske in od drugod. Da med besedo *flussi in diversi* ni razmaha, sugerira, da tokovi »tečejo«, »valovijo«, »pronicajo« in da se »utekočinjajo« in »prelivajo« tudi razlike, kar pomeni, da se nenehno in nepovratno spreminjajo. Pri tem gre predvsem za tiste spremembe, ki se dogajajo na osi časa, prostora, teritorija, suverenosti ter nacionalnih, etničnih in drugih identitet. Iz teh razlogov imamo »fluidnost« in »tekočost« za ustrezni metafori pri razumevanju narave zdajšnje, v marsičem nove faze v zgodovini moderne (Bauman, 2002).

Oznaki, kot sta »prehajanje meja« ali »flusSIdiverSi«, pa napeljujeta tudi na povsem določeni pomen kulture, ki se razlikuje od klasičnih monokultur ter od sodobnejših pojmovanj interkulturnosti in multikulturnosti, namreč na transkulturnost. Tradicionalni opis kultur kot izoliranih, jasno zamejenih otokov se spriča tega zdi deskriptivno napačen. Pojem transkulturnosti predpostavlja, da kulture niso homogene ali mozaične enote, ki jih je mogoče

<sup>17</sup> Od leta 1975 do 1985 je bila TV Koper-Capodistria tretja najbolj gledana televizijska postaja v Italiji; število gledalcev v Italiji je začelo upadati z uvajanjem zasebnih televizij (Dnevnik, 11. 5. 2001).

nepremično fiksirati ali ukalupiti, nasprotno: teži po takšni artikulaciji kulture, ki je prepustna, kar pomeni, da omogoča sposobnost medsebojne izmenjave, prepletanja in pretoka, ob hkratnem izogibanju ločitvenim strategijam, ki spodbujajo v »singularno pripadnost« (zanjo je značilna predpostavka, da vsak človek v bistvu pripada predvsem eni skupnosti – enemu deblu, ki izhaja iz ene same edinstvene korenine [gl. Glissant, 1990, 31]). Ali, kakor pravi Wolfgang Welsch: »Naše kulture de facto že zdavnaj nimajo obliko homogenosti in separacije. Nasprotно, priuzele so novo obliko, ki jo označujem za *transkulturno*, ker gre kot samoumevno *skozi* tradicionalne kulturne meje in *preko* njih. Kulturne razmere označujeta dandas v veliki meri mešanica in preplet.« (Welsch, 1997, 71)

Mateja Sedmak (2011, 262) govorji prav v navezavi na Welschovo teorijo transkulturnosti tudi o »kulturni mešanosti«. Édouard Glissant (1990, 157–158; 2005, 19–20) pa, kot smo že uvodoma nakazali, o »rizomski identiteti«, ki se navezuje na medkulturne stike, na sistem odnosov, ki se širi v smeri razmerja do Drugega. Kot tipičen primer transkulturnega vzorca identitet navaja Sedmakova pripadnike obmejnih prostorov, kar med drugim ponazorji na primeru manjšin, živečih ob slovensko-italijanski meji:

»Pripadniki slovenske manjšine, živeči na Tržaškem, se [...] ne identificirajo z Italijani, pa tudi s Slovenci, živečimi v Sloveniji ne. Svojo identiteto opredeljujejo kot specifično, kot nekaj »vmes« med obema kulturama, in sicer kot manjšinsko kulturo in identiteto. Skladno s tem se opredeljujejo kot zamejski Slovenci ali manjšinci.« (Sedmak, 2011, 265; gl. tudi Sedmak, 2009) Podobno velja za pripadnike italijanske manjšine, živeče v Sloveniji, o čemer priča mlajša pripadnica italijanske manjšine: »Se počutim pripadnica slovenskega naroda, ampak italijanske narodne skupnosti. Manjšinka no, recimo tako. Se ne počutim Italijanka, ampak nisem niti Slovenka, sem nekje *vmes*.« (Sedmak, 2009, 71; poudarki v kurzivi MJP)

Ta »biti nekaj *vmes*« natančno potrjuje konцепциjo »vmesne kulture« (*culture's in-between*) Homija K. Bhabhe (1997) ali pa koncept »nove etničnosti« Stuarta Halla (1988). Špekulacije o izvirnosti ali »čistosti« kultur oba zavračata. Enako velja za identiteto. Tako kot kultura je tudi identiteta vedno že hibridna, v tem smislu, da se vzpostavlja *vmes*, na sečišču družbenih kategorij države-nacije, etničnosti, razreda, generacije, spola ... Je torej že v zasnovi dialoška, sad pogajanji ali barantanji med temi različnimi kategorijami, ki se lahko medsebojno dopolnjujejo ali pa so v protislovju (gl. tudi Tschernokosheva, Jurić Pahor, 2008). Gre za prav bahtinovsko »polifonijo glasov« v enem besedilu ali tudi subjektu, v katerem se med seboj stikajo in odigravajo družbene napetosti, bo-

disi med vladajočimi in potlačenimi diskurzi, raznimi vrednostnimi in kulturnimi sistemi, pogosto pa tudi med več pripadnostmi, značilnimi za določena posamezna okolja, ne da bi se te napetosti mogle »preseči« v kakršnikoli enoviti sintezi.

Tak pristop pa daje tudi vedeti, da je kultura kot orodje povezovanja potencialno emancipatorična samo v toliko, kolikor se prepozna v takšni konceptualni odprtosti, kjer je pojmovana kot prostor različnih pripadanj, pogajanj in sočasnih afinitet ali lojalnosti do različnih skupnosti. Po Stuartu Hallu bi tako lahko na mesto etnične zaprtosti stopila strateška zavezništva in fleksibilni koncepti o skupnostih: »[T]o ni etničnost, ki – kot »angleška« identiteta – lahko preživi le tako, da marginalizira, razlašča, potlači in pozabi.« (Hall, 1988, 170) Na tej podlagi se spreminja tudi (samo-)podoba etničnih manjšinskih kultur, ki jih je zdaj mogoče prikazati v vsej njihovi kompleksnosti in ambivalenci. Kot primer Hall opozori na pisatelja, scenarista in režiserja Hanifa Kureishija, sina pakistskega očeta in angleške matere (rojen leta 1954 v Londonu), ki je v svojih delih sprožil novo senzibilnost za vse drugače misleče, drugače obarvane in drugače živeče. Gre za senzibilnost brez vsakršnih romantizacij in sentimentalizacij. Naj dodamo, da se je Kureishi dotaknil tudi tematike fundamentalizma in fatve, ki je bil zaradi Satanskih stihov deležen Salman Rushdi. Ta nova orientacija ne bi bila mogoča, če se britanska kultura pod vplivom globalizacije, ki sovpada s širjenjem in intenzifikacijo raznolikih vezi in povezav, ne bi spremenila.

Politični, ideološki, verski ter kulturni trendi in procesi, ki so bili včasih bolj omejeni na specifične regije, se sedaj prek globalnih mrež srečujejo in mešajo v mnogih delih sveta. Prostor in čas v tem umevanju globalizacije nista več (nepremostljivi) oviri za družbeno interakcijo, pa tudi nacionalne in etnične identitete ter kulturne formacije so vpete v to globalno cirkulacijo ljudi, stvari, znakov in informacij, kar velja tudi za prostor Alpe-Jadran (gl. Jurić Pahor, 2008; 2011).<sup>18</sup> Plod teh procesov so na primer tudi koncerti treh znanih »čezmejnih« skupin, ki so novembra 2010 v okviru Čezmejne televizije skupaj nastopale na koncertu v Kosovelovem domu v Sežani. Gre za skupine *Etno Ploč* (ploč pomeni v tržaškem narečju 'luža'), *Global Etno Partizani* in *Dej še 'n litro*. Spletna redakcija slomedia.it (2010) je te skupine med drugim takole predstavila:

Glasbeni občutek skupine *Etnoploč* »črpa in predeleju balkanske melodije, klezmer pa vse do argentinskega tanga do bluesa in gospelov. Harmonika, saksofon in trobenta se ujamejo v popolni harmoniji improviziranega, profesionalnega »ploča«. *Global Etno Partizani*, ki sovpadajo z obče zaznavno spremembu recepcije partizanstva

18 Tega dejstva se zavedajo tudi sodelavci projekta *Manjšine in čezmejno sodelovanje v prostoru Alpe-Jadran*, ki je izšel v zelo obsežni monografiji (Novak Lukanovič, ur. verzije v slovenskem jeziku, 2004). Koordinator projekta Stefan Böckler v uvodni študiji izpostavlja, da knjiga omogoča pregled »starih manjšin«, ne pa tudi »novih manjšin«. To »na vsak način problematična odločitev« utemeljuje s »posebnim pomenom, ki ga imajo »stare manjšine« v odnosu do »novih manjšin«. Simptomatično dodaja, da zaradi aktualnih družbenih sprememb ni bilo »vedno moč pripisati status manjšine skupinam, ki jih ni možno jasno razvrstiti« (Böckler, 2004, 26).

in s tem, da bi, benjaminovsko rečeno, le-ta revolucionarno preteklost iztrgala konformizmu, ki se je hoče polastiti, so takole predstavljeni: »Preprosta glasba, ki izvira iz trdnih korenin preteklosti, nam z občutkom, razločnostjo in čisto izvedbo [...] [ponudi] možnost povezave našega sveta z drugimi oddaljenimi svetovi, za katere menimo, da nimamo skupnih točk.« Na repertoarju skupine *Dej še 'n litro* se najdejo »predvsem balkanske viže, v stilu trubaških orkestrov iz Srbije ter predelave popularnih komadov v stilu ulične glasbe brass bandov iz New Orleansa. Tudi njihova avtorska glasba ohranja trubaški melos s pridihom drugih modernejših zvrsti, kot je jazz. [...] skupni imenovalec vseh živih nastopov je vedno ta, da se konča med *Ijudmi*.« (poudarki v kurzivi MJP)

### NAMESTO ZAKLJUČKA: OBETI PRIHODNOSTI

Odstraniti meje v glavah in širiti pogled je vodilo aktualne monografije *Kärnten liegt am Meer* (Koroška leži ob morju), ki jo je inspirirala pesem Ingeborg Bachmann z naslovom *Böhmen liegt am Meer* (Češka leži ob morju), izdali pa so jo Wolfgang Petritsch, Wilfried Graf in Gudrun Kramer (2012). Naslov monografije je poetična vizija za bodočnost avstrijske Koroške, pa čeprav gre hkrati tudi za prostor med Alpami in Jadranom oziroma za imaginarij, ki ga naj bi ta prostor reprezentiral. Karavanke/Alpe naj ne bi bile več razumljene kot »mejni okop«, temveč kot privlačna vez do morja »pred našimi hišnimi vratmi« (Petritsch, 2012, 31). To pa seveda pomeni tudi obratno: »Ljubljana leži ob Vrbskem jezeru ali Videm leži ob Dravi.« (Wintersteiner, 2012, 543)

Nič manj od evropskih, vsekakor pa v manjšem obsegu, so na percepcijo »Alpe-Jadrana« vplivali tudi mnogi domači izdelovalci pomenov ali smislov, opremljeni še s samozavestjo »domorodske« (ljudske) kompetence. Percepcija je, kot smo uvodoma pokazali z Lefebvrejem, naša čutna zaznava sveta okrog nas in vključuje prepoznavanje dražljajev iz okolja pa tudi reakcije na vpliv teh dražljajev. Skozi proces percepcije dobivamo informacije iz okolja, ki jih nato interpretiramo. Percepcija ne ustvarja le doživetja sveta okrog nas, ampak tudi omogoča, da v svojem okolju delujemo, ga pre-delujemo in tako vzpostavljamo nove razsežnosti izkustva. Sem spada tudi in zlasti preseganje travmatskih doživetij iz časa druge svetovne vojne in po njej, ki zaobsegajo pregon, koncentričnska taborišča, masovne zločine in, povezano s tem, nacionalistično politiko binarnih konfrontacij. Gre v bistvu za ustvarjanje tega, če govorimo z besedami koroške slovenske pisateljice in pesnice Maje Haderlap, da »postane mir in teh krajih nasploh udomačen«, ko pa »tukaj govorjeni jeziki še vedno nosijo uniformo« (Haderlap v Wintersteiner, 2012, 537).

Ta intencija po ustvarjanju »miru« je bila od vsega začetka bistveni sestavni del poslanstva DS Alpe-Jadran. Četudi prostor Alpe-Jadran danes *de facto* sestoji le še iz petih regij-članic (avstrijskih dežel Štajerske in Gradiščanske, republik Slovenije in Hrvaške ter županije Vas na Madžarskem; Furlanija Julijska krajina, Koroška in Veneto, ki jim načeljujejo desno-sredinski predsedniki, so se marca 2012 odločile za izstop iz DS Alpe-Jadran), je alpsko-jadranska ideja v javnem, družbenem in tudi zasebnem življenju močnejše prisotna, kot si to mogoče zamišljamo. Na to ob že povedanem opozarjajo na primer še sledeči dejavniki: Rektorska konferenca Alpe-Jadran, ki je bila ustanovljena leta 1979 in v kateri danes sodeluje 35 univerz in 13 visokih šol iz tega prostora (Elisa, 2012); leta 1988 ustanovljeni AACC – Alpsko-Jadranski center za čezmejno sodelovanje, ki spodbuja projekte na področju komunalnega gospodarstva, turizma, energije in ekoloških tehnologij, iničira partnerstva s posameznimi občinami in mesti (zlasti na Koroškem in v neposrednih sosednjih državah) ter prispeva k premagovanju obstoječih duhovnih in gospodarskih ovir pri sodelovanju v jugovzhodni Evropi (AACC, 2012); AAG – AlpeAdriaGreen: je mednarodna nevladna, nepolitična in neprofitna okoljevarstvena organizacija in partnerska organizacija mreže okoljskih nevladnih organizacij TckTckTck, ki deluje v Italiji, Sloveniji, na Hrvaškem, v Bosni in Hercegovini, Makedoniji, Črni gori in Srbiji. Naj omenimo še partnerstva med dvo- in večjezičnimi šolami in otroškimi vrtci (npr. čezmejni projekt »Drei Hände – tri roke – tre mani«, ki se je preimenoval v Alpsko-jadransko izobraževalno zvezo, gl. Gombos, Pasquariello, 2010), pri čemer ne gre za posamične dejavnosti, temveč za pobude z dolgotrajnimi partnerstvi in učinkovanji. To pa vsekakor velja tudi za »olimpijske« igre Alpe-Jadran, ki tradicionalno potekajo že od leta 1974 in so organizirane poleti in pozimi na vsake dve leti. Izvirnost in uspeh ideje Alpe-Jadran izhajata tudi iz sposobnosti spoštovanja raznolike in prepletene zgodovine narodnosti, jezikov in kultur ob kovanju skupnega razumevanja in pravil, ki zagotavljajo *mir, stabilnost, blaginja in solidarnost*.

Naj zaključimo prispevek z ugotovitvijo, da te vrednote niso bile od vsega začetka samo zadeva evropskih ali regionalnih funkcionarjev, temveč tudi in morebiti zlasti občanov, ki so spletli gosto mrežo osebnih zvez, tako gosto, da je kljub poskusom ni več mogoče razplesti. V tem smislu bi imaginarij prostora Alpe-Jadran s Foucaultovimi (2008, 259–260) besedami lahko takole opredeli: »V/idimo torej podobo, idejo ali program družbe, kjer obstaja optimizacija sistema razlike, v katerem je polje odprto fluktuirajočim procesom, v katerem so manjšinski posamezniki in prakse tolerirane.«

## CROSS-BORDER AND TRANSCULTURAL IMAGINARIES: THE ALPS-ADRIATIC SPACE IN THE CONTEXT OF ITS IDEATION AND (GRADUAL LOSS OF) PURPOSE

Marija JURIĆ PAHOR

The Institute for Ethnic studies, Erjavčeva 26, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia  
e-mail: INV@inv.si ; juric.pahor@alice.it

### SUMMARY

*Proceeding from Lefebvre's theoretical findings about the three inseparably connected modes of production of social space – the perceived, conceived and lived spaces –, from Foucault's concept of 'heterotopia', which includes 'the otherness of the spaces' (e.g., in form of drives, dreams, spectres), from Castoriadis' idea of 'social imaginaries', as well as relevant discussions about the cross-border concept, about transnationality and transculturality, the author first deals with the deconstruction of the predominant studies and views of the creation and development of the Alps-Adriatic space. Numerous scientists and social actors assume that the Alps-Adriatic space has existed since classical antiquity and that its characteristics (for instance, the crossroads of three great cultures, the aspiration of peace and coexistence) are a result of history. The Alps-Adriatic region thus seems conditioned, if not even determined by history, although it was only founded in 1978 in Venice. The author contradicts this causal and linear image of the history of the Alps-Adriatic space and believes that it should be seen as a selective reconstruction of the past, conditioned by the experience and demands of the present, as well as by plans and expectations for the future. The Alps-Adriatic region evolved under the influence of an intellectual fermentation triggered by the 1968 student movement (Lefebvre was one of its 'fathers'). The imperative "Never again Auschwitz!" was formulated in this very period. It comprised the echo of the ontological reality of the war generation and the pulse of nova aetas, which lent a foreboding feeling of non-being. For this reason, the imaginaries of politics and societies beyond repression, totalitarian levers and traumas were especially important.*

A significant role in all this was played by the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, which comprises ten principles of peaceful coexistence and also advocates the reuniting of families and a general cross-border conciliation of people, especially the youth. One of the testimonies to 'the spirit of Helsinki' is also the Alps-Adriatic Working Community, which was initially intended as an entity for alleviating the tension between the border regions of countries of western and eastern Europe with different political and ideological orientations, specifically, of Italy (a western NATO state), Austria (a western, but neutral state) and Yugoslavia (a communist, non-aligned state), and from 1986 onwards also of Hungary (a Warsaw block state). Even before its establishment, the Alps-Adriatic Working Community had cultivated its 'coalescence with the base', establishing links with numerous local initiatives of cooperation that already existed between border regions, and was at the same time the only organised association for cross-border cooperation on the either side of the Iron Curtain. It is clear from the author's conceptual reflection that the term 'cross-border cooperation' has always been semantically tied to the qualifier 'neighbouring' as defining the geographical 'proximity', as well as 'friendship' and 'peaceableness' between territorial communities and actors participating in cross-border cooperation. Further on, the author presents the Alps-Adriatic area as 'a space for reconciliation and pluralisation' and through analyses of examples of several long-term initiatives completed or still underway under the Alps-Adriatic aegis and/or brand underlines the role of culture and transculturality and provides a full theoretical explanation of the two. A considerable part of cultural, political and social contacts were established or co-established by members of Slovene minorities, who thus played an important role as intermediaries. Although the official Alps-Adriatic Working Community is presently almost disbanded (the foundation of the so called 'Borderless Euroregion' in Trieste in March 2012, coincided with the withdrawal from the Alps-Adriatic Working Community of three of its important founding members: Italian regions Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Veneto, and Austrian Carinthia), its image in the public and civil spheres of social life is more alive than ever. The imaginary of the Alps-Adriatic space is transmitted experientially, which implies a dynamic and complex relationship of involvement, participation and emplacement that transcends rigid national confrontation and the role of the subject as merely (that of?) a detached spectator. It also and by all means implies the desire – in the words of the Slovene Carinthian writer and poetess Maja Haderlap – "for peace to become naturalized in these areas in general" since "the languages spoken here still wear uniforms".

**Key words:** cross-border imagery, transcultural imagery, Alps-Adriatic space

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## LA QUESTIONE DELL'USO DELLA LINGUA NELLA LETTERATURA DELLA DALMAZIA NEL PERIODO RINASCIMENTALE E BAROCCO

Dario SAFTICH  
EDIT Fiume, Školjić 10, 51000 Fiume, Croazia  
e-mail: dario.saftich @ri.htnet.hr

### SINTESI

*È un legame a doppio filo quello che lega la letteratura dalmata di lingua croata ai modelli dell'Umanesimo e del Rinascimento italiani. Il substrato culturale degli autori e delle opere croate, nella maggior parte dei casi è di matrice latina e italiana. In sostanza tutti gli autori che hanno lasciato il segno nella letteratura dalmata erano trilingui. Dalla poetica insita nelle dediche delle opere in lingua croata traspare che gli scrittori danno voce al popolo, senza per questo venire meno alla volontà di creare opere di valore artistico.*

**Parole chiave:** Dalmazia, letteratura, Rinascimento, poetica, popolo

## THE ISSUE OF THE USE OF LANGUAGE IN DALMATIAN LITERATURE DURING THE RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE PERIODS

### ABSTRACT

*There is an inextricable link between Dalmatian literature written in the Croatian language and the Italian models of the Humanism and Renaissance movements. The cultural substratum of the Croatian authors and their works has a Latin or Italian base in most cases. Virtually every author who has left a mark in Dalmatian literature was trilingual. What transpires from the inherent poetry of the dedications in the works written in the Croatian language is that the writers give voice to the people, while still succeeding in creating literary works of artistic value.*

**Key words:** Dalmatia, literature, Renaissance, poetry, the people

## INTRODUZIONE

Lo spirito rinascimentale oltre alla cultura e alla letteratura italiana ha permeato in profondità nel Quattrocento e nel Cinquecento anche gran parte della produzione letteraria sulla sponda orientale dell'Adriatico. Quando parliamo dell'influsso rinascimentale sulla letteratura in lingua croata ci riferiamo soprattutto all'area della Dalmazia: spicca in questo caso per la ricchezza delle opere letterarie prodotte il triangolo Spalato-Lesina-Ragusa, senza però dimenticare anche le aree più a nord fino al comprensorio di Zara.

E' un legame a doppio filo però quello che lega la letteratura dalmata di lingua croata ai modelli dell'Umanesimo e del Rinascimento italiani. Il substrato intellettuale e culturale degli autori e delle opere croate, nella maggior parte dei casi è, come vedremo chiaramente soprattutto attraverso l'analisi di Pavao Pavličić, nel libro *Skrivena teorija* (*Theoria celata*), di matrice latina e italiana. In sostanza tutti gli autori che hanno lasciato il segno nella letteratura dalmata erano trilingui, padroneggiavano sia il croato, sia l'italiano, sia il latino: essi spesso si cimentavano a scrivere in tutti e tre gli idiomì, quello antico e i due moderni. Anche i temi, i modelli erano plasmati sulla tradizione classica, alla quale l'Umanesimo e il Rinascimento italiani amavano richiamarsi per distanziarsi dai presunti secoli bui del Medioevo. Diverse comunque erano le situazioni storiche e geostrategiche. Nel Quattrocento e nel Cinquecento le floride città costiere dalmate dovevano fronteggiare il pericolo turco: le armate musulmane premevano in direzione del litorale. La contrapposizione religiosa con l'Islam conquistatore e quindi uno spirito cattolico spesso marcato dovevano inevitabilmente lasciare il segno molto di più sullo spalatino Marko Marulić che non ad esempio sul ferrarese Lodovoco Ariosto, nel cui *Orlando Furioso* è molto sfumato quello che nel gergo odierno potremmo definire lo scontro fra civiltà. Nel presente articolo passeremo in rassegna i possibili motivi per i quali determinati autori hanno optato per un ben determinato registro linguistico, invece che per un altro che pure bene o male erano in grado di padroneggiare.

### **LA LETTERATURA DELLA DALMAZIA ESISTEVA PARALLELAMENTE IN TRE LINGUE**

La regione dalmata, latinizzata nell'epoca romana, conservò a lungo tracce della neolatinità balcanica (che si è estinta ufficialmente a Veglia appena nel 1898 quando è morto l'ultimo parlante Antonio Udaina detto Burbur). Nel corso del '400 essa finì definitivamente sotto il dominio di Venezia (con cui era già da secoli in rapporto), che durò quasi quattro secoli; e questo fatto comportò, nei centri urbani e più in generale lungo la costa, l'affermarsi del veneziano al posto del dalmatico, e dell'italiano - accanto al latino - come lingua della letteratura e della cultura in genere. E anche quando

la lingua croata cominciò nell'epoca rinascimentale a venir impiegata per la prima volta nella letteratura profana, essa si plasmò spesso e volentieri sui grandi modelli offerti dal petrarchismo e dall'umanesimo italiani. Nella letteratura, dunque, come rileva Milka Zogović, coesistettero a lungo in Dalmazia tre lingue: latino, croato e italiano.

Nel corso di almeno tre secoli (dalla fine del Quattrocento e per tutto il Settecento), la letteratura della Dalmazia esisteva parallelamente in tre lingue, latino, italiano e slavo "illirico" e rappresentava nella sostanza un'unità organica di queste tre espressioni letterarie, la maggior parte degli scrittori dalmati impiegava tutte e tre le lingue, mentre la loro opzione linguistica all'interno di questo complesso organismo, era determinata dal bagaglio culturale e dalla tradizione letteraria della lingua in questione, ovvero della stessa scelta del genere e dei procedimenti stilistici. (Zogović, 2001, 106-107)

Possiamo parlare, quindi, delle terre dell'Adriatico orientale come di zone segnate da

interferenze, contatti, interculturalità, intermedialità, e persino "simbiosi latino-slava" (termine poco felice azzardato da Cronia) - verificatisi nonostante il "confine" che segna il punto di congiungimento e di repulsione tra la cultura slava, nel Settecento designata come morlacca, e quella di tradizione latina, italica e poi italiana con un centro di irradiazione straordinario quale la Serenissima fino (ed anche dopo!) alla sua caduta, ma con stimoli anche da altre città, Ravenna, Ancona, Bari. (Roić, 1999, 92)

E in questo ambito, sottolinea Sanja Roić, al di là dei giudizi precipitosi di tipo ideologico

non si dimentichi che a instaurare questi rapporti, contatti, interferenze, ecc. furono uomini che si interessavano di quello che facevano altri uomini, e per ricordare che la cultura non si poteva caricare semplicemente sulle galere d'un tempo, come invece si faceva con la terra (italiana!), che sulle navi ragusee che ritornavano dall'Italia meridionale a Dubrovnik riempiva il vuoto della merce esportata, terriccio che serviva a rendere più fertili i giardini delle ville del retroterra appartenenti ai patrizi ragusei dell'epoca. (Roić, 1999, 92)

E' un "confine marittimo" quello che unisce l'Italia e Dubrovnik, un confine che non perde mai il proprio significato

di asse cardinale, linea che "separa e unisce", linea simbiotica e antitetica, persino dialettica, per usare un

termine ormai in disuso. E pare che dalle due parti si continueranno ad avere dei riverberi, degli specchimenti, delle interferenze. È il confine dei due immaginari, quello slavo e quello romanzo e, proprio perché anch'esso è parte dell'immaginario, meno percepibile degli altri confini, vecchi o nuovi, storici o aboliti, ma da sempre facenti parte sia della storia che della finzione europei. (Roić, 1999, 92)

A parte le interferenze e gli influssi culturali nell'Adriatico orientale, va sottolineato che nell'Europa occidentale, in genere, il latino già nel medioevo aveva assunto il ruolo di lingua di cultura. Ernst R. Curtius sottolinea

che il grande paradosso del medioevo latino sta nel fatto che lo strato istruito dei popoli del nord ha assunto una lingua straniera, meridionale, imparando a padroneggiare le sue forme e infine a servirsi delle sue maestrie artistiche. Quale allontanamento dalla propria lingua! (Curtius, 1998, 416)

Questo ha prodotto anche forme linguistiche e stilistiche artificiose. Però le vie di passaggio

tra l'arte e l'artificiosità sono indeterminate. Il loro rapporto genetico reciproco non è mai a senso unico. È consuetudine che si guardi all'artificiosità come a un frutto tardivo, a una forma di degenerazione: la degenerazione dell'arte. Ma può accadere anche il contrario. La storia del medioevo latino lo dimostra alla centesima potenza. L'artificiosità linguistica tardantica è divenuta un impulso tecnico e ha risvegliato le ambizioni artistiche. La lingua è stata sondata in tutte le sue possibilità, ricavandone nuovi effetti. (Curtius, 1998, 417)

Questo fenomeno ha dato i suoi frutti copiosi pure in Dalmazia secoli dopo. La letteratura in lingua croata si è plasmata sui modelli che già si erano imposti nell'Europa occidentale. Ma l'ambizione degli scrittori (che avevano scelto di scrivere in croato o anche in croato) di creare opere che avessero la loro originalità non è stata assolutamente scalfità: anzi semmai rinvigorita. Ed è nata l'arte, ovvero una letteratura che è sì autonoma, ma si riallaccia spiritualmente in parte al grande patrimonio europeo e in questo ambito anche ai classici italiani dell'epoca. Senza perdere minimamente la propria originalità e la valenza artistica. Semmai esaltandole nel fecondo contatto con i modelli in auge a quei tempi.

#### LE SCELTE LINGUISTICHE ACQUISTANO SIGNIFICATI COMPLESSI

Le contrapposizioni nazionali moderne hanno spesso lasciato il segno anche sull'interpretazione che si può

dare sugli usi linguistici letterari del passato. Ma al di là delle posizioni di matrice nazionale che talora sembrano inconciliabili, la realtà dei fatti emerge sempre; non può essere occultata. Così lo storico zaratino di lingua italiana Giuseppe Praga, parlando del periodo rinascimentale afferma:

Non è tuttavia da passare sotto silenzio che, accanto alla letteratura di spiriti e forme italiane, fiorì, sebbene in tono minore, e con alquanto ritardo sulle congeneri manifestazioni italiane, una letteratura in lingua slava. Ma trattasi di manifestazioni letterarie di ispirazione italiana, di forme, spiriti, motivi, metri, schemi propri della letteratura italiana, nelle quali di slavo non c'è che la lingua, quella particolare lingua slavo-dalmata riplasmata e piegata ad esprimere concetti e stati d'animo italiani. Essa poteva essere intesa a soddisfare il gusto soltanto degli slavi di Dalmazia, che da secoli vivevano in unità di vita e di storia con gli italiani, non degli altri al cui spirito era e rimase sempre estranea e quasi incomprensibile. (Praga, 1981, 169)

Su una lunghezza d'onda in parte simile si trova Sante Graciotti che nel suo saggio su *Il mutevole rapporto tra lingue letterarie e culture nel Balcano occidentale dei secc. XVI-XVIII* esamina il tema della lingua letteraria e scrive che in questo ambito

si moltiplicano i referenti culturali e che le scelte linguistiche acquistano significati complessi sui quali la relazione intende soffermarsi: la lingua letteraria è infatti molto più complessa della oralità ingenua, come la soggiacente cultura, da essa riflessa, è molto più larga di quella dell'*ethnos*. In ogni caso il rapporto tra lingua in genere e cultura è per sua natura identitario: fino a che non intervenga dal di fuori un elemento turbativo che violi quel naturale rapporto... Quei secoli sono ancora in Dalmazia - e non solo in essa - anteriori al formarsi di una coscienza nazionale: non più *ethnos*, non ancora nazione, essa registra l'emergenza della cultura come elemento determinante della propria coscienza identitaria e formativo della propria letteratura. La letteratura dalmata di quei secoli è trilingue: in latino, in croato, in italiano; come l'autore ha mostrato già in un lavoro del 1983, Per una tipologia del trilinguismo letterario in Dalmazia nei secoli XVI-XVIII, il trilinguismo letterario dalmata non delimitava tre diversi mondi coesistenti e sommati l'uno all'altro, ma una stessa realtà globale, dove ognuna delle tre lingue rappresentava un aspetto costitutivo, peculiare e non intercambiabile. (Graciotti, 1998, 1)

#### LA POETICA INSITA NELLE DEDICHE

Assumiamo convenzionalmente che l'età umanistica e rinascimentale coincida con i secoli XV e XVI. È questa

l'epoca, in Italia come negli altri paesi dell'Europa occidentale, dell'emergere delle lingue nazionali: l'italiano, il francese, lo spagnolo, il portoghese, l'inglese e il tedesco si affermano – ognuno con dinamiche storiche diverse – come lingue di cultura competitive con il latino. Il croato si impone pure come lingua di cultura e lingua letteraria, in particolare in Dalmazia, dove riesce a tenere testa al latino e all'italiano. E il massimo periodo di fioritura della letteratura in Dalmazia è proprio quello rinascimentale. Nel corso del 1400 si verifica in genere in Europa una vera e propria svolta della civiltà, con dei fondamentali mutamenti nelle varie visioni del mondo e dunque nelle varie espressioni letterarie ed artistiche e negli studi scientifici. Quindi ha inizio una vera età nuova che, nella tradizionale periodizzazione storica, viene indicata come Rinascimento: in questa svolta l'Italia gioca un ruolo di primissimo piano in quanto anticipa sul tempo gli altri grandi paesi europei. Ma le zone litoranee della Croazia, o meglio le principali città dalmate dell'epoca, risentono subito degli influssi provenienti dall'altra sponda adriatica e si affrettano a tenere il passo con i modelli rinascimentali. Naturalmente occorre tener presente che le periodizzazioni sono delle forzature e pertanto non dobbiamo immaginare fratture nette tra Basso Medioevo ed epoca umanistico rinascimentale. L'interesse per i classici e il perfezionamento della filologia fanno sì che anche il curriculum degli studi subisca alcune modifiche improntandosi al modello degli studi classici. Questo fa sì che non ci sia più l'esigenza di seguire in modo rigido la scansione delle discipline in trivio e quadrivio, tipiche del mondo medievale. Più in generale infatti si privilegiano discipline come l'eloquenza, la filosofia e la filologia, ma anche la storia e naturalmente la letteratura.

Quando di parliamo di Dalmazia nel percorso rinascimentale e barocco l'accezione geografica non è quella moderna. L'entroterra allora risentiva in buona parte dell'incombente pericolo turco, per cui il termine Dalmazia stava a indicare soprattutto i centri costieri e isolani, che riuscivano a reggere il confronto con le città dell'altra sponda. In campo letterario a primeggiare erano soprattutto Spalato, Zara e Hvar (Lesina) nella parte centrosettentrionale della regione, Dubrovnik (Ragusa) in quella meridionale.

La simbiosi fra le diverse culture presenti su questo ristretto territorio o in grado di esercitarsi il loro influsso ha, dunque, fatto sì che la grande letteratura dalmata fossa trilingue, che i grandi scrittori che si consideravano di madrelingua croata fossero in condizioni di padroneggiare perfettamente il latino e l'italiano ed anche di scrivere opere in queste lingue, oltre che ovviamente nella propria. All'epoca, nota Franjo Švelec,

l'intellighenzia umanistica croata si differenziava alquanto da quella nei centri della vicina Italia, dove, nelle scuole superiori, pure acquisiva essa stessa le sue maggiori conoscenze e sviluppava i propri talen-

ti. Dalle nostre parti, sulle zone liminali verso oriente, sul confine stesso verso i conquistatori ottomani che avanzavano, nelle località dove l'insicurezza generale era una condizione permanente di vita, gli umanisti non potevano restare indifferenti nei confronti del destino della propria terra e dei propri connazionali. Scrivevano e parlavano anch'essi nella lingua di Virgilio, Ovidio, Orazio e gli altri, però accanto ai temi generali, universali, affrontavano pure quelli che si collegavano al problema della sopravvivenza. (Švelec, 1991, 29)

Gli scrittori croati hanno dato voce al loro popolo, usando un linguaggio comprensibile anche alla gente semplice, senza per questo venire meno alla volontà di creare opere di altissimo valore artistico. E quest'ultima volontà è riconosciuta all'uso dei modelli ed anche della lingua, ovvero delle due lingue amiche (latino e italiano) che ha permesso loro di essere al passo con i tempi, con le grandi conquiste della civiltà rinascimentale. Una civiltà arricchita anche grazie a questa feconda simbiosi culturale tra le culture dell'Adriatico. L'esame delle dediche lasciateci in eredità dagli scrittori dalmati conferma che l'intertesto latino e italiano è presente sempre e comunque nelle opere immortali in lingua croata di quel periodo. E a questo intertesto si aggiunge la volontà di esaltare la propria patria ed anche di lanciare un accorato appello perché questa, minacciata dai Turchi, non sia dimenticata dall'Europa alla quale di diritto appartiene.

I vecchi autori dalmati di lingua croata non hanno composto trattati di poetica. Soltanto quando un'opera usciva dalle stampe gli scrittori e i drammaturghi solevano fornire qualche delucidazione, ovvero contestualizzare il frutto delle loro fatiche, parlando delle loro intenzioni. Nasceva così un breve componimento introduttivo, nella maggior parte dei casi sotto forma di dedica. Di solito quest'ultima era indirizzata a qualche conoscente dell'autore, che condivideva con lui le medesime idee letterarie, per cui lo scrittore rivolgendosi a lui riteneva di poter ottenere il sostegno necessario alle proprie tesi. Delle dediche possiamo trarre spunti per capire i motivi che spingevano i diversi autori a cimentarsi a scrivere in una determinata lingua, nella fattispecie il croato, e a quale pubblico fossero rivolte le loro opere.

Così lo spalatino Marko Marulić, che avrebbe potuto benissimo scrivere in ciascuna delle tre "lingue letterarie" invalse in Dalmazia, spiega con chiarezza nella dedica cosa lo abbia indotto a utilizzare il croato nella sua *Judita*. Marko Marulić, ovvero Marco Marulo, era esponente di una cultura, che potremmo definire nel vero senso della parola, senza confini e limitazioni territoriali. Significativo fu il suo soggiorno in Italia nel secondo periodo del Rinascimento. Soggiornò infatti a Padova per seguire gli studi universitari e forse visitò anche Roma, Milano, Arezzo, Napoli, Firenze (centri importanti per la sua formazione di intellettuale encyclopedista). Infatti non fu solo

poeta umanista ma anche filologo, teologo, latinista con orizzonti amplissimi. Varia e vasta fu la sua opera dove spicca la produzione in latino, molto spesso pubblicata in Italia (a Venezia e a Roma) e tradotta in varie lingue. Fondamentale è comunque la sua opera in croato dove si fondono anche elementi della letteratura croata medievale. Tra le opere di Marulić scritte in croato la più importante è per l'appunto *Judita*, (*Giuditta*), il poema della vedova dell'Antico Testamento che con il suo coraggio e la fede salvò la sua città nativa. Marulić prese il tema dalla Bibbia ma lo cantò imitando i poeti epici antichi, specialmente Virgilio, e la tradizione poetica croata. Solo a prima vista lontano, il tema per Marulić e i suoi concittadini era attuale: come difendere la città dai conquistatori superiori per forze. La Betulia di Giuditta allo stesso tempo è la Spalato di Marulić e gli Assiri che la minacciano sono gli Ottomani. Letta in questa chiave, *Giuditta* testimonia dell'amore del poeta verso la città nativa, ma anche della preoccupazione per la propria patria. Avendola scritta nel 1501 Marulić ha indebitato la letteratura croata, scrivendo il primo poema epico in croato.

All'inizio della sua *Judita* Marko Marulić si rivolge nella dedica a Dujam Balistrilić: nello scritto l'autore spalatino si sofferma su talune questioni che la sua opera potrebbe sollevare. Il quesito di fondo è quello relativo all'arricchimento stilistico del testo. Partendo da questo riferimento si può affermare che la dedica introduttiva della *Judita* sia il primo trattato di poetica nell'ambito della letteratura croata in Dalmazia. Importante, secondo Pavličić, è l'ultimo capoverso della dedica nel quale Marko Marulić prega Balistrilić, innanzi tutto di interpretare lui stesso nella maniera giusta il testo e indi di difenderlo pubblicamente. L'opera, spiega l'autore spalatino, è indirizzata a coloro che non sono in grado di leggere la Bibbia in lingua latina o in italiano, ovvero a quelli che si potrebbero definire, per quei tempi, il popolo incolto. La ricerca di giustificazione da parte di Marko Marulić si riferisce anche agli abbellimenti letterari. L'autore spiega che non vale la pena di raccontare una storia biblica se la stessa non viene in qualche maniera abbellita. E quest'ultima spiegazione dà a intendere che il dramma realmente non è rivolto soltanto all'uomo della strada, alla gente comune, ma anche ai buoni intenditori di letteratura che potrebbero rinfacciargli eventualmente di aver offerto al pubblico un racconto biblico, in forma modificata, senza però alcun abbellimento stilistico.

Marulić però mette le mani avanti: non vuole essere accusato di non tenere nella giusta considerazione l'elemento principale dell'opera, quello religioso. Scrive Pavao Pavličić riferendosi alla dedica:

Marulić narra di essere incappato, sfogliando la Bibbia durante la Quaresima, nel racconto di Giuditta e di essere giunto all'idea di narrarlo nella nostra lingua... Questa formulazione non dà adito a dubbi sul fatto che si tratti in realtà di un'ispirazione. Se questa idea è

venuta in mente a Marulić allora questo vuol dire che da qualche parte già esisteva. E poteva esistere soltanto in quella sfera dalla quale in genere arrivano le buone idee, ossia la sfera dello spirito, la sfera del divino. Inoltre non bisogna scordare la circostanza che quest'ispirazione ha fatto la sua comparsa proprio nel periodo della quaresima, ossia in quel periodo quando l'uomo in genere è pervaso da contenuti spirituali, per cui appare ancor più logico che il poeta proprio allora sia arrivato a questa nobile idea. Il poema dunque è frutto di un'ispirazione, non è nato dal desiderio puro e semplice dell'autore di acquisire celebrità. (Pavličić, 2006, 14)

Non ci sono dubbi, pertanto, almeno a prima vista, sull'afflato religioso del poema. Marulić, al di là di qualsiasi altra ragione, anche di carattere che oggi potremmo definire patriottico, punta l'indice sull'aspetto religioso del tema. Infatti se

è nato sulla base di un'ispirazione - in linea con un dettato superiore - allora a questo poema è garantita l'idoneità religiosa e quindi un posto onorevole al mondo. In questo contesto tutto quanto compare nel poema, va visto alla luce di questa sua origine e va sempre tenuta nella debita considerazione la sua nobile finalità. (Pavličić, 2006, 14)

Di tale finalità, del resto il poeta parla esplicitamente nella parte introduttiva della Dedica e questo è il secondo punto al quale bisogna prestare attenzione. Marulić, infatti, ha deciso effettivamente di narrare la storia di Giuditta *nella nostra lingua*, (Pavličić, 2006, 14) affinché sia comprensibile a coloro che non sono avvezzi ai libri latini, ovvero italiani. La sua opera è dunque dedicata a coloro che non possono leggere la Bibbia in latino o italiano. È destinata al popolo incolto che – come si vedrà più avanti – Marulić chiaramente differenzia dai buoni intenditori di letteratura, tra i quali vi è Balistrilić. In questo ambito non è sicuramente casuale l'uso proprio del verbo spiegare, giacché esso sta a significare la narrazione dello stesso testo con altre parole, lasciando intatto il contenuto. Marulić, pertanto, promette di offrire al popolo l'autentico contenuto biblico, solo narrato in un'altra lingua. "Così l'opera è giustificata anche dalla sua finalità. In tal modo ottiene una chiara motivazione sociale." (Pavličić, 2006, 13-14) Una motivazione quest'ultima che si estrinseca anche nell'uso della lingua parlata dai più vasti strati della popolazione.

Marulić non si limita però a giustificare le sue fatiche letterarie solo con motivazioni prettamente linguistiche e sociali: c'è ancora, scrive Pavličić, un altro aspetto della *Judita* che va spiegato e questo è rappresentato dai suoi abbellimenti letterari. Il poeta parla del fatto che volendo dedicare *Judita* a Balistrilić (che conosce bene ambe-

due le lingue, come scrive lo stesso Marulić nella dedica) abbia deciso di seguire l'esempio dei bambini che a Capodanno donano ai più anziani arance decorate con sostanze aromatiche, al fine di ottenere a loro volta dei regali. Josip Vončina ritiene che la formulazione *conosce bene le due lingue* (Pavličić, 2006, 16) si riferisca al latino e al croato e si ricolleghi alla successiva affermazione di Marulić nella dedica, secondo la quale lo stesso racconto Balistrilić lo può trovare scritto in forma migliore tra i suoi libri. Vončina dunque ritiene che il racconto di Giuditta, ancor prima della comparsa dell'opera di Marulić, sia stato tradotto nei breviari e che Balistrilić disponesse di questi libri. Pavličić non appare troppo convinto delle interpretazioni di Vončina, giacché le parole riferite alla buona conoscenza di ambedue le lingue da parte di Balistrilić si ricollegano direttamente alla frase in cui si parla di coloro che non sono avvezzi ai libri latini o italiani. Secondo Pavličić non è pertanto fuori luogo pensare che Marulić abbia in realtà voluto dire che Balistrilić conosceva bene sia il latino sia l'italiano e abbia, dunque, letto in queste lingue la Bibbia e quindi anche la storia di Giuditta.

Rileva ancora Pavličić:

Dopo aver esaurito tutti gli argomenti con i quali tenta di giustificare la sua opera come un testo indirizzato a coloro che non sono avvezzi ai libri latini ovvero italiani, Marulić finalmente riconosce apertamente chi sia il vero destinatario di tale testo. Tale destinatario, infatti, non è il popolo incolto, ma i conoscitori della letteratura quali Balistrilić, coloro che potrebbero rinfacciare all'autore di aver loro offerto la storia biblica senza alcuna modifica, ossia senza alcun abbellimento. (Pavličić, 2006, 18)

Ma non siamo in presenza di un poema scritto con intenti didattici per il "popolo incolto": la letteratura dalmata che possiamo definire aulica non si pone certamente l'obiettivo di fare proselitismo, ovvero di fare concorrenza o di integrare i breviari religiosi di spirito popolare, rivolti a coloro che conoscono soltanto la madrelingua e non, ad esempio, il latino. Quella dalmata in lingua croata vuole essere una letteratura che si affianchi ai modelli più elevati in voga all'epoca. Pertanto Pavličić alla fin fine abbandona le spiegazioni di tipo "nazionalpopolare" e arriva a una conclusione che in pratica ribalta lo schema interpretativo da lui stesso offerto inizialmente:

Primo, "Judita" in realtà non è indirizzata a coloro che non sono avvezzi ai libri latini e italiani. Perché sare-

bbe sufficiente narrare la storia, ad essi non interessa alcun aroma aggiuntivo. Al contrario, -Judita- è rivolta a coloro che sono avvezzi ai libri latini ovvero italiani, è indirizzata dunque a quanti conoscono la letteratura, ai lettori che conoscono già dalla Bibbia e da altre fonti la storia della santa vedova, però sono interessati a quelle decorazioni che l'autore vi ha aggiunto. (Pavličić, 2006, 19)

E così paradossalmente si può affermare, secondo Pavličić, che nemmeno la vera origine del poema non sia stata spiegata correttamente. In altre parole l'opera non sarebbe frutto di un'ispirazione e anzi probabilmente deriverebbe dal desiderio del poeta di divenire famoso quale autore. Forse proprio qui sta in parte la ragione per la quale Marulić si paragona a Dante. Ma soltanto in parte, puntualizza Pavličić, giacché alla base delle parole dell'autore spalatino non vi è solo un eccesso di autoconsapevolezza del proprio valore: il poeta desidera soprattutto tracciare un parallelismo tra la propria situazione e la situazione dell'autore della Divina Commedia. Non senza una ragione in una lettera a Jerolim Čipiko, Marulić scrive di aver creato un'opera in versi nella nostra madrelingua... "E' fatta in maniera poetica. Venga e la legga, dirà che anche la lingua slava ha il suo Dante." (Milošević, 1992, 37) Chiara quindi la volontà di fare della letteratura aulica: questa è l'ispirazione di fondo. Il resto è una copertura di comodo per non uscire dagli schemi dell'epoca.

## TRADURRE O TRADIRE

Il richiamo ai modelli classici è onnipresente nel periodo preso in esame. Il quesito sempiterno che si può porre è quanto sia davvero originale la letteratura dell'epoca nella regione, ovvero se possa essere riconosciuta dignità artistica autentica a opere spesso plasmate su modelli 'occidentali'. La risposta non può essere che favorevole alle rivendicazioni di dignità letteraria, anche nel caso in cui si possa parlare più che altro di traduzioni. Va tenuto conto che nei diversi periodi della storia della letteratura il rapporto nei confronti dell'uso degli elementi delle opere degli altri autori non era costante: di conseguenza, nella ricerca degli influssi e dei legami tra le opere d'arte è necessario prendere in considerazione anche gli atteggiamenti specifici delle diverse epoche nei confronti dell'autorità. Nel Rinascimento non soltanto era permesso, ma era esemplare imitare grandi poeti riconosciuti. L'esempio per tutti i poeti in lingua volgare era Francesco

- 1 Il termine Latini all'epoca sta sovente a indicare gli italiani. Non si può parlare però di una regola in tal senso. Così Jan Panonije (Janus Pannonius), soffermandosi alle drammatiche condizioni in cui si trovavano all'epoca le terre che si affacciavano sull'Adriatico orientale a causa della minaccia ottomana, si „sorprende per il fatto che i Latini, termine con il quale si riferisce ora all'Impero romano, ora agli stati italici, in primo luogo quello pontificio, non prendano in considerazione con la dovuta serietà quello che succede non lontano da loro“ (Švelec, 1991, 33).
- 2 La lettera si trova tra quelle scoperte a Venezia da Miloš Milošević e rese note nell'opera Sette lettere sconosciute di Marko Maruilić, Colloquia maruliana I.

Petrarca, per cui un'intera serie di suoi successori e imitatori in Italia e fuori dall'Italia prese il nome di petrarchisti. Se si parla degli influssi del Petrarca sulle letterature scritte in lingua straniera, bisogna includere anche le specificità che provengono dalla corrispondenza dei mezzi espressivi, dall'inclusione e costruzione delle forme specifiche e dalla formulazione della tradizione dentro una lingua che non è italiana. Sulla vita letteraria dalmata di allora non si possono applicare alla lettera le concezioni moderne sulla traduzione e sugli influssi. I poeti di allora, infatti, maggiormente non si adoperavano a tradurre le poesie, ma usavano soltanto alcuni loro elementi. E così nella Dalmazia del periodo rinascimentale e barocco la traduzione spesso era un'occasione di creatività, un modo per creare un'opera nuova partendo dai modelli di riferimento classici. Questo è il caso di Petar Hektorović (Pietro Ettoreo), il poeta di Lesina (Hvar), autore della *Pesca* (*Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje*) che si è cimentato anche come traduttore di Ovidio. Nella sua traduzione dell'opera *Remedie amoris* di Ovidio, Petar Hektorović cerca un farmaco che liberi dai mali d'amore, ovvero "anela a trovare un medicamento che lenisce i problemi insiti in una specifica relazione, quella fra letteratura e realtà" (Pavličić, 2006, 40). In altre parole l'autore lotta con l'arma del testo letterario contro quei problemi che la letteratura avrebbe, secondo lui, creato: lotta facendosi forte di Ovidio contro il petrarchismo che all'epoca predominava nella sfera culturale europea e di rimando anche in quella dalmata.

Nello stesso tempo, indirettamente il traduttore di Lesina affronta i nodi che potremmo definire semipiterni della traduzione in linea con il motto tradurre-tradire. Hektorović dichiara nella dedica indirizzata all'amico Mikša Pelegrinović di aver deciso di tradurre solamente una delle due parti dell'opera di Ovidio e di aver tralasciato la seconda perché sconveniente. Il traduttore paragona nella dedica la traduzione a una nuova nascita: il passaggio da una lingua all'altra si configura come un parto, dal che si deduce che la traduzione va considerata praticamente su un piano di parità rispetto all'originale. Quest'asserzione trova conferma anche nell'opera dell'autore raguseo Domminko Zlatarić, che tradusse in croato l'*Aminta* di Torquato Tasso. Ebbene Zlatarić fu il primo traduttore di questo poema pastorale e lo dette alle stampe nel 1580, quindi prima dell'edizione del testo originale. Un fatto questo che può sorprendere ed essere per qualcuno, come lo definisce Locatelli, contemporaneamente *doloroso* (Locatelli, 1944, 95-103). Ma non si tratta di un fatto doloroso, ma anzi di un segno del carattere creativo della traduzione, quale strumento fondamentale di contatto tra le lingue e le rispettive culture. Le traduzioni, inoltre, si ricollegano alla questione degli influssi letterari. E a questo proposito Valnea Delbianco rileva, che "una sorta di paradosso del patrimonio letterario croato sta nel fatto che esso nel suo contesto storico assume caratteristiche di indubbio valore, mentre nel contempo l'analisi di un

gran numero di opere evidenzia la sua dipendenza da modelli stranieri" (Delbianco, 2004, 93). Restando in tema di traduzioni, va detto che Zlatarić ha tradotto in croato, tra l'altro, l'*Elettra* di Sofocle. E nella dedica a Juraj Zrinski, Zlatarić afferma di aver trasformato in Croata la greca *Eletta* e sottolinea di offrirgli un dramma greco nella sua lingua croata. Questo rivela chiaramente il pensiero di Zlatarić sul lavoro del traduttore, inteso come un'opera indubbiamente creativa. Infatti se ha trasformato *Elettra* in una Croata, allora questo significa che per lui la traduzione non è soltanto una mera informazione sull'originale. Anzi, l'opera straniera "riconvertita" "nella lingua nazionale di fatto viene introdotta nella letteratura nazionale (che è definita dalla lingua) e diviene sua parte integrante" (Pavličić, 2006, 136).

La lingua, materia prima di ogni traduzione, e la cultura sono entità mobili e dinamiche in continuo dialogo fra loro. Il problema della traduzione e quello del dialogo tra le culture sono intimamente legati. La cultura, in questo contesto, è vista non più come un'unità stabile, ma come un processo dinamico che implica differenze e incompletezza e che richiede alla fine una negoziazione di cui la traduzione fa portatrice. Quello della presenza in uno stesso territorio, di situazioni di differenza linguistica e culturale, o anche soltanto di forti influssi linguistici e culturali è certamente un fenomeno altamente dinamico. Questo influisce indubbiamente sul problema della traduzione, che in questi casi non è mai estranea a questioni di identità ed egemonia. Chi vive questa realtà si trova costantemente trapiantato da una lingua all'altra, in bilico tra linguaggi, tra culture e identificazioni diverse. Ma questo è soprattutto un problema moderno di identità: nel periodo rinascimentale il concetto di identità nazionale non è presente nella sua valenza contemporanea, per cui la traduzione non porta a disagi identitari, ma è vista come nel caso di Hektorović alla stregua di un'occasione di arricchimento culturale, come un'opportunità di creare qualcosa di nuovo. Non quindi una trasposizione meccanica, tecnica e senza anima da una lingua all'altra, quanto piuttosto una traduzione che pur ridestando l'eco dell'originale, sia pure in grado di produrre un'opera particolare, nonché di reinventare e riproporre un nuovo senso.

E partendo da questo concetto non è arduo trovare qui un punto di contatto con quanto afferma Marko Marulić nella sua dedica alla *Judita*, ovvero di aver deciso di narrare in croato la storia di Giuditta per renderla comprensibile a quanti non sono avvezzi ai libri in latino o italiano. Ma anche, possiamo aggiungere, per esaltare lo spirito cristiano in un momento storico in cui la sua terra deve fare i conti con la minaccia proveniente da oriente. Allo stesso modo la selezione nell'ambito dell'opera di Ovidio operata da Hektorović può essere messa in relazione agli scrupoli e alla vocazione cristiana che sta alla base del poema di Marulić.

Per quanto concerne l'opera principale di Hektorović, *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje*, Franjo Švelec ricorda

che venne stampata appena due volte ai vecchi tempi: la prima volta nel 1568, quando l'autore era ancora in vita e la seconda volta nel 1638. Evidentemente, è il commento di Franjo Švelec, „il pubblico si era rarefatto, il che è un segnale evidente che la snazionalizzazione della nostra gente nelle città dalmate aveva raggiunto uno stadio molto avanzato“ (Švelec, 1998, 78). Il concetto di snazionalizzazione è però essenzialmente moderno: presuppone l'esistenza di nazioni prestabilite, con confini etnico-linguistici nitidi, dotate di una chiara autoconsapevolezza nazionale. Tutte cose assai rare all'epoca, anche nei casi in cui, come vedremo, un autore, ad esempio Petar Zoranić, non sia immune da richiami che potremmo definire di stampo nazionale.

### QUATTRO NINFE, UN ALBERO SOLO

In un primo approccio Petar Zoranić (Pietro Albis) potrebbe, infatti, sembrare il poeta forse più animato da spirito nazionale nell'ambito letterario. Ma, come vedremo, anche questo spirito nazionale va visto nell'ottica dell'epoca in cui opera, non in senso moderno. Nel XX capitolo del poema *Planine* Zoran incontra quattro ninfe: la Croata, la Latina, la Greca e la Caldea. Il rapporto linguistico che oseremmo definire tipicamente dalmata, caratterizzato dalle tre lingue letterarie a contatto, viene alla luce con chiarezza nel testo della dedica, ovvero dell'introduzione del poema, ma anche in seguito nel XX capitolo. Nel Giardino della Gloria, la ninfa Croata si lamenta per l'atteggiamento di quelle persone di casa nostra che si rifiutano di scrivere in lingua croata, anche se potrebbero e saprebbero farlo, bensì pongono il loro talento al servizio di altre lingue:

So che ci sono parecchi miei croati, non uno o due, ma tanti, saggi ed eruditi, che avrebbero la capacità di lodare, celebrare e abbellire sé stessi e la propria lingua, però mi sembra che si vergognino a farlo, che abbiano vergogna di me, e anzi di se stessi. Se qualcuno recita o scrive, recita e scrive in lingua straniera; sappi che questo significa semplicemente trascurare le proprie capacità. (Pavličić, 2006, 66)

Sentendosi trascurata la ninfa della letteratura croata è triste e piange, nonostante si trovi a vivere in quello che lo stesso Zoranić definisce una specie di paradiso terrestre. L'autore spiega le ragioni di tale paragone, sottolineando che in Grecia non vi è monte o ruscello che non sia stato decantato in letteratura, mentre le nostre terre non riescono a trovare poeti a sufficienza che cantino inni alla loro bellezza, nonostante non abbiano nulla da invidiare alle terre elleniche e siano anche magari più

attraenti. La ninfa nel Giardino della Gloria quindi non ha dubbi: l'unico modo “per fare qualcosa per la patria con l'aiuto della letteratura è quello di decantare i suoi paesaggi, ed è proprio questo che i nostri letterati non fanno” (Pavličić, 2006, 66).

Attraverso la simbologia della ninfa Croata a parlarci è naturalmente lo scrittore. La ninfa che simboleggia la letteratura in lingua croata presenta tutte le caratteristiche che corrispondono al reale stato di tale letteratura all'epoca, almeno dall'ottica di Zoranić: è giovane, porta in braccio pochi frutti ed è segnata dalla tristezza perché ne vorrebbe avere di più. Le quattro ninfe potrebbero stare a indicare le letterature nazionali, ma con le opportune distinzioni. Quella Latina, per esempio, porta in braccio le mele di due lingue (Pavličić, 2006, 67). L'interpretazione più ovvia è che queste due mele, quasi una sorta di bilinguismo, facciano riferimento alle letterature in lingua latina e italiana. La spiegazione che ne dà inizialmente Pavličić è che le ninfe nell'opera di Zoranić non siano in ultima analisi incaricate per le singole letterature nazionali (che si riconoscono nella lingua), bensì

innanzitutto per i Paesi in cui tali letterature nascono e nei quali tali lingue si parlano. Appunto per questo è possibile che la stessa ninfa tenga in braccio sia le mele latine, sia quelle italiane: ella è competente per l'Italia nella quale si scriveva dapprima in latino e indi in italiano, per cui queste mele naturalmente le appartengono. E questo va di nuovo collegato a quanto che si legge nella dedica a «*Planine*»: qui Zoranić si è dato il compito di celebrare la propria patria con mezzi letterari e quindi introdurla nel mondo della cultura. (Pavličić, 2006, 80)

Ma è davvero convincente questa teoria? Si può dare dell'epoca rinascimentale una spiegazione che potrebbe reggere con solidità solo nel periodo risorgimentale, quando per l'appunto, nascono i sentimenti e le vocazioni di stampo nazionale? Non va dimenticato che nell'opera di Zoranić tutte queste mele, a prescindere dal registro linguistico, sono frutto dello stesso albero. Se potesse reggere fino in fondo una spiegazione di tipo romantico, ottocentesco, allora, lo ammette lo stesso Pavličić, ogni ninfa dovrebbe portare in braccio frutti diversi, giacché, secondo le teorie in voga nel romanticismo, lo spirito dei diversi popoli è diverso. Nel caso di Zoranić balza, invece, alla luce che quelle che, con il senno di poi (moderno), definiamo letterature nazionali, sono in realtà sostanzialmente uguali e soltanto casualmente diverse. Questo sta a significare che sono frutto della stessa comune cultura, che ha le sue radici nel comune Giardino della Gloria. A rafforzare questa convinzione giunge la valutazione di

<sup>3</sup> Questo sta a significare, sempre secondo Pavličić, che „Ovidio o Petrarca si possono imitare – vista la somiglianza di fondo fra tutte le letterature – ma però essi non possono essere mai nostri, bensì possono soltanto contribuire alla creazione della nostra letteratura“ (Pavličić, 2006, 52).

Grčić sul rapporto di Zoranić nei confronti della lingua:

Per lui il croato è soltanto uno dei dialetti culturali del latino o dell’italiano e viceversa: il latino o l’italiano sono dialetti del croato. (Pavličić, 2006, 82)

Una simile affermazione non deve sorprendere. La storia della cultura di ogni popolo possiamo esaminarla da due punti di vita: il primo quale sviluppo immanente e il secondo quale risultato delle diverse influenze esterne. Entrambi i processi sono strettamente interconnessi e possiamo separarli solamente ricorrendo all’astrazione scientifica. Da quanto detto scaturisce, tra l’altro, che ogni analisi isolata, sia del percorso immanente, sia delle influenze esterne, inevitabilmente fornisce un’immagine distorta della realtà. L’intersecazione con le altre strutture culturali può avvenire attraverso svariate forme. Così, per poter penetrare nel nostro mondo, la cultura esterna deve smettere di essere per esso soltanto esterna. Essa deve trovare per sé un nome e un luogo nella lingua della cultura nella quale penetra dall’esterno. L’irruzione può essere così forte da introdurre non soltanto elementi separati di testo, ma un’intera lingua, che può farsi sovrapporre completamente alla lingua nella quale è penetrata oppure assieme ad essa fare vita a una gerarchia complessa, come ad esempio nel caso del rapporto tra il latino e le lingue nazionali nell’Europa medievale. Infine, esso può svolgere il ruolo di catalizzatore: non partecipando direttamente al processo può accelerare la sua dinamica. E la letteratura italiana, in particolare del periodo dell’umanesimo e del rinascimento ha svolto questo ruolo da catalizzatore nei confronti della cultura dalmata aulica della stessa epoca. La letteratura italiana ha smesso in Dalmazia di essere esterna ed assieme ad essa anche la lingua.

Pertanto la spiegazione da Pavličić è tanto più pregnante se si considera che Zoranić si appoggia alle opere di autori italiani e latini. Pavličić considera, a questo proposito giustificata la proposta di Dunja Fališevac di ricollegare *Planine* alla *Vita nova* di Dante, senza scordare peraltro l’influenza di Sannazzaro, Petrarca e Ovidio. Non per niente la ninfa Croata desidera portare in braccio gli stessi frutti culturali delle altre ninfe, quasi a simboleggiare una simbiosi culturale di cui la pluralità linguistica è semplicemente un arricchimento, non certamente un fattore di divisione. Le mele della ninfa Croata sono acerbe, è vero, ma lo stesso Zoranić nel XX capitolo di *Planine* spiega alla ninfa che il suo poema – a forma di mela – sia riuscito ancora acerbo perché è stato scritto con l’intenzione di lenire i propri mali d’amore e rendersi attraente agli occhi di colei che lo aveva ferito. È l’amore che trionfa, dunque, con l’inevitabile collegamento agli autori italiani di cui sopra, antesignani in questo campo letterario.

Franjo Švelec ricorda però che Zoranić, nella dedica a Matej Matijević, ed anche nell’opera, polemizza con

i suoi conterranei e in questo ambito anche con i suoi cittadini. Egli afferma apertamente che

i Croati dispongono di un numero sufficiente di persone erudite, in grado di rendere celebre la loro lingua e il loro patrimonio («bašćina»), però essi anche se scrivono qualcosa lo fanno in lingua straniera, «u jini tuji jazik». È evidente che a Zara il «tuji jazik» poteva essere il latino o l’italiano. La critica era rivolta quindi ai nostri umanisti, che scrivendo in lingua straniera trascuravano la propria, e dalla trascuratezza all’oblio il passo è breve. (Švelec, 1998, 14-15)

Lo scrittore, dunque,

reagiva in maniera aperta e chiara nei confronti della reale situazione letteraria e linguistica a Zara e Nona nella prima metà del XVI secolo (Švelec, 1888, 42).

La situazione letteraria e linguistica di quel periodo evidenzia però la necessità di superare l’approccio tradizionale che guarda alla cultura come a uno spazio ordinato. Il quadro reale è molto più complesso e disordinato. La casualità dei singoli destini individuali, gli intrecci degli eventi storici ai vari livelli popolano con i loro conflitti imprevedibili il mondo della cultura e delle lingue. Il quadro ordinato, come lo vede colui che studia un singolo genere o un singolo sistema storico chiuso, è un’illusione. In un certo qual senso possiamo pensare alla cultura come a una struttura che è immersa nel mondo esterno ad essa e che assorbe dentro di sé tale mondo, rigettandolo all’esterno rielaborato ovvero riorganizzato in armonia alle strutture della propria lingua. Questo è ciò che è accaduto con le opere degli scrittori dalmati di lingua croata. Comunque, possiamo dire che il mondo esterno, in questo caso le città della Dalmazia dove molti rincorrevo «lingue straniere», è tutt’altro che caotico, è in realtà pure esso a modo suo organizzato. La sua organizzazione si realizza in base alle regole determinate dall’incontro tra le culture e le lingue.

In genere nel momento in cui lo spazio della cultura assorbe i testi di questa lingua esterna,

si arriva all’esplosione. Da quest’ottica l’esplosione possiamo definirla come il momento in cui si scontrano due lingue reciprocamente sconosciute: quella che accoglie e quella che viene accolta. Si crea uno spazio esplosivo – un fascio di imprevedibilità. (Lottman, 1998, 160)

Lo spazio di intersecazione diviene una base naturale per la comunicazione: e questo al di là delle lamentele moderne, tipiche di un’era contagiata dal fenomeno della nazionalità, favorisce ed esalta la creatività, non la impoverisce.

Possiamo, al limite, parlare di un ecosistema culturale dalmata per il periodo preso in esame, anche se le culture non sono sistemi materiali, bensì immateriali. I confini in natura non sono mai troppo netti. Tra il mare e la terra vi sono le "zone anfibie". Le zone di contatto sono quelle ai margini. Gli ecosistemi culturali, alla pari di quelli naturali, non sopportano un isolamento permanente; senza scambi con i sistemi culturali vicini divengono dei fossili culturali. Un sistema chiuso, iperprotetto, è destinato al deperimento, all'estinzione. La diversità implica la comprensione del carattere plurale delle culture. È indispensabile, quindi, la consapevolezza di una determinata subordinazione della cultura all'ambiente naturale. I legami tra natura e cultura vanno visti come un insieme unico. La cultura è figlia del sistema naturale e pertanto è inevitabile che presenti zone di permeabilità anfibia. Il binomio locale globale è un assioma dello sviluppo biologico. Lo stesso vale per le diversità storiche che danno vita a loro volta a situazioni "anfibie", ovvero a situazioni "di frontiera". In questo venir meno dei confini netti si aprono maggiori spazi anche per la comprensione reciproca fra le culture. Non va però dimenticato che l'altra cultura in simili situazioni è sempre presente, fino a divenire parte integrante della cultura «iniziale», quella che magari si vorrebbe pura. Questo non significa assolutamente la scomparsa della diversità linguistica. Il caso degli autori ragusei che passeremo ora in esame evidenzia come gli incontri linguistici servano ad affinare il proprio idioma dall'ottica letteraria.

### NON ZAPPARE LA TERRA D'ALTRI

La città di Dubrovnik (Ragusa) si configura come l'Atene croata. Dubrovnik fu sede, dopo la cacciata dei Veneziani nel 1358, di una Repubblica libera, tributaria dei re unghero-croati fino al 1526 e dei sultani ottomani dopo il 1526. Una saggia politica estera e interna della sua classe politica vi creò delle premesse necessarie allo sviluppo delle lettere e delle arti. Infatti, molti scrittori rinascimentali e dell'era barocca, umanisti e scienziati croati ebbero i loro natali in questa città o nei suoi dintorni. E la letteratura croata qui raggiunse le massime vette del suo splendore. I modelli classici e quelli italiani rinascimentali e barocchi servirono da spunto per lo sviluppo di una fiorente attività letteraria in lingua croata, con autori consapevoli di aver imboccato una strada importante, quella della valorizzazione artistica della loro lingua materna.

Dinko Ranjina (Ragnina) è il primo autore dalmata di lingua croata a porre in linea di principio sullo stesso piano la creatività artistica e le opere della transizione orale, sostenendo che la fonte di entrambe è la stessa. Šiško

e Džore, sostiene Ranjina, sono gli eredi dei vecchi poeti greci e latini. Hanno semplicemente compreso che i parlanti di due lingue diverse compongono le opere poetiche nella propria madrelingua. I due poeti ragusei, rileva Ranjina, non hanno voluto zappare la terra altrui, già abbondantemente dissodata: innanzi tutto perché sentivano come un obbligo la necessità di scrivere nella propria lingua e quindi lo consideravano come un fatto del tutto naturale. Con queste parole Ranjina intendeva dire che il poeta deve puntare a raffinare e arricchire la propria lingua: se si cimenta a scrivere in un idioma straniero, invece, offre un dono che da lui nessuno si aspetta da lui e quindi va incontro al fallimento in quanto autore. E qui vi è anche una motivazione pratica che sta alla base di questo ragionamento, ovvero meglio essere conosciuti solo in patria che non essere conosciuti da nessuna parte. La convinzione di Ranjina, in altri termini, è che il poeta soltanto affermando la propria lingua può ricevere riconoscimenti nel mondo. Questo non sta a significare che i poeti presi in considerazione non si siano cimentati, comunque, in lingue diverse. Ranjina non manca di rilevare che Šiško e Džore hanno scritto più nella propria lingua che in una straniera, il che sta chiaramente a indicare che qualcosa hanno pur scritto in altre lingue. Ma qual è questa nostra lingua di cui si parla con insistenza nelle opere dalmate di lingua croata? Ranjina chiarisce il suo pensiero quando scrive che Šiško e Džore "sono la prima luce della nostra lingua che tanta parte del mondo parla" (Pavličić, 2006, 123). Chiaro il riferimento, quindi, alle parlate di matrice slava, ampiamente diffuse a livello continentale nell'entroterra raguseo. Questo lo comprendiamo rifacendoci anche a Ivan Gundulić. Però nel caso di Ranjina, assolutamente in linea con il pensiero di altri autori del suo tempo, si ha l'impressione che sia convinto che tutti gli Slavi parlino la stessa lingua, per cui questa "è una ragione in più per fare sì che questa lingua si elevi culturalmente con l'apporto della letteratura" (Pavličić, 2006, 123).

### AL SERVIZIO DI UNA NOBILE CAUSA

La presenza dei Turchi quasi fuori dalle mura cittadine, il giogo ottomano imposto alle contermini aree balcaniche, è un elemento che rende nella letteratura dalmata e quindi anche in quella ragusea molto più viva e pregnante la presenza nelle opere letterarie dell'Altro, dell'altra cultura dell'epoca, quella islamica, rispetto alle opere dello stesso periodo realizzate in Italia, quindi a una distanza di sicurezza dal "pericolo turco" immediato. Questo favorisce lo sviluppo di uno spirito "nazionale". Ivan Gundulić (Giovanni Gondola) nella sua dedica alla tradizione delle *Canzoni al devoto re David* pone la sua opera al servizio di una causa nobile. Sulla stessa linea d'onda si trova

4 La modernità di Gundulić, secondo Slobodan Prosperov Novak, stava nel fatto che egli parlasse della politica unicamente dall'ottica letteraria.

la *Gerusalemme liberata* di Torquato Tasso, frutto della reverenza al Signore. Con la differenza che Ragusa è in prima linea rispetto al pericolo "orientale". Gundulić annuncia di voler porre a disposizione questa traduzione "a tutto il nostro popolo slavo" (Pavličić, 2006, 159). Rimane aperta la questione di che cosa intendesse lo scrittore raguseo con il concetto di popolo slavo.

Comunque è evidente che l'autore considera la propria opera come qualcosa di pubblico, che assume rilevanza per tutto il popolo. All'epoca quando scriveva questa dedica, Gundulić si era convertito alla fede. Questa conversione non andava esclusivamente nella direzione della creazione di un corpo letterario di carattere religioso: puntava invece a realizzare opere letterarie che potessero fungere d'insegnamento al lettore, che fossero maestri di vita e quindi inevitabilmente anche politicizzate.

Ignjat Đurđević nel poema religioso *I sospiri di Madalena* si rivolge al lettore separando la dedica dall'esame degli aspetti poetici. Innanzitutto l'autore raguseo scrive che gli Slavi non dispongono di un'ortografia chiaramente codificata. In seconda battuta parla del lessico e giustifica il fatto di essere ricorso a qualche parola straniera. L'autore non manca di rilevare, in questo contesto, di voler celebrare la regione adriatico-slava ponendola in rilievo agli occhi del mondo. Evidentemente Ranjina, alla pari di altri autori della sua epoca, era convinto, sottolinea Pavličić, che tutti gli Slavi parlassero la stessa lingua per cui c'erano ottimi motivi per portare tale lingua a un elevato livello culturale con l'ausilio della letteratura.

La questione linguistica, comunque, rimane aperta, rileva sempre Pavličić, quando scrive dell'intenzione di Ivan Gundulić di tradurre la *Gerusalemme liberata* di Torquato Tasso per consacrarla "a tutto il nostro popolo slavo" (Pavličić, 2006, 161). Le interpretazioni sul significato di tali parole sono diverse: finora c'erano parecchi che ritenevano che il riferimento fosse agli Slavi in genere, tanto più che Gundulić intendeva dedicare l'opera al re di Polonia. Secondo Pavličić però è difficile pensare che Gundulić abbia potuto credere davvero che la sua traduzione del Tasso fosse in grado di arrivare fino a tutti gli Slavi e che tutti avrebbero potuto trovarla utile e interessante, tanto da chiamarli "il nostro popolo slavo". Per Pavličić "non bisogna dimenticare che Slavi vengono definiti gli abitanti delle nostre parti, quelli che vivono sulla sponda orientale dell'Adriatico" (Pavličić, 2006, 161).

Ancora più ristretto appare il concetto linguistico nel caso di Andrija Kačić Miošić, che nella sua dedica all'inizio dell'opera *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskog* (*Discorso piacevole sopra la nazione slava*) scrive di volere, con l'ausilio della poesia, trasmettere conoscenze di storia a coloro che non ne dispongono. Per quanto concerne il titolo dell'opera va sottolineato che la nostra è una libera traduzione di quello originale croato. In realtà quando Andrija Kačić Miošić chiese alle autorità veneziane dell'epoca il permesso di stampare il libro,

allora – lui o qualcun altro – tradusse anche in italiano il titolo dell'opera. E questo titolo in due documenti distinti è scritto in due versioni diverse. Nel primo caso abbiamo *Discorso sopra la nazione slava*, nel secondo *Ragionamento sopra la nazione schiavona*. Infine nella seconda edizione del volume è riportato anche il testo del permesso di pubblicazione rilasciato dalle autorità in lingua italiana: in questo caso il titolo è *Ragionamento aggradietivo sopra la nazione slava*. In tutte le versioni, comunque, è chiaro che il riferimento è al popolo slavo e che esso è oggetto del discorso, ovvero non vi partecipa. L'autore desidera divertire, consolare, impartire insegnamenti al popolo. Il discorso è per definizione piacevole, il che vorrebbe dire pure utile. Almeno questo dovrebbe essere l'intendimento.

La dedica di Andrija Kačić Miošić è rivolta a due potenziali fruitori dell'opera: i lettori eruditi e il popolo incolto. Indirizzando il suo discorso alle persone colte, l'autore ha voluto evidenziare di rientrare anche lui nel novero degli eruditi.

In seguito lo scrittore si rivolge a coloro che sarebbero disponibili, assieme a lui, a sobbarcarsi il compito di istruire la plebe. Il libro si configura, pertanto, come un anello di congiunzione tra la gente semplice e determinate conoscenze che già esistono nelle lingue latina e italiana. Nel caso di Andrija Kačić Miošić, per Pavličić il concetto di popolo slavo non si riferisce alla nazione tutta intera, ma solamente alla gente semplice, incolta.

La novità dell'opera di Andrija Kačić Miošić sta nel fatto che nella dedica si rivolge a un doppio filone di persone: da un lato a coloro che deve convincere di aver fatto una buona cosa utilizzando metodi letterari per fini non letterari, dall'altro al pubblico nuovo formato dai vasti strati popolari, i pastori, i contadini, i poveri. L'autore fa presente che

questo libro non è stato scritto per coloro che comprendono il latino e l'italiano perché essi comunque sanno molto di più di quanto non sia scritto nell'opera. Al contrario il «Discorso sopra la nazione slava» è scritto per quanti parlano solo il croato e i quali in altro modo non potrebbero acquisire quelle conoscenze – quelle verità mediate dal libro. (Pavličić, 2006, 260)

Secondo Pavličić bisogna prendere in considerazione il fatto che il concetto di popolo slavo non ha per Andrija Kačić Miošić il significato odierno: questo concetto non comprende tutto il popolo, bensì solamente la gente umile. Chiaramente in gran parte del periodo medievale e rinascimentale i popoli intesi quali nazioni nel senso moderno del termine, ossia quali comunità precise di storia e cultura, in possesso di un territorio unificato, di sistemi economici, educativi e giuridici, erano una rarità. In compenso le comunità etniche, in possesso di determinati attributi culturali c'erano eccome. In questo senso va intesa la nazione slava a cui si richiama Andrija Kačić

Miošić. Secondo Smith sono due le direttive principali attraverso le quali si sono costituite le nazioni moderne, ossia partendo dalle etnie laterali e da quelle verticali. Le etnie verticali o demotiche sarebbero quelle che presentano confini più compatti, una cultura socialmente diffusa e un buon livello di mobilitazione e di fervore popolare. Le etnie laterali sarebbero invece quelle socialmente più circoscritte, portatrici di una cultura aristocratica. Nel corso della storia le etnie laterali hanno puntato spesso a incorporare diverse etnie verticali. Un'etnia aristocratica a volte dispone del potenziale per autoperpetuarsi, vista la sua capacità di incorporare altri strati della popolazione. Dall'altro lato anche "un'etnia demotica può persistere per un lungo periodo, anche se diversi dei suoi «caratteri fondanti» vengono modificati" (Smith, 1996, 117). In Dalmazia questa suddivisione tra etnie verticali e laterali non è netta: semmai sono presenti solamente degli elementi in tal senso. Comunque l'etnia demotica per eccellenza è quella croata. Quella che Smith definisce l'etnia aristocratica in realtà si presenta spesso soltanto come un'élite aristocratica, imbevuta della cultura sovranazionale del tempo. Le circostanze moderne hanno portato la classe intellettuale a creare lo status nazionale, eliminando l'élite aristocratica in senso stretto.

Ma nel periodo in esame il concetto moderno di nazione è tutt'altro che all'orizzonte: semmai si nota soltanto qualche bagliore. Da qui deriva anche il fine utilitario e non nazionale del testo di Andrija Kačić Miošić, ovvero quello di fornire nozioni di storia alle larghe masse popolari. Questo però, per Pavličić, non significa ancora che il testo non sia mosso da intenti nazionali: Andrija Kačić Miošić, stando a questa interpretazione, vuole insegnare al popolo il suo passato, risvegliare la sua coscienza nazionale. Alle radici di questo intento dell'autore, secondo Pavličić, vi sarebbe lo slavismo barocco.

### PLURILINGUISMO DALMATA

Non sono mancati naturalmente gli scrittori e i poeti dalmati che hanno scritto esclusivamente in italiano, oppure in italiano e latino. Ma non per questo essi non sono parte integrante della letteratura e della realtà dell'epoca in Dalmazia. Uno di questi letterati è Ludovico Pasquali (Ludovik Paskalić), ovvero Pascalis o Paschale. Ludovico Pasquali, nativo di Cattaro, studiò all'Università di Padova. Pasquali compose una serie di poemi in italiano, intitolati *Rime Volgari* e pubblicati a Venezia nel 1549. I suoi *Carmina* scritti in latino furono stampati sempre a Venezia, due anni più tardi, nel 1551. Ebbe rapporti epistolari anche con un altro importante letterato dalmata dell'epoca, Hanibal Lucić (Annibale Lucio). Slobodan Prosperov Novak sottolinea che le *Rime Volgari* sono sicuramente il più importante contributo lirico scritto in lingua italiana sulla costa orientale dell'Adriatico. „In questa raccolta di poesie la prima parte è costituita dal canzoniere petrarchista, nel quale Paskalić, nello spirito del

petrarchismo riformato e classicista, scrive liriche che in lingua croata, per lo stile e la valenza si avvicinerebbero soprattutto al canzoniere di Lucić" (Prosperov Novak, 2003, 50), rileva Slobodan Prosperov Novak, il quale evidenzia pure: „Paskalić, eccellente poeta in lingua latina e croata, purtroppo non ha scritto in croato, però è fortemente integrato nello spazio spirituale della letteratura croata ed ha donato il contributo di maggior valore al plurilinguismo dalmata" (Prosperov Novak, 2003, 50). Prosperov Novak ricorda, in questo ambito, che ben „pochi poeti rinascimentali avevano tanto a cuore le amicizie letterarie come questo cattarano, che, non a caso, aveva scritto una lettera di lode a Hanibal Lucić, perché sentiva che con lui c'era la maggiore vicinanza poetica" (Prosperov Novak, 2003, 51).

All'apparenza più slegata dalla realtà dalmata è l'opera dello scrittore e storico Gian Francesco Biondi (Ivan Franjo Biundović), nato a Lesina (Hvar) nel 1572. Biondi fu autore di una trilogia incompiuta, composta da *L'Eromena*, *La Donzella desterrada* e *Il Coralbo*, che introdusse nella letteratura italiana il genere di romanzo definito "eroicogalante". Nonostante i suoi romanzi fossero scritti in italiano, nonostante fosse *uno scrittore per il quale l'esilio era una condizione normale* (Prosperov Novak, 2003, 81), Biondi viene inserito d'autorità da diversi critici croati nell'ambito della letteratura dalmata e croata dell'epoca. A questo proposito Slobodan Prosperov Novak, pur rilevando che essenzialmente, non avendo lasciato altro nella sua natia Lesina se non l'atto di nascita, *Biundović non aveva patria* (Prosperov Novak, 2003, 80), evidenzia pure che nel contempo era *uno storico al quale era estranea ogni forma di esaltazione nazionalistica, uno scrittore con frasi altisonanti, un cosmopolita che ha scritto sulla sua patria numerose pagine toccanti* (Prosperov Novak, 2003, 81).

Sempre a proposito del plurilinguismo va ricordato che non mancano nemmeno i componenti bilingui, a livello popolare, in cui le due lingue, croata e italiana si intersecano, si intrecciano, si aggrovigliano. Un incontro peculiare delle due culture, lingue e letterature e con una coscienza autoctona ludico-maccheronica è testimoniato, ad esempio, scrive Sanja Roić, nei dodecasillabi di un poeta raguseo dell'epoca, Horacije Mažibradić (Orazio Masibradich, morto intorno al 1620):

*Marin mio amato, muèno mi je bil' dosta  
di non aver fatto prije na tvu risposta  
A tomu cagione fu tempo contrario  
krivina moja ne, tako mi zdrav bio!*

È da rilevare ancora "l'intonazione (auto)ironica e ludica di questo peculiare componimento maccheronico raguseo: sia il mittente che il destinatario sono bilingui e testimoniano la vivacità della parola poetica italiana, inserita nel tessuto linguistico slavo di pari dignità letteraria" (Roić, 1999, 93-94).

## CONCLUSIONE

Le mele sono diverse, l'albero è uno solo. Questo emblematico giudizio che si evince dall'opera *Planine* di Petar Zoranić descrive con contorni nitidi la simbiosi culturale realizzatasi nel Rinascimento e nel Barocco tra le due sponde dell'Adriatico. Una simbiosi che ha fatto sì che la grande letteratura dalmata fosse trilingue, che i grandi scrittori che si consideravano di madrelingua croata fossero in condizioni di padroneggiare perfettamente il latino e l'italiano ed anche di scrivere opere in queste lingue, oltre che ovviamente nella propria. Gli scrittori croati danno voce al loro popolo, usando un linguaggio comprensibile anche alla gente semplice, senza per questo venire meno alla volontà di creare opere di valore artistico. E quest'ultima volontà è riconosciuta all'uso dei

modelli ed anche della lingua, ovvero delle due lingue amiche (latino e italiano) che permette loro di essere al passo con i tempi, con le grandi conquiste della civiltà rinascimentale. Una civiltà arricchitasi anche grazie a questa feconda simbiosi culturale tra le culture dell'Adriatico. L'esame delle dediche lasciateci in eredità dagli scrittori dalmati conferma che l'intertesto latino e italiano è presente sempre e comunque nelle opere immortali in lingua croata di quel periodo. E a questo intertesto si aggiunge la volontà di esaltare la propria patria ed anche di lanciare un accorato appello perché questa, minacciata dai Turchi, non sia dimenticata dall'Europa alla quale di diritto appartiene. Se la storia è *magistra vitae* nulla meglio della letteratura rinascimentale conferma che il passato può fungere da ispirazione al presente.

## VPRAŠANJE UPORABE JEZIKA V DALMATINSKI KNJIŽEVNOSTI V OBDOBJU RENESANSE IN BAROKA

*Dario SAFTICH*  
EDIT Fiume, Školjč 10, 51000 Rijeka, Hrvatska  
e-mail: dario.saftich@ri.hinet.hr

### POVZETEK

*Jabolka so različna, drevo je eno samo. Z duhom renesanse nista globoko prežeti le italijanska kultura in književnost, ampak tudi književnost krajev ob vzhodni obali Jadrana. Ko obravnamo vpliv renesanse na hrvaško književnost, se moramo osredotočiti predvsem na območje Dalmacije. Dalmatinska književnost v hrvaškem jeziku je neločljivo povezana z italijanskimi modeli humanizma in renesanse. Kot je razvidno zlasti iz analize, ki jo v svojem delu Skrivena teorija (Skrivena teorija) predstavlja Pavao Pavličić, sloni intelektualna in kulturna podlaga hrvaških avtorjev in njihovih del v večini primerov na latinskih in italijanskih vzorcih. Avtorji, ki so pustili svoj pečat na dalmatinski književnosti, so bili v veliki večini primerov trojezični, saj so obvladali tako hrvaški in italijanski jezik kot latinščino. Svoja dela so tako pogosto objavljali v obeh modernih jezikih in v klasični latinščini.*

*V pričajočem prispevku skušamo ugotoviti, na podlagi česa so se nekateri izmed avtorjev, ki so bolje ali slabše obvladali različne jezikovne registre, odločali za uporabo določenega jezikovnega registra v svojih delih. Poetika, ki preveva posvetila v delih, napisanih v hrvaškem jeziku, razkriva dejstvo, da so njihovi avtorji želeli dati glas ljudstvu in da so prav zato pisali v jeziku, ki so ga lahko razumeli tudi preprosti ljudje, obenem pa se niso želeli odreči želji po ustvarjanju del visoke umetniške vrednosti. Prav ta želja pa je povezana z uporabo modelov in jezikov (latinščine in italijanščine), ki so jim omogočali biti v koraku s časom ter z velikimi dosežki renesančne družbe, ki jo je na območju Jadrana med drugim bogatilo tudi plodno kulturno sožitje treh kultur. Pregled posvetil, ki so del zapuščine dalmatinskih pisateljev potrjuje, da je v delih, ki so bila napisana v hrvaškem jeziku v obravnavanem obdobju, vselej prisotno italijansko in latinsko medbesedilo.*

**Ključne besede:** Dalmacija, književnost, poezija, renesansa, ljudstvo

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## O LEKSIKU DJELA OBSIDIO IADRENSIS

Dolores BUTIĆ

Sveučilište u Puli, Odjel za humanističke znanosti, Ulica I. Matetića Ronjgova 1, 52100 Pula, Hrvatska  
e-mail: dbutic@unipu.hr

### IZVLEČEK

*Jezikovna analiza je pokazala, da je Obsidio Iadrensis z leksikalnega vidika izredno zanimivo delo. Njegov anonimni avtor je besede zajemal iz klasičnega in srednjeveškega korpusa, helenizme, besede, ki so pridobile nov pomen zaradi vpliva krščanstva, in besede, za katere lahko sklepamo, da so posebnosti zadrskega govornega področja, saj so dokumentirane samo v obravnavanem delu. O avtorjevem bogatem besedišču priča tudi raba sinonimov iz včasih različnih razvojnih obdobjij latinščine. Ker opisuje pomorsko bitko, je Obleganje dragocen vir za spoznavanje vojnega in pomorskega izrazoslovja, zlasti poimenovanj plovil, bojnih naprav in utrdb. V pričujočem prispevku so prikazane opažene leksikalne posebnosti dela, ki so posledica razvoja jezika, pa tudi vpliva ljudskega govornega izražanja v Zadru. Avtorjev izbor besed izmed vseh ponujenih možnosti v leksikalnem sistemu lahko vzamemo za stvar osebnega sloga.*

**Ključne besede:** Obsidio Iadrensis, vatikanski rokopis, zagrebški rokopis, beneško obleganje, libri duo, hrvaški fonemi

## SUL LESSICO DELL'OPERA OBSIDIO IADRENSIS

### SINTESI

*Un'analisi linguistica di Obsidio Iadrensis rivela che dal punto di vista lessicale l'opera si presenta particolarmente interessante. L'autore anonimo attinge le parole dal corpus classico e quello medievale, adottando cristianismi e grecismi e aggiungendo espressioni che possiamo considerare caratteristiche della parlata dell'area di Zara, poiché ne troviamo la prova soltanto in questo lavoro. L'uso dei sinonimi, avvolte da diverse fasi della lingua latina, testimonia la ricchezza del vocabolario dell'autore. Descrivendo una battaglia sul mare, L'Assedio rappresenta una risorsa preziosa per conoscere la terminologia bellica e marittima, specialmente i termini designando navi, dispositivi di guerra e fortificazioni. Il contributo presenta le particolarità lessicali osservate nell'opera che sono dovute allo sviluppo della lingua, ma anche agli influssi delle parlate vernacolari di Zara. La decisione dell'autore di scegliere determinate espressioni da una gamma di possibilità equivalenti nel sistema lessicale si può intendere come un fatto di stile.*

**Parole chiave:** Obsidio Iadrensis, manoscritti vaticani, manoscritti di Zagabria, l'assedio veneziano, libri duo, fonemi croati

## UVOD

*Obsidio Iadrensis* djelo je anonimnog autora o mletačkoj opsadi Zadra 1345./46. čiji je postanak Franjo Rački (1984), ograničio 1347. i 1356. godinom. Sačuvana su dva rukopisa: stariji iz 1532. čuva se u arhivu HAZU-a i mlađi vatikanski na temelju kojega je hrvatski povjesničar Ivan Lučić prvi objavio tekst 1666. u Amsterdalu pod naslovom *Obsidio Iadrensis libri duo*, uz svoje glavno djelo *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae* i deset povijesnih izvora koji su ga pratili. Vatikanski je rukopis prema mišljenju Olge Perić (2004), neposredan prijepis zagrebačkoga, što potvrđuju praznine koje je prepisivač ostavio jer nije znao pročitati ili razriješiti kraticu. Ispravci i razriješene kratice unesene su vatikanski rukopis drugom rukom, najvjerojatnije Lučićevom. Schwandtner preuzima djelo 1747. (Schwandtner, 1747, 665)

*Opsada* nam je dragocjena u povijesnome, kulturnome i jezičnom knjekstu. Prema mišljenju povjesničara (Klaić, 1976, 297; Budak, 1984, 354) jednim je od najvrjetnijih pripovijednih izvora za poznavanje dalmatinske povijesti XIV. stoljeća. Osim zbog povijesnih činjenica i inkorporiranih dokumenata djelo je vrijedno i zato što prikazuje mnogobrojne egzistencijalne situacije u opsežnatom gradu. Olga Perić ističe da se inkorporirani dokumenti doista jezično stilski razlikuju od narativnoga djela te možemo vjerovati da su prepisani u autentičnom obliku. (Perić, 2004)

Jezična je analiza<sup>1</sup> pokazala da je *Opsada* tipično srednjovjekovno djelo koje u sebi sjedinjuje kontinuitet latinskog jezika i specifičnu sliku jezične stvarnosti vremena i prostora u kojem nastaje jer slijedeći latinsku tradiciju ostaje otvoreno za promjene nastale razvojem jezika i za utjecaj pučkih govornih navika.

Na morfosintaktičkoj razini autor se vraća klasičnoj stariji te su potvrđena malobrojna jezična odstupanja. Na ortografskoj razini srednjovjekovne su osobitosti brojnije jer pravila pisanja više nisu stroga, a dvojni oblici svjedoče o činjenici da je autor bio svjestan postojanja jezičnog dualizma.<sup>2</sup> Ortografskoj razini valja oprezno pristupiti jer se radi o prijepisu teksta.

Djelo se na leksičkoj razini najbolje uklapa u tijek srednjovjekovnog latiniteta. Autor je imao bogat leksik. On se koristi riječima iz klasične i srednjovjekovne baštine, kristijanizmima, grecizmima i riječima za koje potvrdu nalazimo samo u tom djelu<sup>3</sup> te ih možemo smatrati osobitostima zadarskog govornog područja.

Jesu li sve riječi doista bile posebnost zadarskog govornog područja ili ih je autor poznavao iz drugih izvora

i drugih govornih područja – teško je sa sigurnošću reći. Budući da u pismu koje je uvršteno odmah iza prologa, pod naslovom *Epistula auctoris ad illum pro cuius ro-gatu praesens opus est editum*, autor kaže da je jedan od razloga koji ga je potaknuo da napiše to djelo želja da mletačka zlodjela izvršena tom opsadom ne padnu u zaborav, nego da za njih sazna i potomstvo,<sup>4</sup> predpostavljamo da to ne bi učinio rječnikom koji bi teško razumjeli oni kojima je djelo bilo namjenjeno, a to su stanovnici Zadra i njihovi potomci. U takvom kontekstu, riječi iz klasične baštine i kristijanizmi svjedoče o kontinuitetu latinskoga jezika i poznavanju klasičnih i kršćanskih autora, potvrđeni medievizmi o činjenici da je latinitet na zadarskom području išao u korak s europskim latinitetom, grecizmi o poznavanju grčkog, a riječi koje možemo smatrati osobitostima potvrđile bi podatak koji također nalazimo u navedenom pismu – da je autor bio s toga područja ili je u njemu živio.<sup>5</sup>

## PROMJENE NASTALE RAZVOJEM JEZIKA

U svakome jeziku leksički je element najživljiji. Govornici su zbog potrebe da se izraze što preciznije primorani obogaćivati jezik novim tvorenicama (neologizmima) i izrazima, a istovremeno gotovo nesvesno uklanjati riječi vezane za što povijesno, zastarjele ideje i običaje. (Paladini, De Marco, 1970, 34)

Određivanje leksičkih značajki srednjovjekovnog latinskog koji bi se ograničio na središnji i zajednički sloj cijelog latiniteta težak je i riskantan pothvat jer često oblik ili značenje pojedinih riječi postoji samo u određenome razdoblju ili na određenome području u potvrđenih pisaca i književnih vrsta ili samo u pojedinim formulama i dokumentima. Stoga je za postizanje sigurnih rezultata potrebno, prije svega, odrediti leksičku baštinu naslijedenu iz klasičnoga, kršćanskoga i vulgarnoga latinskog, a zatim zabilježiti naknadni prirast novih oblika i značenja nastalih u srednjovjekovnome duhu, koji dolaze iz različitih izvora. (Paladini, De Marco, 1970, 35)

Razvoj se leksička<sup>6</sup> ogleda u njegovu prilogodjavanju novim uvjetima, tj. s jedne strane u inovacijama (tendenčija prema većoj preciznosti i izražajnosti), s druge strane u napuštanju onoga što je preživjelo i nepotrebno (tendenčija ekonomičnosti). Leksičke se inovacije mogu podijeliti prema tome sastoje li se u unošenju novih leksičkih jedinica ili samo u promjeni značenja već postojećih jedinica (semantičke inovacije).

U našem tekstu neologizmi imenice većinom pripadaju prvoj deklinaciji, a glagoli prvoj konjugaciji što svjed-

1 O jezičnim osobitostima autorica je pisala u magistarskom radu «Jezične i stilске osobitosti djela *Obsidio Iadrensis*» (Butić, 2007).

2 O morfosintaktičkim i ortografskim osobitostima opširnije u Butić, 2007.

3 Prema istraživanju u rječnicima kojima smo se u radu koristili, a navedeni su u popisu literature.

4 Secundo, ne tam horrendus excessus, per Venetus exactus, in prolixitate defluat temporis, sed ut posteris eorum crudelitas reminiscentię commendetur, curavi actus, militiam agonesque partium per Capitula sigillatim et distinete in his scriptis pertractare.

5 memorate nostrę patrię.

6 O razvoju leksika opširnije u Tekavčić, 1970, 189.

oči o tendenciji pojednostavljenja oblika, npr.

(701, 19) <sup>7</sup>	<i>arsanam</i>	<b>arsana</b> «oružarnica»,
(685, 26)	<i>guerra</i>	<b>guerra</b> «rat»,
(680, 15)	<i>scaramutias</i>	<b>scaramutia</b> «okršaj»,
(686, 21)	<i>tregua</i>	<b>tregua</b> «primirje»,
(666, 15)	<i>ratificant</i>	<b>ratificare</b> «nasloniti»,
(699, 28)	<i>appodiare</i>	<b>appodiare</b> «prisloniti».

Neologizme nalazimo u nazivima brodova (**angromagus**, **anguromagus**, **maranus**), bojnih naprava (**spingarda**) i utvrda (**bastida**).<sup>8</sup>

Dijakronijska premještanja značenja imenica potvrđenih u klasičnom vidljiva su u nazivima bojnih naprava<sup>9</sup> (**edifidum**, **cathus**, **giraculum**, **trabuchus**), brodova (**crapulus**), dijelova broda (**bellulum** «košara pričvršćena pri vrhu katarke broda»), utvrda (**arcella**, **fortitudo**, **vallatio**), zatim u administrativnoj terminologiji (**baro**, **celsitudo**) te drugim riječima, npr. **bruttum** «životinja» (u klasičnom, kršćanskem i srednjovjekovnom «nečist, neopran, prost», a u istom značenju i danas u talijanskom), **lar** «vatra» (kl. «Lar»), **magister** «sjeverozapadnjak» (kl. «učitelj»), **supportare** «podnosititi» (kl. «prinositi, pribavljati»), **titubare** «trubititi» (kl. «kolebiti se, oklevati» te u istom značenju i danas u talijanskom).<sup>10</sup>

Bogaćenje leksika novim leksičkim jedinicama može se dalje dijeliti prema podrijetlu

tih jedinica: jesu li tvorene iz materijala koji postoji u dotičnom jeziku (tvorba riječi) ili su došle iz drugih jezika (posuđenice, tudice; posuđivanje riječi).

Mnogobrojne nove riječi potvrđene u *Opsadi* nastaju od imenica, pridjeva, glagola i priloga potrdenih u klasičnom te npr.

(667, 40)	<i>fasceninas</i>	<b>fascenina</b> ( <i>fascis</i> )
	«zaklon od svežnja pruća»,	
(667, 19)	<i>fatalitatis</i>	<b>fatalitas</b> ( <i>fatalitas</i> )
	«smrt»,	
(669, 9)	<i>fortilicias</i>	<b>fortilitium</b> ( <i>fortis</i> )
	«utvrda»,	
(667, 11)	<i>prolixitate</i>	<b>prolixitas</b> ( <i>prolixus</i> )
	«daljina, opširnost»,	
(701, 1)	<i>plathis</i>	<b>plathus</b> ( <i>platea</i> ) «po-
	dij, drveno postolje»,	

od glagola najčešće nastaju imenice, npr.

(707, 26)	<i>combustioni</i>	<b>combustio</b>
(combu're)	«spaljivanje, paljenje»,	
(712, 32)	<i>conspiratores</i>	<b>conspirator</b> ( <i>conspiri-</i>
		<i>rare</i> ) «zavjerenik, urotnik»,
(694, 36)	<i>crematione</i>	<b>crematio</b> ( <i>cremare</i> )
	«spaljivanje, sažižanje»,	
(692, 8)	<i>remigatores</i>	<b>remigator</b> ( <i>remigare</i> )
	«veslač»,	

7 Brojevi u zagrdama označavaju stranicu i redak po Schwandtneru radi lakšeg snalaženja u tekstu, a sve su pogrešno napisane riječi ispravljene prema zagrebačkom rukopisu koji je na hijerarhijski višem stupnju predajne vjerodostojnosti.

8 Opširnije u poglavlju *Ratne naprave, brodovi i utvrde*.

9 Opširnije u poglavlju *Ratne naprave, brodovi i utvrde*.

10. 10 (707, 32) *barones*, (711, 36) *celsitudo*, (719, 32) *brutorum*, (714, 24) *lare*, (680, 10) *magistra*, (697, 32) *margaretha*, (712, 5) *supportabant*

(685, 24) *sonetorum*      **sonettus** (*sonare*, *so-*  
*nitus*) «sonet»,

primjer složenice koja nastaje od imenice i glagola sljedeći je:

(709, 3) *participationem* **participatio** (pars + capere) «društvo, udio»,

u pridjevima možemo izdvojiti one na *-bilis*, *-alis*, *-osus*, *-arius* i složenice, npr.

(705, 32) *spernibilis*      **sperni bili s** (*sperno*)

«prezira vrijedan, jadan»,

(711, 12) *rusticalis*

*nus* «seljački, kmetski»,

(701, 38) *spiritualem*

«duhovni, crkveni»,

(700, 24) *discriminosa*

«siguran, kritičan, opasan»,

(692, 11) *trecenarium*

«sadržava tri stotine»,

**sonettus** (*sonare*, *so-*

**sperni bili s** (*sperno*)

**rustic a li s** (*rustica-*

**spiritu a li s** (*spiritus*)

**discrimin o s u s** «ne-

**trecen a r i u s** «koji

prilozi pokazuju tendenciju prema dužim i ekspresivnijim riječima:

(676, 26) **certitudinaliter** (*certitudo*) «sigurno, pouzdano, nesumnjivo»,

(671, 15) **effectualiter** (*effectus*) «djelotvorno, zaista»,

(670, 21) **honoranter** (*honor*) «časno, čestito»,

(722, 21) **sacramentaliter** (*sacramentum*) «pod zakletvom».

Autor se koristi mnogobrojnim grecizmima čime potvrđuje da je poznavao grčki jezik. Najveći broj grecizama preuzet je iz kršćanskog i sastavnim je dijelom srednjovjekovnoga korpusa. Iz bogatog i zanimljivog korpusa možemo izdvojiti da su pridjevi pravilno preneseni u latinski jezik, npr.

(721, 17) *angelicum* (*ἀγγελικός*) «andeoški»,

(686, 27) *catholice* (*καθολικός*) «katolički»,

(721, 17) *diabolicum* (*διαβολικός*) «đavolski, bezbožan»,

(666, 29) *prophetico* (*προφητικός*) «proročanski»,

dok grči glagoli na *-ίω* imaju latinski sufiks *-izare*, npr.

(668, 6) *agonizare*      **agonizare**

(*ἀγγωνίζεσθαι*) »briti se»,

(705, 9) *citarizant*

«svirati»,

(715, 16) *colaphizarunt*

(*κολαφίζω*) «udariti»,

**agonizare**

**citarizare** (*κιθαρίζω*)

**colaphizare**

- (696, 32) *dogmatizando* **dogmatizare**  
 (δογματίζω) «poučavati».

### LEKSIČKE OSOBITOSTI ZADARSKOG GOVORNOG PODRUČJA

Riječi koje, prema istraživanju u navedenim rječnicima, nalazimo samo u tome djelu svjedoče o govornim značajkama na zadarskome području iak ne možemo sa sigurnošću kazati da im je to jedina potvrda i da ih je autor poznavao iz drugih izvora ili s drugoga govornog područja.

Karakteristični su deminutivi izvedeni sufiksom *-ellus*, (*-ella*) od potvrđenih medievizama, npr.

- (667, 32) *gallelam* **galella** (*galea*) «malen  
 brzi brod»,  
 (703, 41) *trabucellos* **trabucellus** (*trabuc-  
 hus*) «vrsta male katapulte, vrsta metaljke»,

- te neologizmi također iz pomorske i ratne sfere npr.  
 (712, 15) *borgella* **borgella** «zavjera,  
 pobuna»,  
 (700, 15) *radam* **rada** «podij, platfor-  
 ma; vrsta broda»,  
 (680, 9) *sticatam* **sticata** «utvrda, na-  
 sip»,  
 (678, 19) *stornium* **stornium** «zvonjava  
 za uzbunu».

Najveći broj riječi karakterističnih za *Obsidio Iadrensis* nastaje tvorbom od riječi potvrđenih u klasičnom ili srednjovjekovnom te je vidljiva tendencija prema dužim i ekspresivnijim riječima.

Uz malobrojne izuzetke glagoli pripadaju prvoj konjugaciji što potvrđuje tendenciju pojednostavljenja oblika, a nastaju od riječi iz klasičnoga, i to od imenica, pridjeva i glagola npr.

- (676, 16) *faminavit* **faminare** (*fama*) «go-  
 voriti»,  
 (691, 22) *armigeratis* **armigerare** (*armiger*)  
 «naoružati»,  
 (683, 8) *prosignabat* **prosignare** (*signare*)  
 «najvieščivati, najavljivati»,  
 (693, 29) *remitores* **remitor** (*remex, re-  
 mus*) «veslač»,  
 (698, 29) *transmeatione* **transmeatio** (*tran-  
 smeare*) «prolaz»,  
 (684, 38) *intonationem* **intonatio** (*intonare*)  
 «govor, glas»,

deminutivi se izvode od imenica iz klasičnog sufiksa *-ulus* (*-ula*, *-ulum*) i *-olus*, primjerice:

- (693, 36) *hostiolum* **hostiolum** (*ostium*)  
 «mala vrata, mali otvor»,  
 (720, 11) *scanullum* **scanulum** (*scanum*)  
 «klupica»,

- (693, 39) *tubicula* **tubicula** (*tuba*) «mala  
 truba» i od potvrđenog medievizma:  
 (718, 9) *angromagulum* **angromagulus** (*an-  
 gromagus*) «vrsta malog brzog broda»,

imenica je **bellulum** ((700, 11) *bellula*) deminutiv pre-  
 uzet iz klasičnog koji gubi deminutivno značenje te se-  
 mantičkom promjenom postaje «košara pričvršćena pri  
 vrhu katarke broda.»

Pridjevi se najčešće izvode od pridjeva potvrđenih u  
 klasičnom sufiksom *-bilis*:

- (694, 42) *abundabilis* **abundabilis** (*abun-  
 dans*) «obilat, izobilan»,  
 (706, 39) *fortibilis* **fortibilis** (*fortis*) «jak,  
 čvrst»,  
 (710, 26) *mordibilis* **mordibilis** (*mordax*)  
 «koji se može gristī»,

prilizi se tvore različitim sufiksima od priloga iz klas-  
 ičnoga:

- (692, 16) **cruentaliter** i  
 (701, 14) **cruenter** (*cruente*) «krvavo», zatim od  
 pridjeva:  
 (697, 16) **tractabiliter** (*tractabilis*) «ljubazn, prija-  
 zno» i od imenica:  
 (700, 31) **frustatim** (*frustum*) «komad po komad»,  
 (701, 30) **antiphrasim** (*antiphrasis*) «podrugljivo,  
 ironično»,

karakteristični grecizmi su ovi:

- (710, 7) *chylindros* **chylindrus** (*χύλινδρος*) «zmija, guja»,  
 (673, 21) *megagossum* **megagosmus** (*μέγας*  
 + *κόσμος*) «zemaljski krug, svijet»,  
 (705, 22) *elegicas* **elegicus** (*ἔλεγικος*)  
 «tužan, žaloban»,  
 (710, 1) *ischiros* **ischiros** (*ἰσχυρῶς*)  
 «moćno, žestoko»,  
 (713, 5) *monos* **monos** (*μόνως*)  
 «samo, jedino»,

a bez potvrde je i imenica hebrejskog podrijetla  
 (708, 1) *belialis* **belial** (-alis) «davao,  
 sotona».

### UTJECAJ TALIJANSKOGA JEZIČNOG IDIOMA NA LEKSIK

Jezična je analiza pokazala da je specifičnost zadarskoga govornog područja bio utjecaj talijanskog jezičnog idioma na leksik, što je razumljivo i zbog teritorijalne blizine, ali i zbog ekonomskih i kulturnih veza koje od XIII. st. jačaju. Posuđuje se imenice iz ratne terminologije npr.

- (701, 19) **arsanam** (tal. *a r s e n a l e*)

«oružarnica», (680, 15)	<b>scaramutias</b>	(tal. s c a r a m u c c i
a) «okršaj», (678, 19)	<b>stornium</b>	(tal. s t o r m o) «zvo- njava za uzbunu»,

zatim nazivi za utvrde, brodove i ratne naprave: (680, 9)	<b>bastiam</b>	(tal. b a s t i a) «utvr- da»,
(713, 34) «utvrda»,	<b>batifollum</b>	(tal. b a t i f o l l e)
(688, 19) «vrsta broda»,	<b>marana</b>	(tal. m a r r a n o)
(700, 15) vrsta broda»,	<b>radam</b>	«podij, platforma;
(701, 5) «bojna naprava»,	<b>spingardarum</b>	(tal. s p i n g a r d a)
(683, 35) «utvrda, nasip»,	<b>sticatum</b>	(tal. s t e c c a t o)

ali i druge riječi koje su vjerojatno bile dio svakodnevnog govora u Zadru, npr.

(670, 19)	<b>ambassatores</b>	(tal. b a s t i a) «utvr- da»,
(695, 42) n e ) «sažaljenje, sućut»,	<b>compassione</b>	(tal. c o m p a s s i o
(719, 27) «zamjena»,	<b>concambium</b>	(tal. c o n c a m b i o)
(721, 12) «potvrda»,	<b>ratificationem</b>	(tal. r a t i f i c a t i o)
(695, 29) nop, uže»,	<b>sagulare</b>	(tal. s a g o l a) «ko-
(720, 11)	<b>scanulum</b>	(tal. s c a n n o) «klu- pica».

U glagola je vidljiva tendencija pojednostavljenja oblika jer ih većina pripada prvoj konjugaciji, npr.

(668, 6)	<b>agonizare</b>	(tal. a g o n i z a r e)
«boriti se»,		
(699, 28)	<b>appodiare</b>	(tal. a p p o g i a r e)
«prisoniti,		
(693, 35)	<b>balistrantes</b>	(tal. b a l e s t r a r e)
«baciti strijele, streljati»,		
(706, 5)	<b>cambiunt</b>	(tal. c a m b i a r e)
«zamijeniti, promijeniti»,		
(693, 20)	<b>constrabant</b>	(tal. c o n t r a s t a r
e) «protiviti se, opirati se»,		
(680, 11)	<b>prolongatur</b>	(tal. p r o l u n g a r
e) «udaljiti»,		
(713, 35)	<b>reedificarunt</b>	(tal. r i e d i f i c a r e)
«ponovo sagraditi».		

Velik broj riječi i danas prisutan u talijanskom jeziku koji se možda posudivao na zadarskom području ima ishodište u latinskom jeziku.

Važno je napomenuti da se na Apeninskom poluo-toku tražila pomoći i za pisanje hrvatskih fonema koji još uvijek nisu imali dosljedno provedenu grafiju. Autor dentopalatalnu afrikatu /ć/ piše mletackom grafijom ch : (667, 32) **Suadcich**, (669, 38) **Bihach**, (670, 17) **Banich**, (670, 12) **Subichevich**, (708, 13) **Lacckovich**, a palatalni nazal /ň/ grafemom gn: (684, 3) de **Grubogna**, (684, 5) de **Fanfogna**. Romanizmi su pisanje c ispred palatalnih vokala za dentalnu afrikatu /č/, ali nije dosljedno provedeno: (681, 32) **Briacel Varh**, (667, 32) **Suadcich**, (720, 42) de **Calcina**, (670, 12) **Subichievich**.

## SINONIMI

Bogatstvo autorova leksika vidi se i po uporabi više riječi za isto značenje, ponekad iz različitih faza latinskog jezika. Donosimo neke od primjera:

bitka, rat, okršaj: **agonia**: (721, 21) *agonia*,  
**guerra**: (685, 26) *guerra*,  
**scaramutia**: (683, 12) *scaramutias*,

uzbudjenje, ekstaza: **animositas**: (669, 27) *animositate*,  
**extasis**: (665, 16) *extasi*,  
**iubilatio**: (685, 17) *iubilatione*,

spaljivanje, paljenje: **combustio**: (707, 26) *combustioni*,  
**combustus (-us)**: (668, 3) *combustui*,  
**cremacio**: (694, 36) *crematione*,  
pojedinačno: **disiunctim**: (695, 14),  
**distinctictim**: (692, 17),  
**particulariter**: (706, 13),

kuća, dom i kućica: **doma**: (717, 2) *domata*,  
**habitaculum**: (713, 12) *habitaculum*,  
**domuncula**: (677, 16) *domunculas*,

boriti se: **agonizare**: (668, 6) *agonizare*,  
**altercari**: (692, 18) *altercarentur*,

umnožiti, povećati: **augmentare**: (701, 24) *augmenta-  
batur*,  
**crebrare**: (688, 39) *crebrando*.

## NAZIVI ZA BRODOVE, UTVRDE I BOJNE NAPRAVE

Budući da opisuje pomorsku bitku, djelo je dragocjen izvor za poznavanje bojnih naprava, brodova i utvrda prisutnih na tome prostoru. Za bojne naprave spominju se nazivi:

**edificium**: *machina bellica lignea in modum turris exstructa*  
(drvena bojna sprava u obliku tornja) ((695) **edificia**)  
**cattus**, **cathus**, **catus**: *machina bellica, vinea, plateus*  
(ratna sprava, zaštitni krov, zaklon) ((708, 24) **cattorum**,  
(699, 1) **cathrum**, (688, 40) **catum**)

**spingardus, spingarda: machinae bellicae species moenibus evertendis**(vrsta ratnog stroja za rušenje zidova) ((702, 21) *spingardorum*, (701, 5) *spingardarum*)**giraculum, gyraculum: machinae species**(vrsta naprave) ((701, 5) *giraculorum*, (694, 8) *gyraculis*)**trabucellus: parvae catapultae species, balilistae species**(vrsta male katapulte, vrsta metaljke) ((703, 41) *trabucellos*)**trabuchus: catapultae species, balilistae species**

(vrsta katapulte, vrsta metaljke) ((683, 36))

a za brodove i plovila:

**angromagulus: parva navis actuaria** (malen brzi brod) ((718, 9))**angromagus, anguromagus: navis celeris genus** (vrsta brzog broda) ((681, 2), (693, 6))**barca: navis genus** (barka) ((677, 34))**carabus: navis genus** (korablja) ((693, 37))**crapulus: navis genus** (vrsta broda) ((678, 23))**galella: navis species** (galija) ((677, 32))**lembulus: parvus lembus** (brodić) ((675, 17))**linter: navis species** (vrsta broda) ((675, 17))**marana: navis genus** (katamaran) ((688, 19))**paro: navis piratica** (gusarski brod) ((718, 32))**rada: contignatio, navis species** (podij, platforma, vrsta broda) ((702, 16))

od kojih su *barca*, *carabus*, *galella* i *maranus* sačuvani do danas u istome značenju te kao barka, korablja, galija i katamaran čine sastavni dio našega pomorskog leksika.

Svojom brojnošću i raznolikošću ističu se i nazivi za utvrde:

**arcella: parva arx, parvum castellum**

(tvrdavica) ((714, 33))

**bastida: castrum, propugnaculum, turris, turris mobilis**

(utvrda, tvrđava, toranj, pokretni toranj za opsadu grada) ((683, 22))

**batifollum: propugnaculum, turris lignea**(utvrda, drvena kula) ((713, 34) *batifollum*)**fortilicia: locus munitus, munitio, arx, castrum, castellum**(utvrda, utvrđenje, tvrđava) ((698, 35) *fortilicia*)**fortitudo: propugnaculum, arx**(utvrda, tvrđava) ((678, 35) *fortitudinesque*)**sticatum, sticata, sticatus (-us): propugnaculum, valium**(utvrda, nasip) ((684, 25) *sticato*, (680, 9) *sticatam*, (718, 13) *sticatu*)**vallatio: munitio, monumentum**(utvrda, utvrđivanje). ((695, 8) *vallatione*)

Navedeni su nazivi riječi iz različitih faza latinskog jezika te nalazimo medievizme koji prema istraživanju u navedenim rječnicima bilježe potvrdu samo u našem tekstu i svjedoče o govornim značajkama zadarskog područja, primjerice **trabucellus** (ven. *trabuchèlo*) deminutiv imenice *trabuchus* (tal. *trabocco*), **sticatum** (tal. *steccato*), **gallela** deminutiv imenice *gallea* (bizant. γαλέα), **angromagulus** deminutiv imenice *angromagus* (u tekstu pisana još u grafiji *anguromagus*, a u srednjovjekovnom i *anchiromacus*, *anquiromagus*) ili su to pak medievizmi poznati i u drugim djelima s našeg prostora kao što je **maranus** (tal. *marrano*). Semantičku promjenu bilježe medievizmi **giraculum**, **trabuchus** i **vallatio**.<sup>11</sup>

U zasebnu skupinu možemo svrstati riječi koje su prenesene u srednjovjekovni latinitet iz prijašnjih faza latinskog jezika. U klasičnome su potvrđeni **linter** i **paro** (ven. *paron*) prema grčkoj imenici παρόν, a u kršćanskih autora **barca**, **carabus** prema grčkoj imenici καραβός i **lembulus**, deminutiv imenice *lembus* prema grčkoj imenici λέμβος.

Iz prijašnjih faza latinskoga jezika potječu i imenice **edificium, arcella, cattus, crapulus, fortitudo**, ali u tekstu bilježe semantičke promjene u odnosu na prvotno značenje.<sup>12</sup>

**ZAKLJUČAK**

Na kraju možemo zaključiti da je *Obsidio Iadrensis* tipično srednjovjekovno djelo po opisu leksika koje u sebi sjedinjuje kontinuitet latinskog jezika, promjene nastale razvojem jezika i pučke gorovne navike. Polazeći od podataka da je autor namijenio djelo stanovnicima Zadra i njegovom potomstvu i pretpostavke da se pri pisanju služio rječnikom koji bi oni razumjeli te da je bio Zadranin ili je u njemu živo, o čemu svjedoče leksičke osobitosti potvrđene samo u tom djelu, tekst nam je dragocjeno svjedočanstvo o specifičnoj jezičnoj stvarnosti u Zadru u XIV. st. Bogat fond riječi iz klasičnoga i srednjovjekovnoga korpusa, kristijanizmi te mnogobrojni grecizmi govore o autorovu dobru poznavanju latinskoga jezika i visokoj obrazovanosti. Njegov odabir riječi između ponuđenih mogućnosti u leksičkome sustavu te česta uporaba sinonima, ponekad iz različitih faza latinskoga jezika, mogu se smatrati važnim stilskim činom. U tvorenica i neologizma, posebice iz ratne i pomorske terminologije (kao što su nazivi za brodove, plovila, bojne naprave i utvrde) vidljiv je snažan utjecaj talijanskoga jezičnog idioma. Takav se utjecaj, osim teritorijalnom blizinom, može opravdati ekonomskim i kulturnim vezama koje od XIII. stoljeća

<sup>11</sup> Opširnije o promjenama značenja imenica *giraculum*, *trabuchus* i *vallatio* u Butić, 2007.

<sup>12</sup> Opširnije u Butić, 2007.

jačaju. Tendencija pojednostavljenja oblika i tendencija prema dužim i ekspresivnijim riječima utjecaj su pučkih govornih navika.

Analiza je leksika pokazala da *Obsidio Iadrensis* svjedoči o tome da su u Zadru u XIV. st. postojali autori

i djela koja su mogli stati uz bok europskim autorima i djelima, ne zaostajući za visokom razinom pismenosti na latinskom jeziku, a u okruženju kojemu je ono namijenjeno bila je prisutna visoka razina pismenosti te poznavanje klasičnih i klasičnih autora i grčkoga jezika.

## THE VOCABULARY OF THE OBSIDIO IADRENSIS

Dolores BUTIĆ

University of Pula, Faculty of Humanities, I. Matetića Ronjgova 1, 52100 Pula, Croatia  
e-mail: dbutic@unipu.hr

### SUMMARY

*The linguistic analysis has shown that "Obsidio Iadrensis" is especially interesting from a lexical point of view. An anonymous author uses words from a classical and medieval opus, words of Christian and Greek origin and words typical for the linguistic area of the Zadar region, which can only be found in this piece. The use of synonyms from different phases of the Latin language is a proof of the author's rich lexis. Since he is describing a sea battle, Opsada (blockade) is a valuable source of martial and naval terminology, especially of ship names, combat equipment and forts. Observed lexical peculiarities, which are a consequence of language development and the influence of vernacular speech habits in Zadar, are shown in this work. The author's choice of words among offered possibilities in the lexical system can be considered a stylistic act.*

**Key words:** Obsidio Iadrensis, Vatican manuscript, manuscript from Zagreb, the Venice's siege, libri duo, croatian phoneme

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## STARE IZOGLOSE JUŽNE ISTRE

*David MANDIĆ*

Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli, Odjel za humanističke znanosti, Odsjek za kroatistiku, I. M. Ronjgova 1, 52100 Pula, Hrvatska  
e-mail: davidmandic@hotmail.com

### IZVLEČEK

*Jugozahodno istrsko narečje hrvaške čakavske narečne skupine je precej homogeno, le v najjužnejših govorih je opaziti razlike, od katerih so nekatere očitno podedovane iz zgodnejših obdobjij razvoja hrvaškega jezika. V preteklih raziskavah je bila za ločeno skupino govorov opredeljena samo t.i. premanturska skupina, za katero je bilo navadno rečeno, da vsebuje več 'štokavskih' lastnosti in se zato razlikuje od ostalih narečij. Toda jezikovna podoba tega področja v resnici ni tako preprosta, temveč izoglose, ki tod potekajo, delijo lokalne govore na malce bolj zapleten način.*

Namen članka je ugotoviti, katere so te značilne lastnosti in v katerih govorih je vsaka od njih razširjena, ter tako prispevati k boljšemu razumevanju odnosov med omenjenimi govori. Naselja, o katerih govorimo, se nahajajo v okolini Pulja, pretežno vzhodno in južno od njega, in so: Loborika, Muntić, Valtura, Jadreški, Šikići, Škatari, Ližnjani, Medulin, Pomer, Premantura, Banjole, Vinkuran, Vintjan in Valdebek.

**Ključne besede:** čakavština, jugozahodna istrščina, govor, dialekt, narečje, izoglosa, arhaizem, inovacija, genetska klasifikacija, genetsko sorodstvo

## LE VECCHIE ISOGLOSSSE DELL'ISTRIA MERIDIONALE

### SINTESI

*Il dialetto istriano sud-occidentale del gruppo dialettale ciacavo è abbastanza omogeneo, solo negli idiomi più meridionali si notano delle differenze, alcune delle quali sembrano ereditate dai primi periodi dello sviluppo della lingua croata. Le ricerche passate solevano definire come separato solo il gruppo di idiomì detto il gruppo di Promontore, poiché conterebbero alquante caratteristiche 'stocavé' e sarebbero così distinte dal resto dei dialetti. In realtà, il quadro linguistico di questa regione non è così semplice; infatti, le isoglosse che passano per quest'area dividono gli idiomì locali in modo un poco più complesso.*

*Lo scopo di quest'articolo è di determinare quali sono queste caratteristiche tipiche e in quali idiomì appaiono, per poter così aiutare a capire meglio le relazioni tra gli idiomì menzionati. Le località di cui si parla si trovano nelle vicinanze di Pola, principalmente a est e sud di essa, e sono: Lavarigo, Monticchio Polesano, Altura di Nesazio, Giadreschi, Sichici, Scattari, Lisignano, Medolino, Pomer, Promontore, Bagnole, Vincural, Vintian e Valdibecco.*

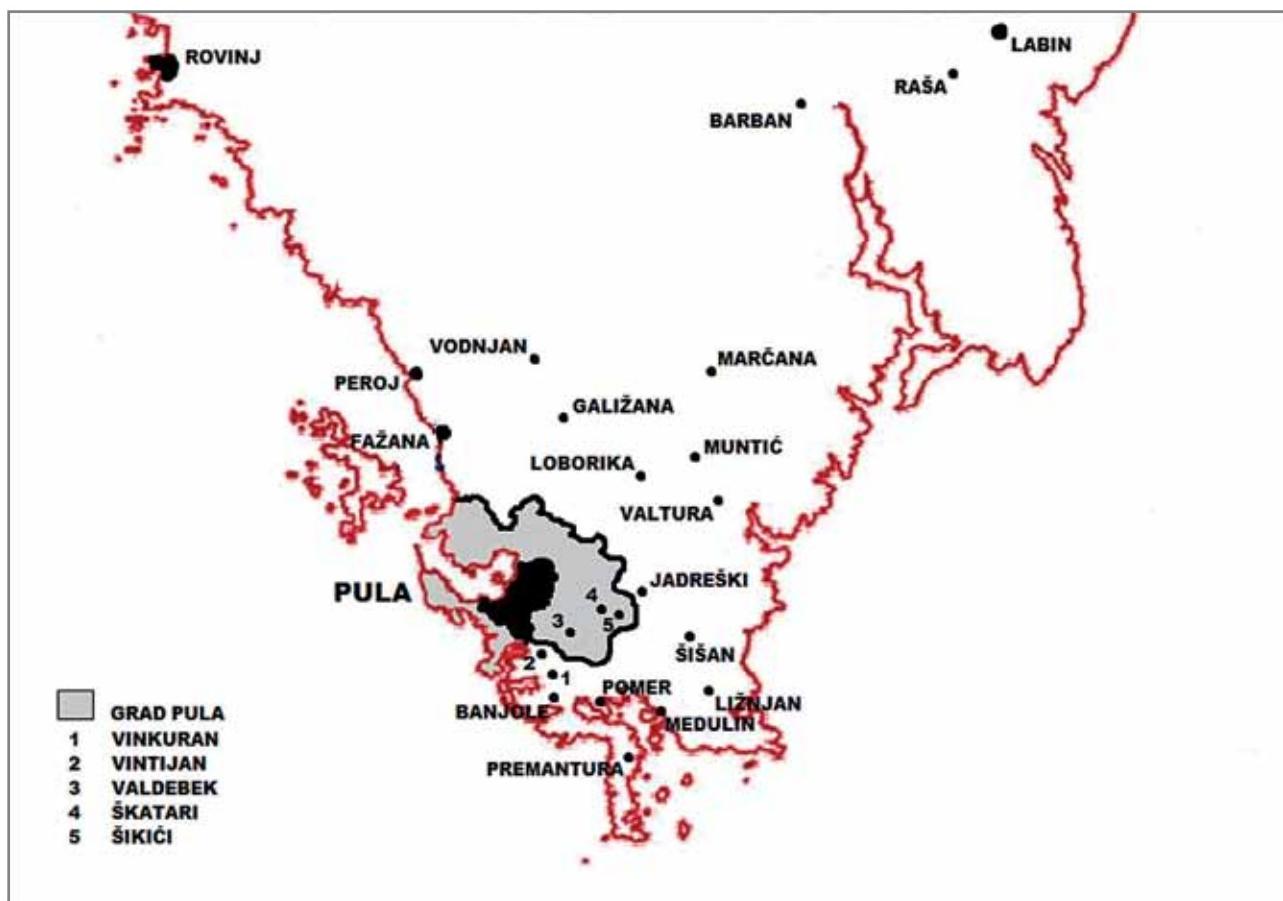
**Parole chiave:** ciacavo, istriano sud-occidentale, idioma, vernacolo, dialetto, isoglossa, arcaismo, innovazione, classificazione genetica, parentela genetica

## UVOD

Govori južne Istre pripadaju jugozapadnomu istarskom dijalektu čakavskoga narječja, a u taj su kraj do neseni seobama stanovništva tijekom 16. i 17. stoljeća. Prema dosadašnjim se istraživanjima čini da je taj dijalekt poprilično homogen te da među većinom njegovih govora nema bitnih razlika.<sup>1</sup> Ipak, u literaturi se redovito izdvajaju govorovi tzv. premanturske skupine, za koje se obično tvrdi da sadrže „više štokavskih elemenata“ (v. Hraste, 1964). Usto se i neki govorovi uz granicu prema sjevernočakavskom i srednjočakavskom području te oni na Ćićariji (tzv. vodička oaza), po svoj prilici uslijed međudijalekatskih dodira, odlikuju nekim obilježjima netipičnim za JZ istarski dijalekt.<sup>2</sup>

Ipak, već se na temelju primjerâ iz starijih radova (npr. Bošković, 1978b) može zaključiti da i u govorima selâ na samom jugu Poluotoka koji ne pripadaju premanturskoj skupini postoje neka bitna „odstupanja“, a to je potvrđeno i u novijim istraživanjima (Lisac, 2009; Pliško, Mandić, 2011). Za razliku od posebnosti koje se susreću u sjevernim, graničnim govorima, ovdje očito nisu posrijedi isključivo posljedice kontaktnih situacija, već je glavnina obilježjâ o kojima je riječ u to područje morala biti donesena iz kraja u kojem su se ti govorovi ranije govorili. Naime, većinom su to odrazi ranih promjena, koje su zacijelo bile provedene prije seoba u 16. i 17. stoljeću.

Najviše se tih, za JZ istarski dijalekt netipičnih, obilježja doista susreće u govorima premanturske skupine, pa se može reći i da postoji snop izoglosâ koji te govore



**Karta 1: Naselja u južnoj Istri.**  
**Map 1: Settlements of southern Istria.**

1 O JZ istarskom dijalektu pisali su, uz ostale, Małecki, 1930; 2002; Ribarić, 1940; 2002; Hraste, 1964; Bošković, 1978; 1978b; Moguš, 1977; Pliško, 2000; 2003; 2006; 2007; 2008; 2010; Lisac, 2003; 2005; 2009 i Mandić, 2009; 2013(u tisku, uskoro) te Pliško, Mandić, 2007; 2009; 2011.

2 U tim se govorima mogu naći neke od sljedećih značajki: veći broj ekavizama, postojanje opreke č : ţ, skupina šť (< psl. \*stj/\*skj), l > ø u gl. pridjevu radnom, diftongizacija ē, ō > ie, uo, l > j, cakavizam, nedosljedno povlačenje kratkoga naglaska sa zadnjega otvorenog sloga itd. Neke su od tih pojava zacijelo rezultat inodijalekatskih utjecaja (npr. ekavizmi), a neke bi mogle biti rezultat novijih lokalnih promjena koje su zahvatile određenu skupinu govorâ bez obzira na granice među dijalektima (npr. l > j, cakavizam, diftongizacija).

izdvaja od ostalih. Međutim, mnoga su na razne načine raspoređena i po ostalim tamošnjim govorima te je čitav taj kraj ispresjecan izoglosama. Stoga između premanturskih i „tipičnih“ JZ istarskih govorova postoji donekle postupan prijelaz te broj navedenih posebnosti uglavnom opada u smjeru istoka i, osobito, sjevera.<sup>3</sup>

Ovdje će se pokušati ilustrirati ta situacija – navest će se sporna obilježja i definirati njihova proširenost, tj. kuda točno prolazi koja izoglosa, te će se pokušati utvrditi u kakvim su međusobnim odnosima govorovi toga kraja. Naselja čiji će se govor analizirati nalaze se uglavnom istočno ili južno od Pule, a to su: Loborika, Muntić, Valtura, Jadrški, Šikići, Škatarci, Ližnjani, Medulin, Pomér, Premantura, Banjôle, Vinkurân, Vintijâni i Valdëbek.<sup>4</sup>

### ZNAČAJKE I KLASIFIKACIJA JZ ISTARSKIH GOVORA

Zbog donekle spornoga položaja JZ istarskoga dijalekta, ili bar nekih njegovih govorova, između čakavskog i štokavskog narječja, prije same razrade treba reći nekoliko riječi o izrazima „čakavski“ i „štakavski“, o određivanju pojedinih jezičnih pojava/obilježja kao čakavskih odnosno štokavskih te o klasificiranju jezičnih sustava uopće. Naime, u starijoj su literaturi o JZ istarskom dijalektu, a osobito kada je riječ o govorima premanturske skupine, česte rasprave o tome jesu li ti govorovi čakavski, štokavski ili pak nešto između. Često se pokušava dokazati da oni pripadaju ovomu ili onomu narječju te se traže specifične crte koje bi to dokazale. Pritom se spominju izrazi kao „čakavizam“ ili „štakavizam“ i slično, valjda pod prepo-

stavkom da je to i to obilježje isključivo čakavsko odnosno štokavsko, ili bar veoma svojstveno čakavskim odnosno štokavskim govorima.<sup>5</sup> Takoder, da bi se nekako objasnila prisutnost i „čakavskih“ i „štakavskih“ elemenata u tim govorima, postoji i teorija prema kojoj su ti govorovi izvorno bili štokavski, ali su se tijekom seobâ kroz čakavsko područje čakavizirali, tj. poprimili čakavsku fisionomiju, preuzimajući, valjda, čakavske karakteristike iz govorâ s kojima su dolazili u dodir. U tome je, izgleda, najviše „zaostala“ premanturska skupina, budući da ti govorovi sadrže najviše „štakavskih“ značajki.<sup>6</sup>

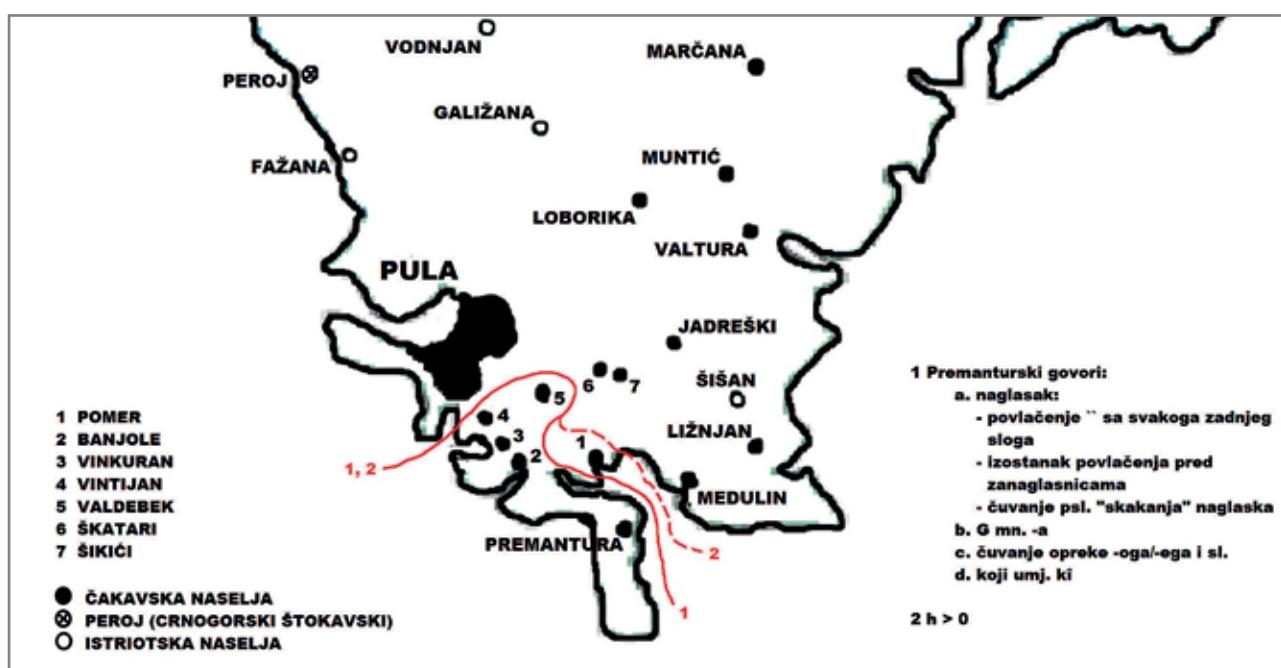
Međutim, treba naglasiti da su za genetsku klasifikaciju govorâ bitne inovacije kojima se ti govorovi izdvajaju od svih ostalih; dok za razliku od toga, arhaizmi mogu služiti kao kriterij klasifikacije, no ne i genetske klasifikacije.<sup>7</sup> Kada se pak govorovi o hrvatskim narječjima, uglavnom se podrazumijeva da je riječ upravo o genetskoj klasifikaciji.<sup>8</sup> Potom, dijalektska slika iz vremena prije migracija u 16. i 17. st. ne samo da se podosta razlikovala od današnje, već su se, jasno, i sami dijalekti razlikovali od suvremenih. Tada su, naime, razlike među govorima bile znatno manje, jer mnogih pojava koje danas u njima vidimo tada još nije bilo.<sup>9</sup> K tomu, čakavsko je narječeće kao cjelina izrazito nehomogeno, a ono što te govore povezuje u većini su slučajeva upravo razni arhaizmi, koji se većinom mogu naći i drugdje. Inovacije su pak prostorno znatno ograničene, čak i kada su dosta stare (npr. *ɛ* > *a* iza palatalâ ili specifični odrazi jerova, nazala *ɔ* i slogotvornoga *l*, razna duljenja samoglasnika i sl.).<sup>10</sup>

- 3 Naravno, tu nije riječ o „pravim“ izoglosama, koje su nastale postankom i difuzijom spomenutih obilježja u južnoj Istri, već su one proizašle iz doseljavanja stanovništva u čijim su govorima te jezične značajke tada već postojale te možda i raznih seljenja unutar Istre; odатle i neobičan izgled nekih od njih (v. dalje).
- 4 Govori Loborike i Muntića uglavnom su isti kao većina govorâ Marčanštine, južne Barbanštine te selâ dalje prema sjeverozapadu. To su, moglo bi se reći, prototipni JZ istarski govorovi, a ovdje se razmatraju tek da bi se definiralo dokle se pružaju „netipične“ izoglose koje se šire s juga. U naseljima Šikići i Škatarci danas žive mnogi doseljenici i izvorni je govor tamo praktički izumro. Za njegovu će se analizu koristiti podaci iz Bošković (1978b). Govori Premanture, Banjola, Vinkurana, Vintijana i Valdebeka pripadaju premanturskoj skupini i među njima nema bitnih razlika. Preci njihovih govornika po doseljenju su, krajem 16. st., osnovali selo Premantu, a potom odatile naselili ostala navedena sela. Govor svakoga od preostalih navedenih sela u nečemu se razlikuje od ostalih te je moguće reći da svako od njih ima zaseban govor. Na području grada Pule, sjeverno od Pulskoga zaljeva, smješteno je selo Štinjan, koje je također gotovo potpuno urbanizirano te je izostavljen iz ovih razmatranja. Neki se podaci o tamošnjem govoru mogu naći u Bošković (1978b). Gotovo svi ti govorovi danas su ozbiljno ugroženi te im prijeti izumiranje.
- 5 Tako, na primjer, Bošković (1978b, 294) kaže da su glasovi *č* i *đ* u premanturskim govorima „čakavizirani“ te da je A. Belić 1912. za Premantu bilježio *č* i *đ* (Bošković ih u primjerima bilježi znacima *č* i *đ*). Nadalje veli: „Danas su ti glasovi (...) osetno čakavizirani, iako im je, možda, osnovica štokavska.“ Jasno je da se tu kreće od činjenice da se izgovor *č* i *đ* često smatra prototipno čakavskim, a izgovor *č* i *đ* prototipno štokavskim, što s gledišta dijakronije ne mora biti ispravno. Naime, palatalni bi okluzivi *č* i *đ* naprsto mogli biti arhaizam, tj. prvobitni rezultati jotacije glasova *t* i *d*, koji su potom u nekim govorima prešli u postalveolane ili prepupalatalne afrikate *č* i *đ* ili što drugo. Stoga palatalni („meki“) izgovor tih glasova ne igra nikakvu ulogu u genetskoj klasifikaciji tih govorova. Takoder, činjenica da ih je Belić bilježio kao *č* i *đ* vjerojatno je tek stvar grafije i nema veze s njihovim izgovorom, tj. fonetskom realizacijom.
- 6 O postanku JZ istarskoga dijalekta vidi u Ribačić (2002) i Lisac (2003).
- 7 O genetskoj i ostalim vidovima klasifikacije jezikâ vidi u Matasović, 2001.
- 8 Usp. opis razvoja hrvatskih narječja/dijalekata u Lukečić, 1999.
- 9 To je očigledno usporedi li se, recimo, jezik djelâ H. Lukića iz 16. st. sa suvremenim hvarskim govorom. Mnoga karakteristična obilježja suvremenoga govora, naime, u Lukićevu dobu još nisu postojala, no bilo je nekih koja se danas vjerojatno ne bi okarakterizirala ni kao čakavska, a kamoli kao hvarska.
- 10 To se može lako objasniti kao posljedica izolacije, jer područje je čakavskoga narječja veoma dugačko i danas poprilično usko te ispresjecano brdima/planinama i morem (kada je riječ o otocima). S druge strane, buzetski i neki sjevernočakavski govorovi dijele mnogošto s obližnjim slovenskim govorima i dosta se razlikuju od južnočakavskih, koji su pak mnogo sličniji zapadnoštakavskima. Stoga je teško, s čisto genetskolingvističkoga gledišta, govoriti o čakavskom narječju kao jasno definiranoj cjelini, već je prije riječ o rubnim i izoliranim zonama do kojih su inovacije sporije stizale (ili i nisu stizale) i koje su imale vlastite, najčešće prostorno poprilično ograničene, inovacije.

Kada se to uzme u obzir, shvaćanje položaja JZ istarskih govora u cjelini hrvatskoga pa i širega jezičnog mozaika donekle se olakšava. Opća su obilježja današnjega JZ istarskog dijalekta sljedeća:<sup>11</sup> ikavski odraz jata, prelazak završnoga /u/ u /a/, odraz jotacije skupinâ /st/sk, /zd/zg/, pojava niza /re/ umjesto /ra/ u riječima /rasti, krasti/ i /vrbac/, možda i djelomično povlačenje naglaska uz duljenje i sl.), jasno je da su se oni prije seobâ morali nalaziti negdje gdje i danas susrećemo te inovacije, a to je korno središnje Dalmacije. Danas je dijalektska slika toga područja izmijenjena seobama, no u prošlosti to je očito bio kraj u kojem ono što se smatra „pravim štokavskim“ prelazi u ono što se smatra „pravim čakavskim“. Odatile, valjda, i opravданa kolebanja starijih dijalektologa pri svrstavanju govorâ jugozapadne Istre u jedno od tih dvaju narječja ili u oba istovremeno (štokavsko-čakavski, čakavsko-štokavski i sl.).<sup>12</sup>

Uzmu li se u obzir rezultati starijih inovacija kojima se ti govori odlikuju (npr. ikavski odraz jata, prelazak završnoga /l/ u /a/, odraz jotacije skupinâ /st/sk, /zd/zg/, pojava niza /re/ umjesto /ra/ u riječima /rasti, krasti/ i /vrbac/, možda i djelomično povlačenje naglaska uz duljenje i sl.), jasno je da su se oni prije seobâ morali nalaziti negdje gdje i danas susrećemo te inovacije, a to je korno središnje Dalmacije. Danas je dijalektska slika toga područja izmijenjena seobama, no u prošlosti to je očito bio kraj u kojem ono što se smatra „pravim štokavskim“ prelazi u ono što se smatra „pravim čakavskim“. Odatile, valjda, i opravdana kolebanja starijih dijalektologa pri svrstavanju govorâ jugozapadne Istre u jedno od tih dvaju narječja ili u oba istovremeno (štokavsko-čakavski, čakavsko-štokavski i sl.).<sup>12</sup>

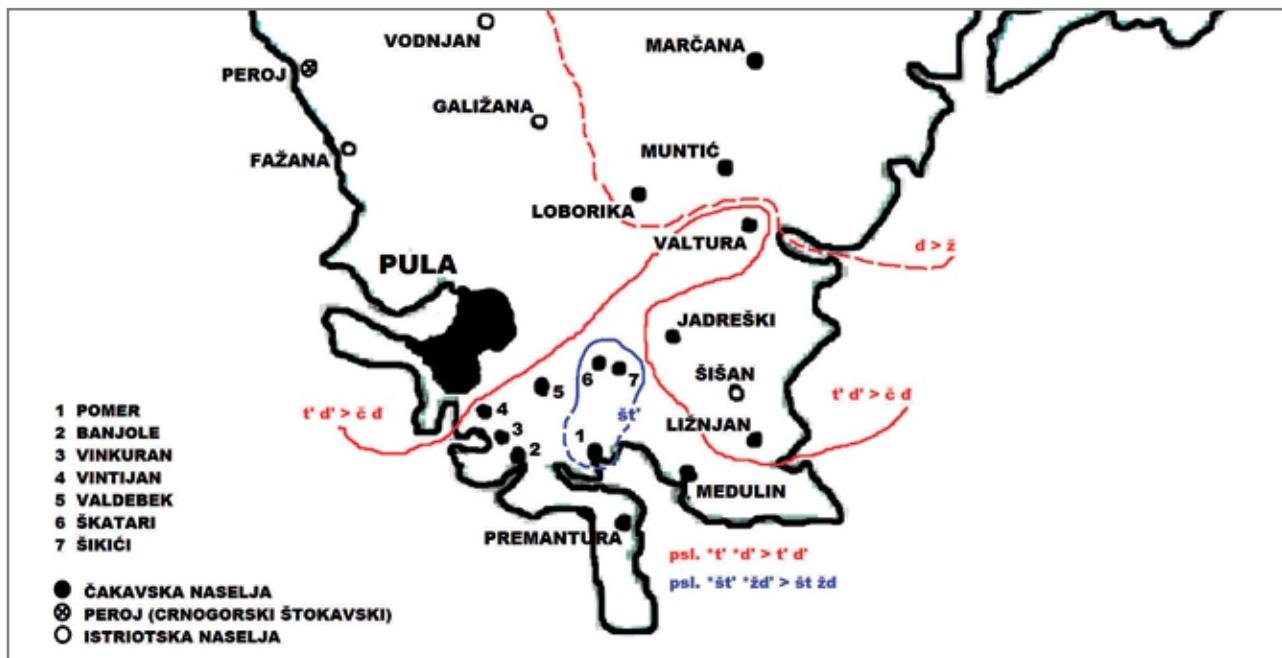
S druge strane, pojave poput čuvanja zasebnih oblika u DLI mn., suglasničke skupine /čr/ ili skupinâ /jd/ i /jt/ u glagolâ tipa /dôjti, dôjden/ arhaizmi su koji se nalaze u mnogim slavenskim govorima te ne pomažu bitno u klasifikaciji, a inovacije kao gubljenje opreke /č/ : /ć/, diftongizacija /ě/ i /đ/ u nekim sjevernjim govorima, utruće morfonološke sibilizacije, gubljenje glasa /v/ između suglasnika i sonanta /r/ ili stapanje prijedlogâ /iz/ i /s(a)/ mogle su nastati i u Istri, neke od njih i pod utjecajem „autohtonih“ istarskih



**Karta 2: Pojave svojstvene samo premanturskim govorima te promjena h > ø.**  
**Map 2: Traits only peculiar to Premantura type dialects and the change h > ø.**

<sup>11</sup> Neka su od tih obilježja veoma proširena, no ne postoje u svim govorima toga dijalekta. Također, gotovo sva ta obilježja nalazimo i u nekim drugim dijalektima.

<sup>12</sup> Te su govore u Istru donijeli doseljenici koje su mletačke vlasti tijekom 16. i 17. st. tamo prevozile iz Zadra i Šibenika. Međutim, oni su vjerojatno u okolicu tih gradova došli iz dublje unutrašnjosti Dalmacije (u povjesnim se izvorima spominje da kršćani u dalmatinsko priobalje dolaze s turskoga teritorija te da će ih privoljeti na seljenje u Istru). Više vidi u Hraste (1964) i, osobito, u Bertoša (1995).



Karta 3: Rezultati psl. iotacije *t, d, st/sk* i *zd/zg* te prve palatalizacije *sk* i *zg*.

Map 3: The results of the PSI. iotation of *t, d, st/sk* and *zd/zg* and of the 1<sup>st</sup> palatalisation of *sk* and *zg*.

govorâ. Ipak, nerijetko se i neke od tih pojava uzimaju kao dokaz „čakavskosti“ JZ istarskog dijalekta.<sup>13</sup>

Glavna su odstupanja od navedenoga, koja nalazimo na samom jugu Istre sljedeća:<sup>14</sup> postoji opreka č : č (potonje je zapravo palatalni okluziv t'), nestao je glas h, iotacijom *t* i *d* nastaju t', d' ili č, d (gdje nema opreke č : č),<sup>15</sup> prvom i drugom iotacijom skupine *st* nastaje št, skupina čr prešla je u cr, skupine jt i jd u glagolâ tipa *dōjti* preše su u t' i d', glas v se ne gubi između suglasnika i sonanta r, postoji zamjenica *kójí*, *kójâ* itd., infinitiv i gl. prilog sadašnji su krnjî, u 3. mn. prezenta uopćava se nastavak -u, postoji sinkretizam DLI mn., G mn. rjede ima nulti nastavak, G mn. ž. i sr. roda ima nastavak -a, G mn. m. i sr. roda ima nastavak -ih, u zamjenica i pridjeva postoje i nastavci -oga itd., prijedlozi s(a) i iz se ne stapaju, naglasak se povlači u većem broju okolinâ, ali češće se čuva završni naglasak pred zanaglasnicama, krate se prednaglasne duljine (naglasak se ne prenosi na njih), izostaje

kanovačko duljenje, postoji psl. preskakanje naglaska na prednaglasnice.

Štokavskim se obilježjima uglavnom smatraju: nestanak glasa h, promjena čr > cr, promjena jt, jd > t', d' ili slično, čuvanje glasa v pred r, sinkretizam DLI mn., nastavak -a u G mn., čuvanje razlike između iz i s(a), povlačenje naglaska u većem broju okolinâ, a Hraste (1964:15) za pomerski govor navodi i postojanje kratkouzlaznoga naglaska, što ni Bošković (koji je istraživanja proveo sredinom 20. stoljeća) ne spominje.<sup>16</sup>

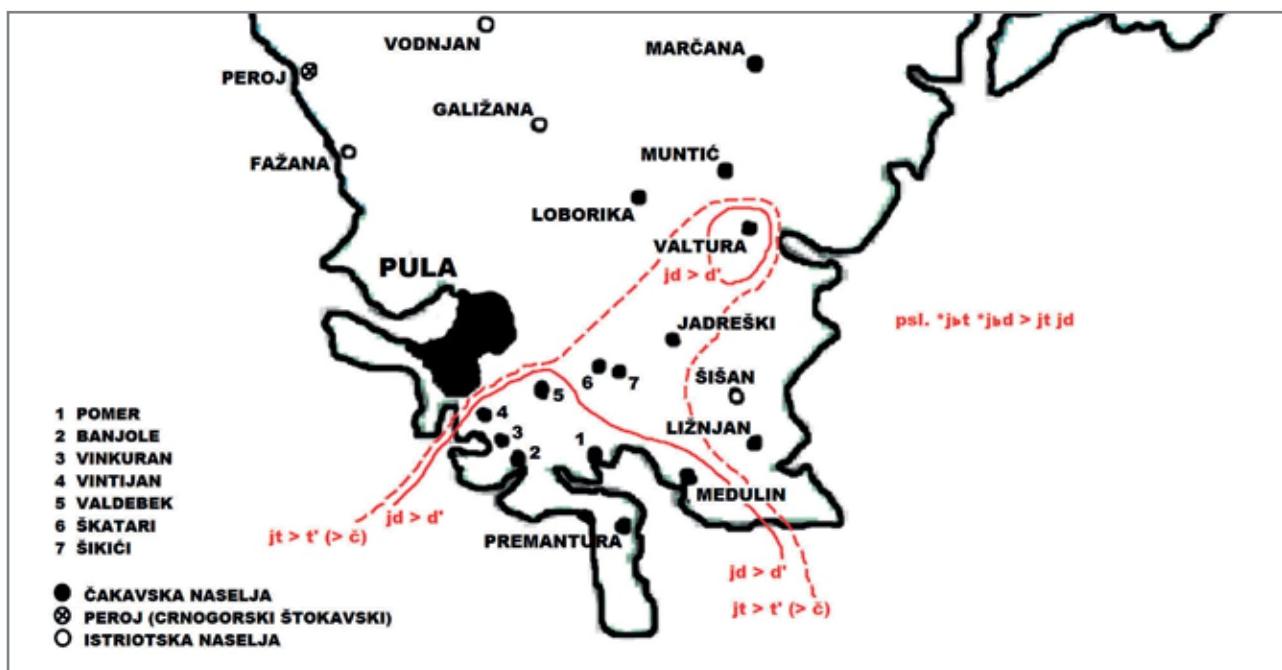
Ipak, čuvanje razlike između iz i s(a) je arhaizam, kao i čuvanje glasa v u skupinama ispred r (gubljenje v u tim uvjetima tipično je za sjeverozapad južnoslavenskoga područja). Od inovacija, nestanak glasa h susreće se u srednjočakavskom i južnočakavskom (premda je uobičajeniji u štokavskom), isto vrijedi i za promjenu čr > cr, prelazak jt > t' i sl. U slučaju češćega povlačenja naglaska s kraja riječi, moguće je da se ta težnja proširila

13 To se radi premda su posrijedi obilježja koja su možda rjeda u štokavskom, ali su uobičajena u kajkavskom, pa i šire, u slovenskim i ostalim slavenskim govorima. Činjenica da se pritom u obzir uzimaju samo hrvatski govorovi ne pomaže puno, jer kada je riječ o genetskoj klasifikaciji, u razmatranje valja uključiti sve blisko sroдne idiome, bez obzira na to kojem je jeziku pripadaju. Uostalom, kod proučavanja dijalekatskih kontinuuma kakav je južnoslavenski besmisленo je govoriti o jezicima jer se pripadnost pojedinih govorova određenom jeziku tu često utvrđuje na temelju suvremene nacionalne pripadnosti i osjećaja govornikâ (prema tzv. vrijednosnom kriteriju), a ne na temelju genetskohistografskih kriterija.

14 Treba imati na umu da ne postoje sva ta obilježja u svim govorima o kojima je riječ, već ih, kako je rečeno, najviše ima u onima premanturske skupine, a u ostalima se, kako će se ubrzo vidjeti, pojavljuju u raznoraznim kombinacijama.

15 Glasovi t' i d' su palatalni okluzivi, a znacima č i đ bilježim par afrikatâ koje u raznim govorima, a katkada i među govornicima istoga govorâ, variraju između alveolarnoga i prepalatalnoga mesta izgovora te apikalnoga i laminalnoga načina tvorbe. Stoga te simbole treba shvatiti uvjetno i ne treba ih povezivati s nekim preciznim fonetskim ostvarajima (barem ne u apsolutnom smislu).

16 Kratkouzlazni naglasak u govoru Pomera nije pronađen ni u suvremenim istraživanjima (Mandić, 2009, 104–105). S druge strane, Bošković (1978b, 301) tvrdi da „tragove od ‘akcenta’ čuva premanturski govor.



Karta 4: Odrazi skupinâ jt i jd (< \*jbt i \*jbd) u glagolâ tipa \*dojvti, \*dojvde-.  
Map 4: Reflexes of jt and jd (< \*jbt i \*jbd) in the verbal type \*dojvti, \*dojvde-.

s jugoistoka, gdje je središte širenja novoštokavskoga, no važnija je veza sa štokavskim prelazak novoga akuta u silazni naglasak, čime se odlikuje čitav JZ istarski dijalekt.<sup>17</sup> Veza sa štokavskim bio bi i nastavak -a u G mn. Ipak, obilježja koja bi se doista mogla nazvati tipično štokavskima veoma su malobrojna, no i većina onih koja se smatraju tipično čakavskima zapravo su arhaizmi, koji su nekad postojali i u štokavskom, a nerijetko ih ima u kajkavskom pa i u raznim nehrvatskim slavenskim govorima.

U daljnjoj će se analizi zanemariti obilježja svojstvena svim razmatranim govorima.<sup>18</sup> Za one pak značajke kojima se govor razlikuju bit će navedeno jesu li nastale prije ili poslije seobe (ako je to moguće utvrditi) te u kojim je mjestima svaka od njih rasprostranjena. Odnosi među govorima prikazat će se i u zemljovidima s ucrtanim izoglosama. Treba, međutim, još jednom naglasiti da nisu sve te izoglose nastale u Istri kao posljedica prirodnoga jezičnog razvoja, već su rezultat seljenjâ ljudâ u čijim su govorima te pojave odraniye postojale.

#### IZOGLOSE JUŽNE ISTRE

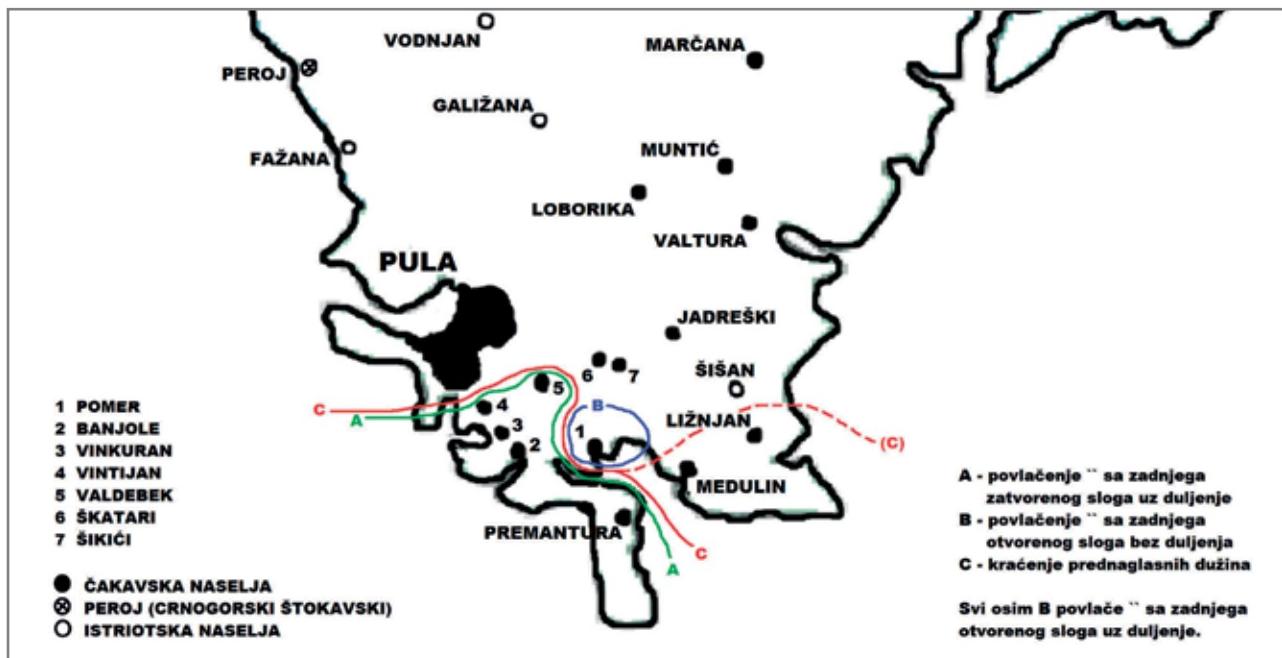
Kako je rečeno, a i dijalektologima je odavno poznato, unutar JZ istarskog dijalekta postoji jasno definiran snop izoglosa koji odvaja premantursku podskupinu govorâ od ostatka dijalekta. Riječ je o skupu značajki koje su preci Premanturaca donijeli u Istru iz kraja iz kojega su došli, a to je moralo biti područje na kojem su se zapadnoštokavski govorovi pretapali u južnočakavske. Obilježja kojima se premanturski govorovi razlikuju od svih ostalih JZ istarskih su sljedeća: prelazak čr u cr,<sup>19</sup> čuvanje glasa v između suglasnika i r, postojanje opreke -oga/-ega itd., postojanje nastavka G mn. -ā, uopćena osnova kod zamjenice kojī, povlačenje naglaska i sa zatvorene kratke ultime (pōtok, nārod, nōsit, lādit), čest izostanak toga povlačenja pred prednaglasnicama (kakō si, dobrō je, uzmī si), preskakanje naglaska na prednaglasnice (ū more, nā glavu, zā ruku, ū ples).<sup>20</sup> Također, kaže se krāst i krād'a, a ne krēst i krēd'a (ali rēst), i redovito se razlikuju prijedlozi iz i s. Bitna je premanturska posebnost (u

17 Čakavski govorovi u Dalmaciji i danas često čuvaju novi akut, a po primjerima iz starih rječnika/gramatika i nekim pojavama u suvremenim govorima vidi se da ga je ranije bilo i u štokavskim govorima na dubrovačkom području. Također, akut je uobičajen i u staroštokavskom slavonskom dijalektu.

18 Njih uostalom dijeli najveći dio JZ istarskog dijalekta.

19 U drugim se govorima juga Istre skupina cr pojavljuje tek u nekim riječima, a najčešće u pridjevu crn i njegovim izvedenicama, no tu je očito riječ o posudivanju.

20 Preskakanje naglaska na prednaglasnice u Istri je uopće nepoznata pojava i susreće se tek u nekim okamenjenim izrazima (npr. u žminjskim govorima nātaš'e, nāvodo, nāmisle i sl.), no u premanturskim se govorima, bar kod kraćih riječi, čuvalo sve do današnjeg vremena.



**Karta 5: Rezultati povlačenja naglaska i sudbina prednaglasnih dužina.**  
**Map 5: The results of stress retractions and the fate of pretonic length.**

istarskim okvirima) i gubitak glasa *h*, što se vidi i u dosta primjera iz govora Pomera (*krūv, līb, ītit, odīt, lādit, rānit, kūvat*, ali *smīh, līha, trbūh, māhnit* itd.), no to je tu nedosljedno i zacijelo je posljedica dodirâ s govornicima premanturskoga.<sup>21</sup>

Na karti 2 prikazan je opisani snop izoglosâ (1) te izoglosa *h > Ø* (2).

Govor Pomera pak, premda je mnogo bliži ostatku JZ istarskoga od premanturskih govora, također sadrži neke bitne specifičnosti. To je, ponajprije, već spomenut znatan broj riječi u kojima je nestao glas *h*. Zatim, umjesto očekivanoga št u nekim se riječima pojavljuje skupina št' (*strnīšte, metlīšte, jāšterica, gūštar, öšťenica*), što pomerski dijeli s govorima selâ Škatari i Šikići.<sup>22</sup> Samo pomerskomu svojstven je izostanak rotacizma u osnovi glagolâ *mōt* i *pomōt* (*mōžen, pomōži mi*), iako je

rotacizam tu inače veoma čest u hrvatskom, pa i šire. No najvažnija je pomerska posebnost izostanak duljenja pri povlačenju naglaska sa zadnjega kratkog otvorenog sloga (*žēna, sēlo, kōñi, pomōži, dōbro, tāko*; drugdje je *žēna, sēlo* itd.).<sup>23</sup>

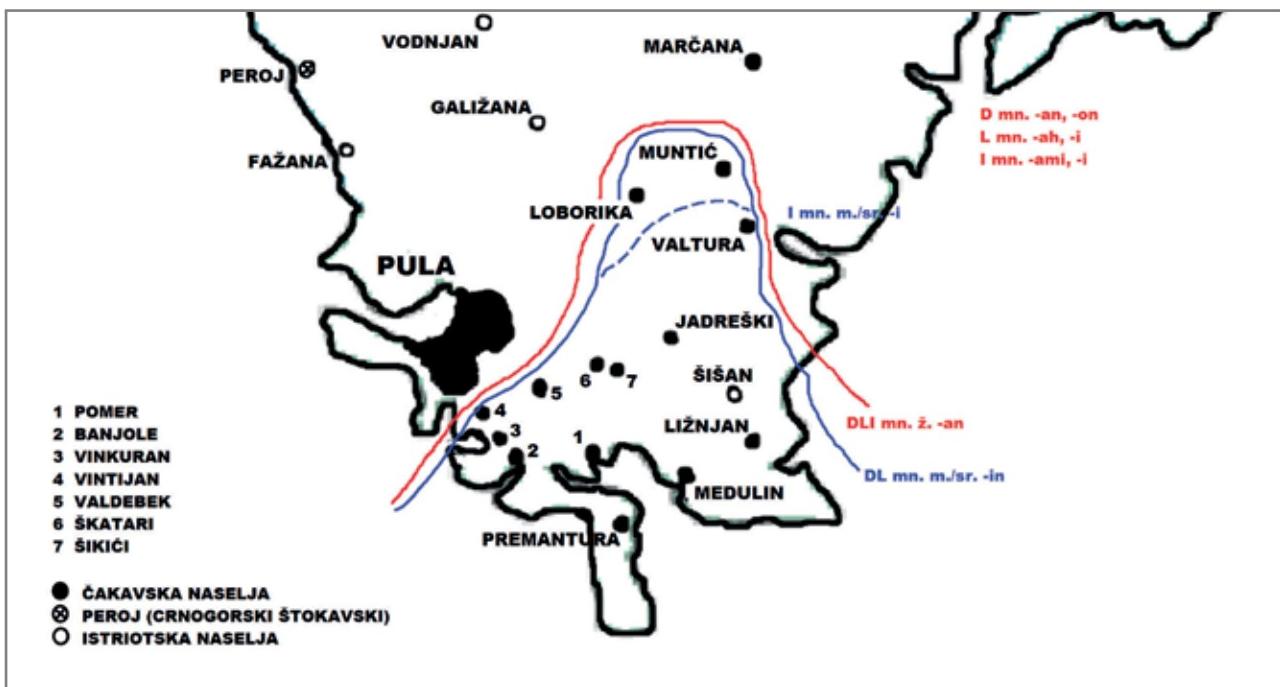
Preostala „odstupanja“ koja susrećemo na jugu Istre nisu ograničena na jedan govor ili određenu skupinu govorâ, nego su raznoliko raspoređena po govorima selâ u tom kraju. Slijedi njihov popis i tumačenje.

**1. Opreka č : č (č̄)** utrnula je u većini JZ istarskih govorâ, a tako i u govorima Loborike, Muntića, Jadreškâ i Ližnjana, no čuva se u premanturskim govorima te u govorima Pomera, Medulina, Valture i, prema Boškoviću (1978b, 329–330), Šikićâ i Škatarâ. Nije jasno kada je ta opreka nestala, no neobično je da u Medulinu postoji, a u obližnjem Ližnjantu ne (danasa su ta dva naselja praktički

21 Prema Boškoviću (1978b, 329), nekoliko primjera gubljenja glasa *h* ima i u govoru Valture (*krū, krūva; rāst*). Valturski, inače, premda je od njih dosta udaljen, dijeli još obilježja s premanturskim i njima zemljopisno bližim govorima, što se vidi i u priloženim zemljovidima, a vjerojatno je, bar djelomično, odraz povjesnih dodira stanovništava tih sela po dolasku u Istru.

22 Odraz št ili šč pojavljuje se u svim govorima, ali samo u morfonološkim alternacijama (*gūst – gūšti* ili *gūšči*), što je analogija prema „pravilnoj“ alternaciji *t : t̄/č*. U neizvedenim je okolinama taj odraz uobičajen i u nekim sjevernijim JZ istarskim govorima (npr. na dijelu Barbanštine, v. Plisko, 2000, 71–73), možda kao rezultat dodirâ sa sjevernočakavskim ili srednjočakavskim govorima.

23 Prema Hrasti (1964, 15), u pomerskom postoji (ili je postojao) kratkouzlazni naglasak u primjerima kao *vōda, od mōže rúke, pēčen(o), sa sēstron...* Ipak, ti se primjeri ne čine pretjerano pouzdanima, jer se, osim u riječima kao *voda*, tu povlačenje naglaska ne očekuje, a usto je i nejasno zašto bi se povlačenjem na duge slogove razvio akut, a na kratke uzlazni naglasak. Kako je rečeno, Bošković (1978b) uopće ne spominje kratkouzlazni naglasak u tom govoru. Prema Plisko (2000, 116), izostanak duljenja pri povlačenju naglaska postoji i u nekim govorima na Barbanštini, no to je područje daleko od Pomera, a i tamošnji se govor podosta razlikuju od pomerskoga, te je najvjerojatnije riječ o slučajnoj podudarnosti. U Mandić (2009) krivo stoji da se u govoru Pomera naglasak pomiče i sa zatvorene kratke ultime (uz kanovačko duljenje), no riječ je vjerojatno o utjecaju premanturskoga izgovora na govor obavjesnikâ od kojih su dobiveni tamo navedeni primjeri. Naglasak se u tom položaju u pomerskom ne povlači (usp. *Pomér, susēd, ukrěst, crjenit se*).



**Karta 6: Nastavci D, L i I množine u imenicâ.**  
**Map 6: The D, L and I pl. endings in nouns.**

spojena), kao ni u nešto udaljenijim Jadreškima. Moguće je da gubljenje te opreke u većini JZ istarskih govora potječe i iz doba prije seobe.

2. Prvotni su rezultati jotacije glasova *t* i *d* najvjerojatnije bili palatalni okluzivi *t'* i *d'*, koji su se do danas očuvali u premanturskim govorima te u govorima Pomera, Medulina, Šikićâ, Škatarâ i mnogo udaljenije Valture. U govorima Ližnjana i Jadreškâ oni su prešli u *č* i *đ*, čime je nestalo opreke *č* : *t'*.<sup>24</sup> U velikoj je većini JZ istarskih govorâ glas *d* prešao u frikativ *ž*, a tako je i u Lobotici i Muntiću.<sup>25</sup>

3. Prvom, praslavenskom, jotacijom skupinâ *st*, *sk*, *zd* i *zg* te palatalizacijom skupinâ *sk* i *zg* u većini su JZ istarskih govora nastale skupine *št* i *žd*. Tek se u nekim sjevernijim, graničnim govorima, npr. na Barbanštini, susreću odrazi *št* i *žj* (Pliško, 2000, 71–74). U južnoj Istri, poveći broj riječi s odrazom *št* umjesto ili uz *št* nalazi se

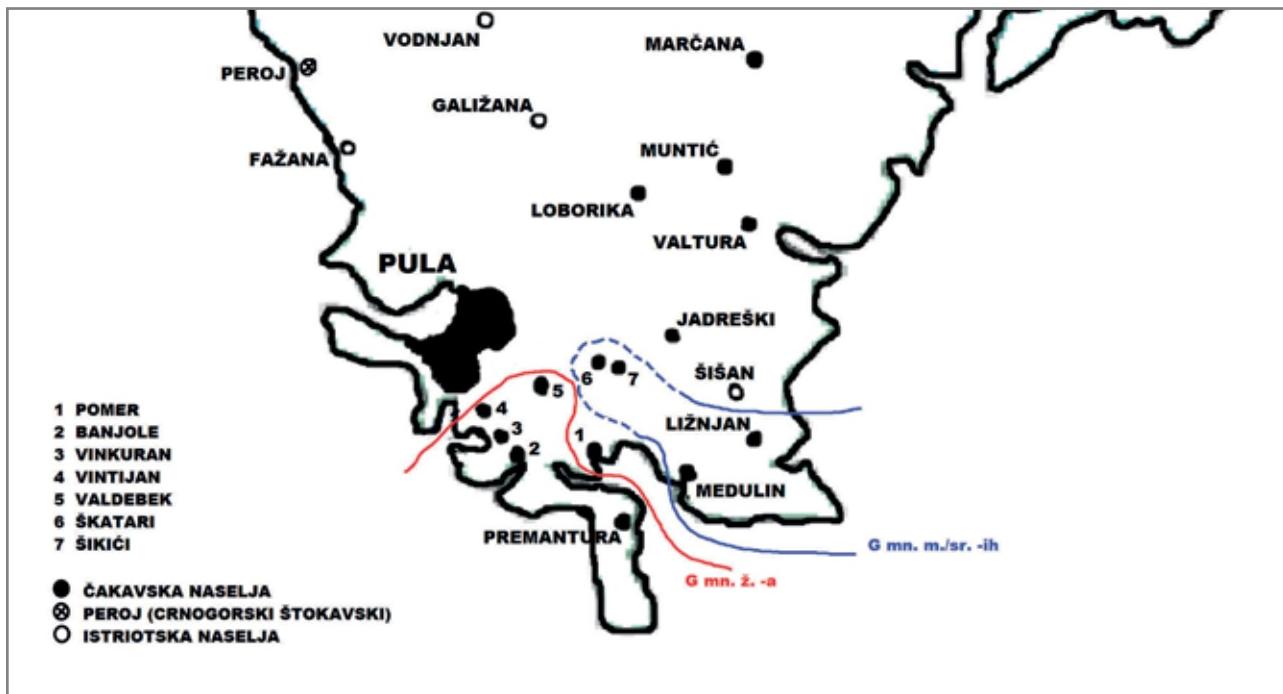
tek u govorima Pomera, Šikića i Škatarâ. Prema Boškoviću (1978b, 306, 329–330), odrazi *št* i *št* susreću se u raznim riječima, a katkad se ista riječ u istom govoru pojavljuje s oba odraza. Odraz zvučnih skupina tu je ipak samo *žd*.

4. Drugom jotacijom skupine *st* nastala je skupina *št*, koja se dalje razvija usporedno s okluzivom *t'*; dakle, osim u pomerskom, medulinskom, valturskom, Šikićkom i Škatarskom te premanturskim govorima, prešla je u *šč*. Odraz jotacije zvučne skupine *zd* potvrđen je samo u leksemu \*grozdje te, neočekivano, glasi *zj* ili *je*, što je mnogo češće u istarskim govorima, metatezom prešao u *zj*. U govoru Banjolâ (premanturski) i Medulin posvjedočeno je *grôzje* (kod Boškovića, medulinski: *grôzje*), u ližnjanskom *grôzje*, a u Jadreškanskem, valturskom i Muntićkom *grôzje*.<sup>26</sup> Zanimljivo je da Bošković (1978b, 323) za govor Valture navodi odraz *grôžđe*, no nedavним je istraživanjem (Pliško, Mandić, 2011, 59) i tu dobiven lik *grôzje*.

24 Glasove koji se u članku bilježe slovima *č* i *đ* stariji ljudi izgovaraju prepalatalno ili postalveolarno (dakle, upirući prednji dio plohe jezika o postalveolarno područje ili dalje prema nepcu), a mlađi uglavnom alveolarno (takoder laminalno, tj. plohom, a ne vrhom jezika). Čujni je dojam da stariji te glasove izgovaraju „mekše“ od mlađih, a osobito se to odnosi na glas *d*, koji je tu gotovo palatalni glas (*d'*). Prema Boškoviću (1978b, 316–317), odrazi *tj* i *dj* u ližnjanskom su *č/t'* i *d'*, pri čemu se *t'* redovito pojavljuje kao odraz druge jotacije glasa *t*, ali i u nekim drugim primjerima. Novijim je pak istraživanjima (Pliško, Mandić, 2011, 56), utvrđeno da u govoru Ližnjana prevladava odraz *č*, dok se *t'* pojavljuje sporadično, vjerojatno pod utjecajem govorâ veoma blizoga Medulina. Glas *d'* je pak nešto češći, no i to je tek fonetska inačica glasa *d*.

25 U ta dva mesta te dalje prema Marčani, *č* (a i *ž* i *š*) svi izgovaraju apikalno, i premda se u literaturi ono često naziva „srednjim *č*“, ono tu, laički rečeno, zvuči poprilično „tvrdio“.

26 Takav je odraz u većini drugih istarskih govorâ, a postoji i inačica *grôzje*.



Karta 7: Nastavci *G* množine u imenicâ.  
Map 7: The *G* pl. endings in nouns.

5. Skupine *jt* i *jd* u glagolâ izvedenih od osnove \*i-/\*jb- očuvale su se u većini JZ istarskih govora, a tako i u Loborici, Muntiću i Ližnjantu. U Škatarima i Šikićima je skupina *jt* u infinitivu prešla u *t'*. Tako je bilo i u Jadreškim, gdje je potom *t'* prešlo u *č*, no pred zatvornikom na početku sljedeće riječi (infinitiv je krnj) često kod starijih ljudi alternira sa *j*.<sup>27</sup> Skupina *jd* u ta je tri sela ostala nepromijenjena, što je često i drugdje u čakavskom. U medulinskom, pomerskom te premanturskim govorima obje su skupine prešle u *t'* i *d'*, što se analogijom proširilo i na glagol *it'*, *id'en* („otići“), koji u ostalim JZ istarskim govorima ne postoji. Promjena *jt*, *jd* > *t'*, *d'* susreće se i u govoru Valture. Te su se promjene vjerojatno odvile prije seobe u Istru, na što upućuje i njihov pomalo neobičan raspored među govorima južne Istre.

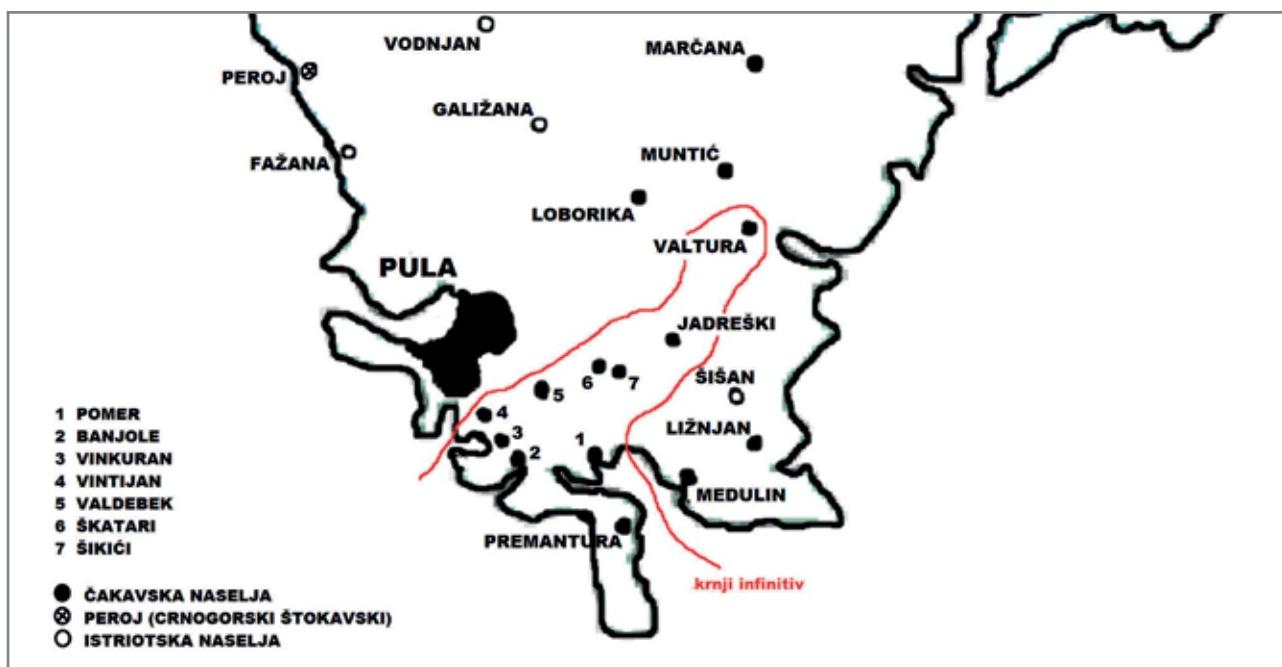
6. U većini JZ istarskih govora naglasak se povukao sa zadnjega kratkog otvorenog sloga na prethodni slog uz duljenje ako je novonaglašeni slog ranije bio kratak.<sup>28</sup> Kako je rečeno, tu je poseban pomerski govor, u kojem nema duljenja, dok je u premanturskim povlačenje djelovalo u većem broju okolinâ te je naglasak povučen i sa zatvorenih kratkih slogova na kraju riječi (uz duljenje). Ipak, u potonjim je govorima čest i izostanak povlačenja ako nakon riječi dolazi zanaglasnica.<sup>29</sup> Prenošenje sa zatvorenoga zadnjeg sloga postoji i u govoru Valture, no ono je tu sporadično i neobavezno. Bošković (1978b, 325–326) navodi da se to veoma često događa u infinitivu glagola (*kōsit/kos̄it*) te N jd. imenica m. r. s nepostojanim a (*kōlac, tēlac, Vāzan*) i, rijede, u onima bez njega (*čōvik/čōvīk, ūnuk/unūk*).<sup>30</sup> Također, u mnogim je govorima – a

27 To je vjerojatno ostatak iz vremena kad je postojao glas *t'*, za koji nije neobično da pred šumnicima prelazi u *j*.

28 Tek u nekim graničnim govorima na sjeveru dijalekta (Hraste, 1964; Pliško, 2000; Mandić, 2009) povlačenje je nesustavno te se naglasak rijetko povlači na kračinu, a na dužinu češće, no i tu postoje kolebanja i izuzeci.

29 Slično je i kod kraćenja završnih dugih otvorenih slogova, koje je uobičajeno u mnogim govorima ovoga dijalekta, premda je najčešće riječ tek o djelomičnu kraćenju, tj. izgovaranju tih slogova kao zamjetno kraćih od ostalih dugih slogova, no ipak dužih od „pravih“ kratkih. Ipak, u pomerskom, medulinskom i premanturskim govorima kraćenje je gotovo uvijek potpuno, čak i kod jednosložnih riječi (kotâ „kotao“, G jd. *sestrē*, sô „sol“, dvâ, 3.jd.prez. *let̄i, sid̄i*), no dužina se često čuva pred prednaglasnicama (*bol̄i me, od sestrē je, tr̄i su*). Kraćenje završnih dugih otvorenih slogova po svoj je prilici posljedica činjenice da su kratki otvoreni slogovi na kraju riječi prethodno izgubili naglasak čime je dužina tu postala nebitna.

30 Slični su primjeri potvrđeni i u novijim istraživanjima (Pliško, Mandić, 2011, 39–40), među njima i primjer *dānas*. Naglasak N jd. tipa *lōnac* lako je objasniti – riječ je o analogiji prema oblicima u kojima je povlačenje očekivano (*lōnca, lōncu, lōnci...*), pa čak je i prilog *dānas* možda dobio takav naglasak prema *dān, dāna*, no kod infinitivâ kao *kōsit* i imenicâ kao *čōvik* povučeni je naglasak enigma. To je još jedna značajka koja valturski govor povezuje s premanturskim.



Karta 8: Rasprostranjenost krnjega infinitiva (i gl. priloga sadašnjeg).  
Map 8: The area of the truncated infinitive (and pres. participle).

u novije je vrijeme to sve češće – poznato i više-manje dosljedno povlačenje naglaska na prednaglasne dužine.

7. Prednaglasne se dužine razmjerno dobro čuvaju u mnogim govorima JZ Istre, no u novije je vrijeme i tu sve češće povlačenje naglaska na njih, čime uglavnom nastaje akut. Na krajnjem jugu vlada sljedeće stanje. U svim premanturskim govorima dužine su dosljedno pokraćene, što navodi već Bošković (1978b, 299), i to je još jedno od obilježjâ kojima se ti govorovi razlikuju od ostatka dijalekta. U govorima Pomera, Šikićâ, Škatarâ, Jadreškâ, Valture, Loborike i Muntića na prednaglasne je dužine prenesen naglasak te se sada tu ostvaruje akut. Ipak, premda Bošković ne navodi izuzetke, to se bar u nekim od tih govora moralo dogoditi nedavno, jer su primjeri s prednaglasnom dužinom, iako rijetki, potvrđeni i danas u govorima Muntića, Valture i Jadreškâ (Pliško, Mandić, 2011, 37, 39). U medulinskem i ližnjanskom pak dužine su se donedavno čuvale: kod najstarijih ljudi čuju se i danas (Bošković, 1978b, 314, 320–321; Pliško, Mandić, 2011, 37–38), no kod mlađih su pokraćene kao i u premanturskom.<sup>31</sup> U ostalim JZ istarskim govorima dužine

se u pravilu dobro čuvaju, osim u neposrednom zaleđu Poreča i Rovinja, gdje je također, i kod starijih, često na njih prešao naglasak (Mandić, 2009).

8. U imenskoj morfološkoj u JZ istarskom većina govorâ čuva razliku među oblicima dativa, lokativa i instrumentalâ množine. Jedino su kod muškoga i srednjeg roda instrumental i lokativ stopljeni te se za oba koristi izvorno instrumentalni nastavak *-i*. Imenice ženskoga roda imaju nastavke *-an*, *-ah* i *-ami*, a dativ muškoga i srednjega roda nastavke *-on/-en* ili *-an* (analogijom prema ženskomu rodu) ili *-in* (analogija prema pridjevima ili prema ostalim množinskim oblicima imenica). Ipak, u zamjeničko-pridjevskoj sklonidbi pojavljuje se i izvorno dvojinski nastavak *-ima* (npr. D *tîma* /*ûdon*; I z *mojîma* /*rukâmi*).

U govorima krajnjega juga Istre pak sinkretizam je uobičajen, a nastavci su *-in* i *-an* (rjeđe *-iman*, *-aman*, *-amin*).<sup>32</sup> Tako je u svim tim govorima osim muntičkoga i loboričkoga, gdje se u instrumentalu množine imenica muškog i srednjeg roda uz *-in* pojavljuje i izvorni nastavak *-i*. Sinkretizam tih triju padeža pojave je koja se

31 „Mlađi“ je pritom veoma relativan pojam, jer misli se, ugrubo, na „mlade od 70 godina“. Neobaveznost prednaglasnih dužina u medulinskem spominje već Bošković (1978b), a novija istraživanja u Ližnjantu (Pliško, Mandić, 2011) pokazala su da prednaglasne dužine tamo izgovaraju tek veoma stari obavjesnici.

32 Nastavci *-iman*, *-aman* i *-amin* obično se pojavljuju u zamjenicâ, katkada i brojevâ, a osobito ako osnova ne sadrži samoglasnik, mada ni tu ne uvijek: (Vintijan) *trîn*, *dvîman* i *dvîn* (ž. r.); (Premantura) *dvâman* (m. r.); (Pomer) *trîn*; (Jadreški) *dvan* (m. r.), *dvin* (ž. r.); *nikîman*, *nîman*; (Muntić) *trîman*, *ovîman*, *onîman*, ali i *prâviman*; (Loborika) *drûgîman*, *môjin* i *mojîman*. Duži su nastavci najrasprostranjeniji kod

najčešće susreće u štokavskom narječju, ali proširena je i u južnočakavskom i srednjočakavskom te je u ovim govorima morala nastati još prije seoba u Istru.

**9.** Genitiv množine, i morfološki i naglasno, jedan je od najraznolikijih i najsloženijih imenskih oblika u hrvatskim govorima. Imenice e-vrste u JZ istarskom obično imaju nulti morfem (*žēn*, *glâv*), a one a-vrste i i-vrste nastavak -i izvorno iz i-vrste (*kōńi*, *sēli*, *nōči*), iako ima izuzetaka (*dân*, *lît*).<sup>33</sup> Tako je i u Loborici, Muntiću, Valturi, Jadreškima i Pomeru, dok se u Ližnjalu i Medulinu u imenicâ a-vrste i i-vrste koristi nastavak -ih iz zamjeničke promjene (*kōńih*, *nōčih/nōčih*). U Škatarima i Šikićima postoje oba nastavka -i i -ih, bez ograničenja u raspodjeli.

U premanturskim govorima većina imenica ženskoga roda e-vrste te neke srednjega roda imaju nastavak -a (*kūt'a*, *ženâ*, *rukâ*; *lîta*). Nastavak muškoga i srednjeg roda te i-vrste tu je -i (*kōńi*, *vêslî*), za koji se ne može reći je li nastao od -i ili od -ih jer je u tim govorima nestao glas h. Nulti je nastavak tu rijedak i susreće se tek kod nekih imenica ženskoga roda s nepostojanim a (*smôkav*, *igâl*). U govoru Banjolâ, međutim, zabilježeni su primjeri *sřdel(a)* (N *srděla*) i *brâgeš(a)* (N *bragëše* „hlâče“) s ranim povlačenjem naglaska, koje je često u štokavskom i južnočakavskom, no u Istri ga inače nema (tu ostaje novi cirkumfleks, npr. *srdél*).<sup>34</sup> Genitivni nastavak -a premanturske govore približava štokavskomu, a i ostali su nastavci doneseni iz pradomovine.<sup>35</sup>

**10.** Infinitiv i gl. prilog sadašnji u JZ istarskim govorima uglavnom nisu krnji, no u nekim govorima na tom području postoje i krnje inačice infinitiva, a negdje su oba oblika redovito okrnjena. Isključivo okrnjeni oblici upotrebljavaju se u premanturskim govorima te u pomerskom, škatarskom, šikićkom i valturskom, u govoru Jadreškâ uz njih postoje i neokrnjene inačice, a drugdje su i infinitiv i glagolski prilog sadašnji redovito neokrnjeni. U premanturskim je govorima u infinitivu povučen naglasak sa zadnjega sloga (*nosîti* > *nosît* > *nôsit*), što znači da je krnji infinitiv nastao prije povlačenja naglaska sa

zadnjega zatvorenog sloga. Zanimljivo je da se područje krnjega infinitiva donekle podudara s područjima čuvanja palatalnih okluziva t' i d' i prelaska skupine jt u t', te da se sve te pojave osim u najjužnijim naseljima susreću i u poprilično udaljenoj Valturi.

**11.** U oblikâ 3. lica množine prezenta u JZ istarskom obično se uz -u čuva i nastavak -e. Međutim, u premanturskim se govorima katkada -e, osobito kada je nenaglašen, zamjenjuje s -u (*nôsu* i *nôse*). U Medulinu je pak nastavak -e redovito zamijenjen s -u ako je naglasak na osnovi (*vîdu*, *nôsu*), a s -idu ako je na nastavku (*stojîdu*).<sup>36</sup> U pomerskom su posvjedočeni oblici 3. lica množine s nastavkom -e, ali i sa -u/-idu (*bižë* : *bolîdu*, *vîdu*, *pomôžu*).

**12.** U glagolâ 2. vrste umjesto sufiksa -nu-, koji je u JZ istarskom uobičajen, u nekim se govorima juga Istre pojavljuje sufiks -ni-. Inačicu -nu- imaju govorci Medulina, Ližnjana, Muntića i Loborike te dalje na sjever, dok je -ni- uobičajeno u premanturskim govorima te pomerskom, škatarskom, šikićkom, jadreškanskom i, zanimljivo, valturskom. Ta se izoglosa također uglavnom podudara s izoglosama krnjega infinitiva i gl. priloga sadašnjeg te čuvanja palatalnih okluziva i prelaska jt > t'. Podrijetlo dviju inačica toga sufiksa, u najmanju ruku, seže u praslavensko razdoblje, pri čemu -nu- dolazi od \*-nq-, a -ni- od \*-ny-.<sup>37</sup> Dakle, i njihova raspodjela u tim govorima očito potječe iz vremena prije seoba u 16. i 17. stoljeću.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Iz dosadašnjega se razmatranja vidi da raznolikost što vlada među govorima juga Istre proizlazi iz jezičnih značajki od kojih su neke naslijedene iz razmjerno ranih razdoblja. Kako se odavno zna, posebnu skupinu tu čine premanturski govorci; oni se, naime, odlikuju nizom obilježja koja ne nalazimo u ostatku JZ istarskog. Međutim, mnoge crte koje se susreću u premanturskom do neke su mjere rasprostranjene i šire, u ostalim govo-

zamjenica *nâmin*, *vâmin* i *nîman* te u riječi *svîman* kada nije u atributnom položaju (tada je češće *svin*). Za Valturu je pak potvrđen i u ovom kraju neuobičajen oblik *jûdiman*.

33 Imenice i-vrste u istarskim govorima teže prelasku u a-vrstu. Osobito se to očituje u instrumentalu jednine te dativu, lokativu i instrumentalu množine. Genitiv množine pak, bar u JZ istarskom, uglavnom čuva se i tu novi cirkumfleks (*kobâsîca*, *divojčîna*). Usporedi i novoštokavski: *sjékîrâ*, *nêdjéjâ*, *têlcâ*, ali *kobâsîcâ*. O toj pojavi u čakavskom vidi u Langston (2006, 151).

34 Bošković (1978b, 301–302) navodi još primjera toga povlačenja govoreći o oblicima genitiva množine, no nijedan s nultim nastavkom (*sîkira*, *nêdîla*, *têlica*, *môtika*). U primjerâ s dužom osnovom pak čuva se i tu novi cirkumfleks (*kobâsîca*, *divojčîna*). Usporedi i novoštokavski: *sjékîrâ*, *nêdjéjâ*, *têlcâ*, ali *kobâsîcâ*. O toj pojavi u čakavskom vidi u Langston (2006, 151).

35 Zanimljivo je da Bošković (1978b, 302) taj nastavak smatra izvornim u tim govorima, a nulti morfem koji se pojavljuje u nekim primjerima rezultatom čakavskoga utjecaja koji je nastao po doseljenju u Istru. Ipak, nulti je morfem arhaizam te je vjerojatnije da se u tim govorima jednostavno duže čuva u primjerima sa suglasničkom skupinom na kraju osnove, no onda je i tu prodrio nastavak -a. Nejasno je zašto bi upravo oblici s nepostojanim a bili preuzeti iz drugih govorova, a oni bez njega ne. Takve pravilne raspodjele obično su naslijedene, nastale unutarjezičnim razvojem idioma, a ne posuđivanjem.

36 Potonji je nastavak vjerojatno nastao morfološkom reanalizom oblikâ nekih aternatskih glagola (npr. *damo*, *dadu* i sl. kao *da-mo*, *da-du*). Po uzoru na to u medulinskem se govoru i u 3. jd. uz uobičajeno -i neobavezno pojavljuje i nastavak -ide (samo pod naglaskom): *letî*, *letîde*.

37 Izgleda da je \*-ny- (od psl. \*-nū-) starija inačica, a \*-nq- je dobiveno od toga dodavanjem elementa \*-n- i nazalizacijom (\*-nū-n-) ili pak progresivnim širenjem nazalnosti (usp. i npr. st.sl. *nužda*/*nôžda*). Više o tome v. u Andersen (1999).

rima toga kraja, a u nekima od njih postoje i značajke svojstvene isključivo njima. Primjerice, u govoru Pomera nema kanovačkoga duljenja, tipičnoga za gotovo sav JZ istarski dijalekt (uključujući i govore premanturske skupine). S druge strane, pomerski dijeli neka obilježja s premanturskim (nedosljedno  $h > \emptyset$ ) te šikićkim i škatarskim (skupina šč). Neke značajke dijele svi ili skoro svi najjužniji govori (premanturski, pomerski, šikićki, škatarski, medulinski), ali i govor Valture, koja je od njih poprilično udaljena (čuvanje t' i d', promjena jt i jd, krnji infinitiv, sufiks -ni-). K tomu, u valturskom se susreću i neke tipično premanturske značajke mada tek sporadično ( $h > \emptyset$ , povlačenje naglaska sa zatvorene ultime). To mora da je, barem djelomično, posljedica dodirâ i seobâ stanovništva tih sela po dolasku u Istru. Suprotno tomu, u ližnjanskom ima obilježjâ tipičnijih za sjevernije JZ istarske govore (čuvanje jd i jt, neokrnjeni infinitiv, afrikatizacija t' i d'). Medulinski govor pak ima neke crte tipične za jug (čuva t' i d', nema jt i jd), ali i za sjever (sufiks -nu-, neokrnjeni infinitiv). Govori Jadreškâ, Šikića i Škatara dijele odraze skupinâ jt i jd, no u Jadreškima, kao ni u Ližnjantu, ne postoje t' i d', dok je u Šikićima i Škatarima česta skupina šč, kao u Pomeru. Jedina je crta koju dijele svi razmatrani govorovi sinkretizam DLI mn., iako u dva najsjevernija (Muntić, Loborika) postoje odstupanja. Ta se dva govora inače umnogome podudaraju s govorima Marčanštine. Zanimljiva je pojava i nastavak -ih u G mn. u medulinskom i ližnjanskom te (uz -i) u škatarskom i šikićkom, a možda i u premanturskom (gdje je nestalo h pa se to više ne može utvrditi). Taj je nastavak inače čest u primorskim, uglavnom južnočakavskim, govorima (Šolta, Hvar, Vis, ali i sr. čak. Novi).

Treba reći da među tim govorima zacijelo ima još razlikâ i posebnostî, no ovdje su u obzir uzete samo one za koje se smatra da su nastale razmjerno rano. Moglo bi se npr. navesti leksičke posebnosti poput riječi kūtâ u premanturskim govorima te pomerskom, medulinskom i, opet, valturskom, dok već ližnjanski ima tipični JZ istarski rani germanizam hīža. Takva bi analiza, međutim, iziskivala bitno veći broj stranica.

Govori samoga juga Istre predstavljaju ostatak prijelaznih dijalekata što su iz područja gdje je zapadnoštokavski prelazio u čakavski preneseni u današnji kraj. Mnoge bitne značajke kojima se ti govorovi međusobno razlikuju zasigurno potječu iz vremena prije seoba, a ni njihov odnos prema južnočakavskom s jedne strane i zapadnoštokavskom s druge nije jednolik, što znači da vjerojatno nisu svi pristigli iz istoga kraja. Njihova klasifikacija u JZ istarski dijalekt zapravo je posljedica činjenice da su svi govorovi koji se danas smatraju dijelom toga dijalekta, premda među njima katkada postoje dubinske razlike, igrom slučaja bliži međusobno nego svaki ponaosob ijednomu drugomu govoru, no naprsto zato što su ostali blisko im srođni govorovi izumrli tijekom i nakon seobâ.

Današnji je njihov izgled velikim dijelom rezultat razvoja u kraju iz kojega su potekli te u zacijelo znatno manjoj mjeri utjecaja drugih govora ili miješanja u doba seobe. Stoga se može reći da u govorima krajnjega juga Istre vidimo sićušan odraz mozaika govorâ koji su prekrivali područje dalmatinskoga kopna od kraja 15. do početka 17. stoljeća.

## THE OLD ISOGLOSSES OF SOUTHERN ISTRIA

David MANDIĆ

Juraj Dobrila University of Pula, Department of Humanities, Croatian Language and Literaturel. M. Ronjgova 1, 52100 Pula, Croatia  
e-mail: davidmandic@hotmail.com

## SUMMARY

The southwestern Istrian sub-group of the Croatian Čakavian dialect group is fairly homogeneous overall but certain deviations can be observed in its southernmost dialects, some of which can, apparently, be traced back to an earlier period in the evolution of the Croatian language. Most early research defines the so-called Premantura dialects as a distinct entity within this sub-group since, as it is often claimed, they contain a larger number of 'štokavian' traits that separate them from the rest of the Southwest Istrian. However, the linguistic image of this area is not that simple, since there exist a number of isoglosses that divide these dialects in a somewhat more complex manner.

The aim of this paper is to define these features and to show which dialects are characterised by each one of them, thus enabling a better understanding of the relations between these dialects. The settlements whose dialects are in question are situated in the broader Pula area, mostly east and south of the city. They are: Loborika, Muntić, Valtura, Jadreški, Šikići, Škatari, Ližnjan, Medulin, Pomer, Premantura, Banjole, Vinkuran, Vintijan and Valdebek.

**Keywords:** Čakavian, Southwest Istrian, dialect, isogloss, linguistic feature, archaism, innovation, genetic classification/relationship

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## GRAMATIKALIZACIJA NEDOLOČNEGA ČLENA V SLOVENŠČINI

*Helena BAŽEC*

Univerza na Primorskem, Fakulteta za humanistične študije, Titov trg 5, 6000 Koper, Slovenija  
e-mail: helena.bazec@fhs.upr.si

### IZVLEČEK

*Cilj pričajočega članka je prikazati gramatikalizacijo nedoločnega člena v pogovorni slovenščini na podlagi nekaterih jezikov, v katerih se je ta proces že odvил in je bil v preteklosti preučevan ter podrobnejše opisan s pomočjo točno določenih stopenj in parametrov, ki so univerzalni in medjezikovno primerljivi. Kot osnova za raziskavo so bili izbrani različni jezikovni konteksti, in sicer primeri iz Slovarja slovenskega knjižnega jezika (SSKJ), zgledi zbrani in predstavljeni v predhodnih študijah ali najdeni s pomočjo iskanja po besedilnemu korpusu pisane in govorjene slovenščine Nova Beseda ter kompetenca informatorjev, ki so rojeni govorci slovenskega jezika. Na podlagi zbranega materiala sta bili opravljeni kvalitativna in kvantitativna analiza, ki sta dokazali, da je glavni števnik en v slovenščini pričel prej omenjeni proces, vendar ga še ni zaključil. Sklepi nam povejo, da je nenaglašena oblika en posebna naslonka, ki zaseda točno določeno pozicijo znotraj sintagme, to je prvo proklitično pozicijo, in se torej ne ravna po Wackernaglovem pravilu, kakor tudi se ne piše skupaj z gostiteljem.*

**Ključne besede:** gramatikalizacija, nedoločni člen, naslonke, Wackernaglov položaj, slovanski jeziki

## GRAMMATICALISATION OF THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE IN SLOVENE

### ABSTRACT

*This paper aims to present the grammaticalisation of the indefinite article in spoken Slovene, based on the languages in which this process has already been completed and from which it is possible to deduce various verifiable stages and processes. Numerous linguistic contexts were taken as the empirical basis, such as examples drawn from the Great Dictionary of the Slovene Language (Slovar slovenskega jezika in addition to SSKJ), examples gathered in previous studies or obtained by consulting the Slovene corpus of the written and spoken language (Nova Beseda) or the competence of Slovene native speaker informants. Qualitative and quantitative analyses were conducted based on this material to prove that the cardinal numeral en 'one' has undertaken this same process, but is currently at an intermediate stage. The conclusion is that the weak form of en is a special clitic which occupies the first proclitic position and as such does not obey Wackernagel's law and does not compact with its host (as in univerbation).*

**Key words:** grammaticalisation, indefinite article, clitics, Wackernagel's position, Slavic languages

## UVOD

Naravne jezike, ki so produkt spontanega razvoja v vseh človeških kulturah, moramo obravnavati kot žive organizme in torej kot same po sebi spreminjače in nestabilne že po definiciji. Ta njihova lastnost se kaže tudi v besedišču, saj se neprestano pojavljajo novi elementi. Mehanizmi, ki vodijo do takih inovacij, so raznoliki, vendar se bomo v tem članku posvetili enemu od mnogih univerzalnih aktivnih principov v jezikovnem razvoju, to je gramatikalizaciji. Pod drobnogled bomo vzeli prehod besede *en* iz števnika v nedoločni člen na primeru slovenščine, saj ta jezikovni premik sledi medjezikovno primerljivim stopnjam in ga lahko zato dokažemo s pomočjo jezikov, v katerih se je že odvil v preteklosti in ki imajo danes v slovnici uradno priznani nedoločni člen. V tem kontekstu bomo skušali dokazati, da se mnogotere jezikovne spremembe ne dogajajo ex nihilo, pač pa je njihova narava sistematična in motivirana.

Heine in Kuteva (2005) trdita, da lahko jezikovni stiki sprožijo ali pospešijo spremembe v enem od jezikov, v kolikor na določenem območju v daljšem časovnem obdobju do medjezikovnih stikov pride. Na geografskem območju Slovenije, ki je bila v preteklosti izpostavljena različnim jezikovnim interferencam, med katerimi tudi vplivu italijanščine in nemščine (jezika, ki sta nasprotno od slovenščine že razvila nedoločni člen), bi lahko to vplivalo na proces gramatikalizacije nedoločnega člena. V skladu s Heine in Kutevo (2005) naj bi bila v ta proces vpletena tako jezik, ki izvaja vpliv na drugega in ima torej vlogo sprožilca [trigger] procesa, kot tudi jezik, ki je podvržen temu procesu in se torej spreminja pod njegovim vplivom. Po tem, ko prvi jezik povzroči pričetek gramatikalizacije, pa se v kasnejših fazah razvoja sprememba uravnava na podlagi principov in zakonitosti, ki so inherentni drugemu jeziku. Ramat (2010) kot primer gramatikalizacije, ki je posledica dolgo trajajočega zgodovinskega jezikovnega stika z nemščino ali italijanščino, navaja tudi rojstvo člena v slovenskem jeziku. V ta namen je zapisala, da

razvoj členov (...) je proces, ki je skupen vsem jezikom sveta in čeprav je pomen njegovega vpliva z vidika geografske bližine na splošno zelo šibek, pa dejstvo, da je ta tip gramatikalizacije prisoten v sosednjih jezikih, veliko povečuje verjetnost razvoja preko stika. (Ramat, 2010, 8)

## Diahroni pregled

Preden se podamo na zahtevno pot rojstva členov, je potrebno opraviti kraji ekskurz in posvetiti nekaj besed statusu, ki ga ima raba besede *en* v vlogi člena v sodobnem slovenskem knjižnem jeziku, torej kako je prikazan v slovnični in slovarju. V knjižni slovenščini je raba oblike *en* s skladenjsko distribucijo, ki se le delno prekriva s tisto števnikom, vendar pa ima različno pomensko in pragmatično funkcijo ('fonološko šibki *en*'),<sup>1</sup> označena kot slovenično nepravilna in torej ni dovoljena. Veljavna normativna slovница (Toporišič, 2000) je prepovedala njegovo rabo in jo omejila samo na govorjeni diskurz. Vendar pa se je ob rojstvu slovenskega jezika v šestnajstem stoletju Primož Trubar (Bažec, 2008) te oblike na široko posluževal, v kasnejših obdobjih pa je bila njena raba v standardni slovenščini prepovedana.

Najprej se je s to jezikovno dilemo ukvarjal Adam Bohorič, avtor prve slovenske slovnice *Arctiae Horulae*, ki je izšla leta 1584. Sodeč po njegovem mnenju naj bi raba *en* v vlogi nedoločnega člena v pogovornem jeziku zgolj kalk iz nemškega jezika.<sup>2</sup> V devetnajstem stoletju je Jernej Kopitar pritrtil Bohoričevi hipotezi in zapisal, da je raba člena v slovenščini rezultat neposrednega vpliva nemščine s sledičimi besedami: »Ne naše narečje, le naši nekronani pisatelji germanizirajo«<sup>3</sup> (Kopitar, 1808).

Zatem so puristične tendence jezikoslovcev v prvi polovici devetnajstega stoletja dokončno postavile osnove, na katerih še danes stoji slovenska slovница.<sup>4</sup> Na podlagi teh tendenc je bil šibki *en* izložen iz učenega jezika, ker so ga, napačno, obravnavali izključno kot plod 'tujega' vpliva.

Naj pa na tem mestu vseeno opomnimo, da obstaja tudi slovница iz leta 1956, avtorjev Bajec, Kolarič in Rupel, iz katere je razvidno, da ima raba člena v narečju ključno vlogo pri ločevanju med določno in nedoločno obliko pridevnika. Avtorji v ta namen pišejo:

Kadar ti raba določne pridevniske oblike dela preglavice, si pomagaj z narečjem! Ako v domači govorici praviš »en« len fant, potem imaš opraviti z nedoločno obliko, kadar pa bi rekel »ta« len fant, gre za določno obliko. (Bajec, Kolarič, Rupel, 1956, 118)

Ta izjava, navedena v uradni slovenski slovnični, predstavlja pomemben precedens in nezanemarljiv dokaz, ki opravičuje postopno legitimiranje rabe šibke oblike *en*. Sam Kolarič (1960, 196) meni, da ne obstaja noben opravi-

<sup>1</sup> Od tu naprej bomo to rabo *en* opisovali kot 'šibki *en*' zaradi prozodičnih lastnosti, ki jih je pridobila v procesu gramatikalizacije.

<sup>2</sup> "in latina lingua, articulum usus revera non est, neque etiam esse debet, in Slavonica & Carniolanis, fit id solum Germanicæ linguae prava imitatione, et non necessitatibus causa: siquidem omnia plane et significanter sine articulo efferri possunt" (navedeno v Kopitar, 1808, 214–215).

<sup>3</sup> "Nicht unser Dialekt, nur unsere ungeweithen Schreiber germanisieren".

<sup>4</sup> "Do tega stanja je dospel, kakor nas uči M. Orožen, po "zaslugi" R. Ravnikarja, oz. kot vemo zaradi prevelike puristične vneme začetka 19. stoletja, ko so naši preroditelji izganjali iz slovenskega knjižnega jezika po nemškem uporabljeni člen, pa so pri tem zavrgli še slovenskega". (Toporišič, 1978)

čljiv razlog, zakaj se ne bi v knjižni slovenščini uzakonila raba šibkega *en* s takim pomenom in distribucijo, kot ju zasledimo v govorjenem diskurzu.

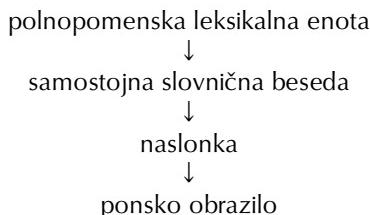
Ne glede na take inovacije pa je v najnovješih slovenskih slovnicah (Žagar, 1987; Toporišič, 2000) prevladal normativni in ne deskriptivni pristop, ki izključuje šibki *en* kot skladenjskega predstavnika nedoločnosti iz procesa kodifikacije in ga tako omejuje izključno na pogovorni jezik in narečja.

### Načrtovanje raziskave in zastavitev ciljev

Gоворjeni diskurz je v nasprotju s pisano knjižno slovenščino okarakteriziran z rabo šibkega *en*, ki v veliki meri odseva rabo nedoločnega člena v tistih jezikih, ki so razvile to besedno vrsto. Iz tega razloga je bil izbran kot izhodišče za kvalitativno in kvantitativno analizo slovenične kategorije nedoločnosti.<sup>5</sup> Analizirani so bili številni jezikovni konteksti, med katerimi naj omenimo primere navedene v *Slovarju slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (SSKJ), zglede navedene v predhodnih raziskavah, pridobljene s poizvedovanjem v slovenskem korpusu pisane in govorjene besede (*Nova Beseda*) in kompetence informatorjev, katerih materin jezik je slovenščina. Namen članka je torej pregledati glavne stopnje, ki so bile evidentirane v procesu gramatikalizacije, in dokazati, da se šibki *en* že spreminja iz števnika v nedoločni člen in se na tej poti v trenutni stopnji razvoja nahaja v fazi naslonke.

### TEORETSKA IZHODIŠČA

Gramatikalizacija je večstopenjski proces, ki je tipičen za razvoj vseh jezikov, na podlagi katerega samostojna leksikalna enota postopoma pridobiva novo slovenično funkcijo po vnaprej določenih stopnjah. V tem procesu polnopomenska slovarska enota izgublja najprej pomensko avtonomijo, nato oblikoslovno in skladenjsko avtonomijo, sledi ji izguba fonološke avtonomije in nazadnje postane odvisna slovenična kategorija. Najzglednejše predstavlja ta proces shema, ki jo navajata Hopper in Traugott (1993, 7; 2003, 7):



Leksikalne enote, pri katerih se gramatikalizacijski proces prične, praviloma pripadajo besednim vrstam, pri katerih je možno tvoriti neologizme, kot na primer samostalnikom, pridevnikom ali glagolom; slovenične besede pa so del besednih vrst, ki so zaključene in ne dodajajo na novo nastalih besed v svojo kategorijo. Drugi skupini pripadajo vezniki, zaimki, členi in seveda ponska obrazila, naslonke itd. (Hopper, Traugott, 1993, 4). Med najpogostejšimi zgledi gramatikalizacije se omenjajo tudi prehod števnika *en* v nedoločni člen (Croft, 2000, 157), ki je bil že preučevan v različnih jezikih, med katerimi naj omenimo angleščino (Traugott, 1982, Hopper, Martin, 1987), italijansčino (Renzi, 1976a; 1976b), španščino (Lapesa, 1975, Pozas Loyo, 2009) ter ruščino (Ionin, 2007).

Ko želimo ugotoviti stopnjo gramatikalizacije določene besede, se moramo posluževati oprijemljivih in preverljivih kriterijev, ki so povzeti v Tabeli 2. S predpostavke, da se v primeru šibkega *en* omenjeni proces že odvija, je potrebno identificirati stopnjo, na kateri se trenutno nahaja. Potrebno pa je tudi opomniti, da prehod iz ene stopnje v drugo ni neposreden, pač pa gre tudi v tem primeru za stopenjsko prehajanje, kar pomeni, da se lahko v določeni stopnji razvoja pojavijo določene prehodne faze na pol poti med dvema različnima stopnjama. Povsem normalen pojav je, da te oblike prehodnih stopenj ne izginejo, pač pa koeksistirajo poleg oblik, ki so močneje gramatikalizirane in z njimi tekmujejo. »Prisotnost takih stopenj, ki se deloma prekrivajo, namigujejo k dejству, da jih ne moremo natančno opisati s točno začrtano kategorizacijo« (Heine, 2005, 590). Lahko torej povzamemo, da se bistvo razprave ne osredotoča na to, ali je določena oblika gramatikalizirana ali ne, pač pa v kolikšni meri. Omenimo naj še, da je leksikalna enota, ki prehaja iz ene stopnje v drugo, podvržena posebni preobrazbi, v kateri je simultano izpostavljena dvema različnima procesoma na dveh ločenih nivojih: po eni strani gre za izgubo lastnosti na pomenoslovni, oblikoslovno-skladenjski in fonološki ravni, po drugi strani pa gre tudi za pridobivanje na pragmatski ravni, kar se kaže pri širjenju kontekstov rabe. Potemtakem lahko zaključimo, da bi morali proces gramatikalizacije obravnavati kot bogatitev jezikov s pridobivanjem novih sloveničnih prvin in ne kot redukcijo.

Naj na tem mestu poudarimo, da ima tu omenjeni proces – čeprav je brez dvoma diahroni jezikovni pojavi – tudi sinhrono dimenzijo, v luči katere je potrebno preučevati spremembe, ki se dogajajo z odnosi med besedami in v sami pripadnosti besednim vrstam. Da bi lažje določili, kam v ta proces umestiti šibki *en*, se bomo posluževali stopenj, ki jih morajo po mnenju Matisoffa (1991) preiti

5 Semantični status šibkega *en*, ki ima v diskurzu funkcijo podobno členu, ni še točno določen. Kljub temu ga bomo obravnavali kot predstavnika nedoločnosti, čeprav bi se lahko tudi nanašal le na referente, ki pripadajo semantični kategoriji specifičnosti [specificity] na področju nedoločnosti. Glede na to, da je gramatikalizacija nedoločnega člena iz števnika *en* skupna več jezikom, je Heine (1997) predlagala model petih faz, ki so v naprej določene z diahronega vidika in ki bi jih potemtakem v teoriji moral prehoditi tudi en v slovenščini, da se prelevi iz števnika do pravega člena. Faze, ki jih navaja, so naslednje: števnik > prezentativna raba [presentative marker] > označevalec specifičnosti > označevalec nespecifičnosti > posplošeni člen (Heine, 1997, 71)

vsi leksikalni elementi, da bi se reducirali v funkcionalne elemente. Gre za stopnje večanja frekvence rabe, pomenske okrnitve ali desemantizacije, glasovne redukcije, oblikoslovno-skladenjske redukcije in izgube skladenjske prostosti znotraj sintagme ali stavka.

### Desemantizacija

Prva stopnja, ki nakazuje pričetek procesa gramatikalizacije, se imenuje tudi pomenska šibitev ali krnitve pravtrega leksikalnega pomena. Po Matisoffu (1991) ta faza vključuje »delno redukcijo semantičnih lastnosti nekega morfema, ki izgubi določen del vsebine zato, da se lahko uporablja v bolj abstraktnem, slovničnem pomenu« (Matisoff, 1991, 384). Hainman (1991, 154) pa piše, da »do semantične krnitve pride, ko morfem izgubi svojo intenco: od tega, da se nanaša na omejeno skupino idej, začne opisovati zmeraj širšo celoto in v končni fazi lahko povsem izgubi svoj pravtreni pomen«. Končno Heine in Reh (1984, 36) trdita, da pri gramatikalizaciji »pomenska enota pridobiva drugo, funkcionalno in ne leksikalno vlogo, ki lahko v končni fazi postane njena edina funkcija«. V skladu z opažanji različnih jezikoslovcev (cfr. Hopper, Traugott, 1993), je za ta proces značilen dvosmerni potek variacije: po eni strani prihaja do pospoljevanja semantične vsebine obravnavane leksikalne enote, ki je bila do tedaj specializirana ter do omejevanja skladenjske distribucije; po drugi strani pa ta proces vodi tudi do spremembe semantične vsebine in dodelitve, v toku procesa, novega pomena, zato se poleg izgube ali krnitve pogosto omenja tudi bogatenje na pragmatiski ravni (Hopper, Traugott, 1993, 87). Bybee, Perkins in Pagliuca (1993, 289) ta proces natančneje določata na sledeči način: »generalizacija je enakovredna izgubi točno določenih semantičnih značilnosti s posledičnim širjenjem kontekstov uporabek«. Prva sprememba, ki nakazuje na proces gramatikalizacije, je torej prehod iz točno določenega na abstraktejši pomen.

Dokazati želimo, da je šibki *en* že na tej poti in v ta namen bomo pregledali zgleda, dokumentirane v SSKJ, kjer je slovarska enota *en* vpisana kot števnik.<sup>6</sup> Beseda *člen* se v slovarskem opisu ne pojavlja, pa vendar si oglejmo pobliže vsebino gesla. Glavni števnik *en* znamuje količino, ki je sestavljena iz enega samega elementa in se ujema s pridavnikom in/ali samostalnikom, na katerega se nanaša v spolu in sklonu v ednini (1).

- (1) *Imajo enega otroka.* (SSKJ, 199)

Poleg funkcije števnika lahko izlučimo različne zgledede, v katerih se *en* ne nanaša več na določen element ali značilnost, pač pa postane njegov domet bolj pospoljen. Ko se v slovarju navajajo takšni primeri, ni določena besedna vrsta, je pa razloženo, da se v pogovornem jeziku *en* uporablja tudi »s širokim pomenskim obsegom«, »ki ni natančneje določen« in »z oslabljenim pomenom« (SSKJ, 2002, 199). V takih primerih bi lahko *en* zamenjali s sinonimnimi izrazi 'nekaj' (2), 'nekega' (3) ali pa bi v prevodu v italijanski (4b) ali angleški jezik (4c) uporabili nedoločni člen.

- (2) *En čas bom čakal, dolgo pa ne.* (SSKJ, 199)  
Nekaj časa bom čakal, dolgo pa ne.
- (3) *En dan sta šla v mesto.* (SSKJ, 199)  
Nekega dne sta šla v mesto.
- (4) a. *Ena knjigo mi posodi.* (SSKJ, 199)  
b. *Prestami un libro.*  
c. *Lend me a book.*

Iz navedenih zgledov je razvidno, da je šibki *en* v pogovornem jeziku izgubil pravtreni numerični pomen in povečal število kontekstov, v katerih ga lahko uporabljamo. V omenjenih kontekstih ima širši pomenski domet, vendar pa je njegov pomen veliko bolj splošen in manj specifičen.

V pogovorni slovenščini zato najdemo veliko primerov, v katerih je *en* uporabljen z nedoločenim pomenom, kjer se njegov pomen ne nanaša na en element, pač pa se deloma pospoli in nakazuje na nedoločeno količino (2) ali neidentificirani (3) ali ne točno določeni (4) samostalnik.

Za zgleda (5) in (6) tudi sam SSKJ navaja, da gre za primere z ekspresivno vrednostjo, kjer je *en* uporabljen z oslabljenim numeričnim pomenom.

- (5) *To ti je en čudak.* (SSKJ, 199)
- (6) *Vse skupaj mu jeeno figo mar.* (SSKJ, 199)

Poleg tega se lahko *en* v slovenščini uporablja tudi v množini in to v skladenjskih strukturah, ki ne ustrezajo rabi zaimka *eden*.<sup>7</sup> V takih primerih njegov pomen ustrezza nedoločnim pridavnškim zaimkom 'nekaj', 'neki', 'nekak' in 'nekoliko', ki na splošno izražajo nedoločnost. V drugih jezikih se pa prevaja z različico, s katero

6 Slovnična kategorija, ki je označena v slovarju, ni nujno tudi pokazatelj gramatikalizacije. V poštvet moramo vzeti dejstvo, da slovarji ne predstavljajo vedno zanesljivega vira podatkov.

7 V skladenjskih strukturah, ki jih ni mogoče povezati z rabo zaimka, ima *en* funkcijo najvišje projekcije (1) v določevalni besedni zvezzi [determiner phrase - DP] in vpliva na samostalniško jedro, ki je lahko obkroženo tudi z drugimi modifikatorji [modifiers].

(1) [en (+ pridelnik ) (+ pridelnik ...) + samostalnik]<sub>DP</sub>

**Tabela 1: Sinhrona primerjava frekvence en v govorjenem jeziku in pisani besedi.****Tabella 1: Frequenza di en a confronto sincronico tra parlato e scritto:**

Oblika	Število pojavov (zbirka G)	Število pojavov (zbirka P)	Povečanje frekvence za ... krat
en	12.274	2.625	4,6
ena	12.100	3.369	3,6
eno	16.563	4.436	3,7
ene	3.976	885	4,5
eni	8.305	1.450	5,7
enih	514	28	18,3
eneg	8.123	2.849	2,8
enemu	626	118	5,3
enim	1.835	872	2,1
enimi	89	6	14,8

v množini razpolaga nedoločni člen, torej v italijanščini s partitivnim členom *dei* (7b) ali v angleščini z izrazom *some* (7c).

- (7) a. *Eni* fantje so se pogovarjali na vrtu.  
 b. *Dei* ragazzi parlavano in giardino.  
 c. *Some* boys were talking in the garden.

Kot vidimo iz zgledov (1) – (7), je *en* v slovenščini z vidika semantike in pragmatike spremenil svoj pomen in rabo ter ju razširil. Ta prehod je zaznamoval pomenski doprinos, ki ga opazimo v premiku iz strogosti numerične vsebine vse do rabe, ki ne spominja več na števnika, pač pa se vse bolj spreminja v obliko slovničnega predstavnika na področju nedoločnosti in je istočasno nosilec slovničnih značilnosti sklona, spola in števila. Zaključimo lahko torej, da je *en* v gramatikalizacijski shemi v prehodu med števnikom in nedoločnim členom v trenutni fazi razvoja že zaključil stopnjo desemantizacije.

### Povečana frekvenca rabe

Nadaljnji pomemben korak v razvoju člena je velika porast v frekvenci rabe, ki je obratno sorazmerna s pomensko šibtvijo. Ti dve stopnji potekata skoraj istočasno, vendar ravno obratno, saj je pogostost slovničnih enot na splošno veliko večja v primerjavi z leksikalnimi enotami (cfr. Bybee et al., 1993; Bybee, 2005). Razmerje med desemantizacijo in rastjo frekvence po mnenju Heine in An Song (2011) nazorno razložimo s pomočjo procesa gramatikalizacije, ki navadno prične s šibtvijo na nove kontekste uporabe, torej z rastjo frekvence, kar sproži sam proces desemantizacije. Zatorej je ključnega pome-

na dokazati hipotezo, da frekvenca rabe dejansko raste. V odsotnosti reprezentativnega besedilnega korpusa govorne slovenščine, ki bi zajemal pretekla obdobja in bi predstavljal vse slovensko etnično ozemlje, na podlagi katerega bi lahko dokazali takšen podatek v diahroni luči, bo vseeno zanimivo opraviti sinhrono primerjavo med pisano in govorjeno slovensko besedo.

V raziskovalne namene smo analizirali korpus *Nova beseda* (NB)<sup>8</sup> in izvedli kvantitativno primerjavo pojavljanja *en* (vseh oblik). Korpus NB je sestavljen iz 318 milijonov besed, ki so razdeljene na sedem zbirk. Z namenom opraviti primerjalno raziskavo, smo se odločili primerjati zbirko govorjenih besedil, ki zajema 41.567.126 enot (zbirka G sestavljena iz prepisov razprav v parlamentu in televizijskega programa *Odprt kop*) ter zbirko pisanega jezika podobnega obsega, torej s 44.038.047 enot (sekcija P sestavljena iz prilog dnevnika *Delo* in revij *Jana, Mladina, Monitor, National Geographic* ter *Viva*).

Statistični zaključki so predstavljeni v Tabeli 1 in so podlaga za kontrastivno analizo podatkov, pridobljenih iz analize obeh zbirk. Iz primerjave razberemo, da je v govorjenem jeziku, realnem prikazu živega jezika, pojав *en* občutno večji v primerjavi s pisano besedo, ki jo uravnava normativna slovница.

Oblika *en* se v zbirki G pojavi 12.274-krat in v zbirki P le 2.625-krat. Iz tega podatka razberemo, da je pogostost rabe v govorjenem jeziku v primerjavi s pisano besedo kar 4,6 krat večja. Na enak način bomo interpretirali tudi ostale podatke iz tabele.

Na podlagi predloženih podatkov lahko trdimo, da so slovnična pravila, ki ne dovoljujejo rabe šibkega *en* v samostalniških besednih zvezah, naletela na plodna tla in deloma izničile vpliv govorjenega jezika. Raba vseh oblik *en*, ki je v povprečju za 5,6-krat bolj pogosta v spontani

8 Vir: [http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/s\\_beseda.html](http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/s_beseda.html)

govorjeni besedi glede na pisano, predstavlja dovolj velik dokaz v prid naši hipotezi. Trdimo lahko, da je prišlo do porasta frekvence tega elementa.<sup>9</sup>

### Oblikoslovna redukcija

Po tem, ko se opazovani element pomensko izprazni in spremeni pomensko vsebino iz leksikalne v slovnično, obstaja velika verjetnost, da bo ta ista jezikovna enota izgubila tudi oblikoslovne in/ali skladenjske značilnosti, ki so tipične za slovnično kategorijo pri kateri se je proces začel: v našem primeru so to značilnosti pridevnikov, natančneje števnikov. Izgubijo se tiste značilnosti, ki niso pomembne za slovnično funkcijo, ki jo element prevzema (Heine, Kuteva, 2007, 40).

Z drugimi besedami povedano, lahko poimenujemo to stopnjo gramatikalizacije tudi kot nekakšno fazo izgubljanja prvin določene slovnične kategorije ali drugače rečeno oblikoslovno redukcijo, za katero so značilne hibridne oblike. V nekaterih jezikih, kot na primer v francosčini, španščini ali nemščini, je nedoločni člen homonimen števniku. V nekaterih drugih, kot na primer v angleščini, se je z vidika oblikoslovja osiromašil in je postal skoraj ali popolnoma nepregiben.

V primeru šibkega *en* vse kaže na to, da do oblikoslovne redukcije ni prišlo. Pravzaprav se je zgodilo ravnobrežno, saj je prišlo do povečanja števila oblik, ki so v primerjavi s števnikom – razpolaga namreč le z obliko

v ednini – pridobile še množinske oblike. Istočasno pa je zaznati tudi omejitve: kadar se nahaja v funkciji šibkega *en* (8b), ni mogoče rabiti dolge oblike *eden*, ki se uporablja le kot zaimek (8a).

- (8) a. *Je prišel kakšen Italijan na zabavo? – Samo eden.*  
 b. *\*Eden Italijan me je vprašal za informacijo.*

Obenem pa je prišlo do delne spremembe in redukcije z vidika skladnje, ki bo obravnavana v poglavju namejenem omejevanju skladenjske prostosti.

### Glasoslovna redukcija

Glasoslovna redukcija je še ena od stopenj, ki so jo oblike na poti gramatikalizacije podvržene. V tej fazi določena jezikovna prvina izgublja elemente z vidika glasoslovja in

ko enkrat leksikalna enota postane konvencijska v vlogi slovničnega predstavnika določene kategorije, začne izgubljati fonološko substanco. To pomeni, da bo njena fonološka vsebina po vsej verjetnosti zreducirana in obravnavana enota bo postajala vse bolj odvisna od levo in desno lociranega fonološkega materiala. (Heine, 2005, 106)

**Tabela 2: Stopnje in parametri gramatikalizacije na primeru prehoda s števnika na nedoločni člen:**  
**Tabella 2: Criteri di G sull'esempio del passaggio dal numerale all'articolo indeterminativo:**

STOPNJA	PARAMETRI	EN
DESEMANTIZACIJA	a) izguba semantične vsebine	✓
	b) širjenje kontekstov rabe	✓
	c) povečana frekvanca rabe	✓
OBLIKOSLOVNA REDUKCIJA	a) izguba morfoloških obeleženj: sklona, števila, spola.	✗ ✗ ✗
	b) klitizacija	✓
FONOLOŠKA REDUKCIJA	a) izguba fonološke substance: zlogov, glasov, naglasa.	✗ ✓ ✓
	b) izguba prozodične avtonomije	✓
IZGUBA SKLADENJSKE PROSTOSTI	a) prerazporeditev oblike	✓
	b) omejevanje kontekstov uporabe	✓
	c) omejitve na samo eno pozicijo v sintagmi	✓
	d) obvezna raba	✗

9 Čeprav ni bil analiziran vsak posamezni pojав besede en v korpusu in niso bile izključene vse rabe v vlogi števnika ali zaimka, torej naglašene oblike, je vseeno jasno, da tako velikega porasta frekvence nikakor ne moremo pripisati drugim pojavom kot pa posplošeni, nedoločniški rabi.

Med najznačilnejšimi spremembami, ki zaznamujejo stopnjo, naj omenimo vsesplošno glasoslovno poenostavitev, ki se kaže v različnih oblikah in sicer kot izguba posamičnih fonemov ali pa celotnih zlogov, naglasa, ali prvotne intonacije in seveda nazadnje tudi kot izguba fonoške samostojnosti s posledičnim prilagajanjem sosednjim prozodičnim enotam (Heine, Kuteva, 2007).

Na tem mestu je pomembno podati še informacijo, da so vse stopnje, ki smo jih obravnavali do sedaj, tipične le za gramatikalizacijo, medtem ko je glasoslovna redukcija zelo pogost jezikovni fenomen, ki prispeva k spremenjanju jezikovne podobe na ravni glasoslovja in je zelo razširjen med živimi jeziki. Pravzaprav se dogaja zelo pogosto in v večini primerov sploh ni povezan s procesom, ki je obravnavan v tem članku.

Vendar pa je z vidika gramatikalizacije pomembno poudariti, da ima *en* števnik naglas (9), medtem ko v primeru šibkega *en* primarni akcent v sintagmi izgublja moč (Kolarič, 1960) in se premakne iz skladenjskega mesta, ki ga zaseda števnik, na desno stoječi samostalnik (10) ali pa na pridenvnik (11).

(9) *Na mizi sem videl éno jabolko.*

(10) *Na mizi sem videl eno jábolko.*

(11) *Na mizi sem videl eno lépo jabolko.*

V zgledu (9) je *eno* nedvomno števnik, v kolikor nosi primarni naglas v sintagmi, medtem ko v primerih, ko se naglas premakne na samostalnik (10) ali pridenvnik (11), ki sledita elementu *eno*, govorimo o drugačni funkciji. Izguba naglasa ga razlikuje od homonimne leksikalne enote in ne dovoljuje, da bi se pojavljala sam (12), torej se njegova raba omeji na pozicijo najvišje projekcije v določevalni zvezi. Ta prehod predstavlja zelo tehten dokaz v prid teoriji klitizacije.<sup>10</sup>

(12)	a. *	<i>Sem</i>	<i>videla</i>	<i>en.</i>
	b.	<i>Sem</i>	<i>videla</i>	<i>enega.</i>

### Izguba skladenjske prostosti

Vezanost na določen položaj v sintagmi in močnejša izpostavljenost sloveničnim pravilom, torej obvezna raba, sta zadnja dva parametra, v katerih se jezikovna enota dokončno spremeni v ponsko obrazilo. Navadno distribucija znotraj sintagme, v kateri se preučevani element pojavlja, dovoljuje najprej prosto izbiro, torej izpuščanje

ali uporabo, kasneje pa imamo zmeraj bolj omejene izbirne možnosti, saj se taki znaki že ravnajo po sloveničnih pravilih in postajajo čedalje bolj obvezni (Heine in Kuteva, 2007). V tem primeru ima govorec zmeraj manj svobode pri tvorbi sintagm in je primoran držati se določenih sloveničnih pravil. Nekateri jezikoslovci, med katerimi sta Heine in Kuteva (2007, 34) poudarjajo dejstvo, da »čeprav je to zelo pomembna faza, ni nujno potrebna, da bi govorili o zaključeni gramatikalizaciji in kot tip jezikovne spremembe je značilna tudi za druge pojave jezikovnega spreminjaanja«. V primeru šibkega *en* ne moremo še govoriti o zadnji stopnji, čeprav že obstajajo nekatera osnovna pravila njegove distribucije v sintagmi. S tem mislimo na nekatere omejitve rabe in določena mesta, ki jih šibki *en* lahko zaseda v sintagmi: navadno ima vedno prvo proklitično pozicijo, to je pozicijo določevalca v določevalni zvezi (13).

(13) **[en (+ pridenvnik ) (+ pridenvnik ...) + samostalnik]<sub>DP</sub>**

Ob vseh značilnostih rabe šibkega *en* je zanimivo omeniti še, da z vidika sintaktične distribucije ni podrejen Wackernaglovemu pravilu, ki govorji o razvrščanju naslonk na drugi položaj (2P) v sintagmi (Benacchio in Renzi, 1987). Določni člen, ki se je razvil v bolgarščini in makedonščini (Gebert, 1996), in na splošno vse naslonke v slovenskih jezikih so podvržene temu pravilu in zasedajo vedno drugo pozicijo bodisi v stavku ali znotraj sintagme. V slovenščini pa ni tako, kakor dokazuje tudi sintagmatska distribucija šibkega *en*, predstavljena v zgledu (13).

Po vsem povedanem predstavljamo Tabelo 2, v kateri so povzete glavne stopnje gramatikalizacije in evidentirani parametri znotraj njih na zgledu šibkega *en*.

Natančen pregled podatkov, omenjenih v zgornji tabeli, nas vodi v zaključek, da se šibki *en* v tem trenutku razvoja nahaja na srednji stopnji gramatikalizacije, ki ga z vidika sinhronne analize uvršča med naslonke. Preglejmo na hitro glavne značilnosti, na podlagi katerih smo prišli do tega zaključka. V zagovor tej hipotezi lahko navedemo, da je brez naglasa in posledično se mora nasloniti na sosednjo besedo, da se pojavi. V sintagmi zaseda vedno prvo proklitično pozicijo, vendar ga lahko od jedra samostalniške zvezze, gostitelja, loči pridenvnik (11). Ker torej ne tvori vedno nedeljive enote s svojim gostiteljem, ne ustreza enemu osnovnih kriterijev, na podlagi katerega bi ga lahko uvrščali med predpone. Po drugi strani pa ga njegove oblikoslovne značilnosti vlečejo bolj k ponam, saj se vedno ujema z gostiteljem v sklonu, spolu in številu. Upoštevajoč navede informacije sklepamo, da se glede na sinhrono analizo, v trenutni razvojni stopnji gramatikalizacije, nahaja v fazi naslonke.

10 Po definiciji je klitizacija jezikovni proces, v katerem se prozodično neodvisni elementi, torej v našem primeru naglašene besede, prelevijo v breznaglasne elemente, ki so primorani nasloniti se na sosednje leksikalne enote ali gostitelje in so z njimi izgovorjeni v isti prozodični enoti. Glede na to, na katero stran naslonke iščejo gostitelja, se delijo v naslonke (gostitelj je na lev) ali prednaslonke (gostitelj je na desni). V tem procesu se prozodično samostojne enote zreducirajo na prozodično odvisne enote, ki povsem izgubijo svojo glasovno avtonomijo in se v besedilu ne morejo več pojavljati same.

**Pisanje skupaj****ZAKLJUČEK**

Usmerimo pozornost na še eno jezikovno značilnost, ki je pomembna za naslonke: pisanje skupaj z njihovim gostiteljem. Avtonomija naslonke je lahko ogrožena, če se vedno pojavlja v istem kontekstu in še bolje, besedni zvezi. Če ima torej opraviti vedno z enakim gostiteljem, naslonka ne more spremenjati položaja znotraj sintagme in se omeji na eno samo fiksno pozicijo. Da do tega ne bi prišlo, je potrebno zadostiti dvema kriterijema (Benacchio, Renzi, 1987): prvi govori o tem, da naj bi se med naslonko (šibki *en*) in gostitelja lahko umestili še drugi elementi, drugi pa predvideva, da se lahko naslonka izmenjuje z drugimi elementi, ki zavzamejo isto pozicijo v sintagmi.

Na podlagi navedenih primerov sklepamo, da šibki *en* v tem trenutku ne zadostuje nobenemu od predlaganih kriterijev, ki bi omogočala pisanje skupaj z njegovim gostiteljem, kajti mednju se lahko vrvajo tudi drugi elementi, kot na primer pridevniki (11) in njegovo mesto v sintagmi lahko zasedejo nedoločni pridevniški zaimki, ki s šibkim *en* delijo enako skladenjsko distribucijo. Zatorej ni mogoče pisati skupaj šibki *en* in njegovega gostitelja.

Nadaljnji pogoj za pisanje skupaj je, da naslonke preidejo iz te slovnične kategorije v kategorijo pon, kar se v primeru slovenskega pogovornega *en* tudi ni zgodilo, vsaj ne do te stopnje njegovega razvoja.

Po vsem, kar smo videli, lahko sklepamo, da se je nenaglašena oblika *en*, ki jo rojeni govorci slovenščine uporabljajo v pogovornem jeziku, razvila v sklopu procesa gramatikalizacije iz glavnega števnika *en*. Sinhrona analiza nove rabe *en* je pokazala, da se na podlagi njenih fonoloških značilnosti, rabe in sintagmatske distribucije nahaja nekje na srednji stopnji razvoja obravnavanega procesa. Začenši pri stopnjah, ki jih predlaga Matisoff (1991), lahko trdimo, da je šibki *en* že zaključil stopnje desemantizacije, povečanja frekvence rabe, oblikoslovno in fonološko redukcijo. Prišlo je tudi že do omejitve pozicije v sintagmi, vendar pa njegova raba še ni postala obvezna. Na podlagi stopenj, ki jih predlagata Hopper in Traugott (1993, 7, 2003, 7) ga lahko umestimo med naslonke in kot takega še natančneje med posebne naslonke (Zwicky, 1977).<sup>11</sup> Ko določamo rabo šibkega *en* na podlagi pripadnosti besedni vrsti, nas vse napeljuje na glavne značilnosti naslonk: to je ne točno določena skupina besed, ki deli veliko značilnosti z zaimki in ponami. V procesu gramatikalizacije predstavljajo naslonke eno od vmesnih razvojnih stopenj med zaimkom in pono, saj so v resnici le prehodna faza znotraj kompleksnejšega in dolgoročnejšega procesa jezikovne spremembe. Gre za vmesni člen, ki je glede na svoje značilnosti tesno povezan s predhodno in sledičo fazo in je ravno iz tega razloga okarakteriziran z lastnostmi obeh.

## LA GRAMMATICALIZZAZIONE DELL'ARTICOLO INDETERMINATIVO NELLO SLOVENO. A PROPOSITO DELLO STATUS E STATO DI 'EN' DEBOLE

*Helena BAŽEC*

Università del Litorale, Facoltà di studi umanistici, Piazza Tito 5, 6000 Capodistria, Slovenia  
e-mail: helena.bazec@fhs.upr.si

### RIASSUNTO

*L'articolo si propone di presentare il processo di grammaticalizzazione in qualità di mutamento linguistico scaturito dal contatto linguistico. Viene preso come esempio il passaggio dal numerale cardinale *en* 'uno' all'articolo indeterminativo nello sloveno parlato. Pertanto sono stati scelti come base empirica numerosi contesti linguistici che ricalcano questa varietà di lingua, quindi esempi riscontrati nel Grande dizionario della lingua slovena (Slovar slovenskega jezika), esempi già raccolti in studi precedenti o reperiti consultando il corpus sloveno della lingua scritta e parlata (Nova Beseda) e la competenza di informatori sloveni native speaker. Essendo la grammaticalizzazione dell'articolo indeterminativo già stata portata a termine in altre lingue, è stato tracciato un percorso universale e scalare composto di cinque fasi verificabili e comparabili interlinguisticamente. Si tratta del passaggio da entità lessicale a parola grammaticale passando per clitico fino a ridursi ad affisso flessivo. Queste fasi sono state applicate*

<sup>11</sup> Posebne naslonke imajo različno skladenjsko distribucijo v primerjavi s polnopomenskimi leksikalnimi enotami iz katerih so se razvile (Zwicky, 1977).

*allo sloveno en per provare che al momento è giunto alla fase di clítico; più precisamente siamo in presenza di un clítico speciale (Zwicky, 1977). Applicando criteri verificabili proposti da Matisoff (1991) risulta che en debole abbia già compiuto la fase di desemanticizzazione che consiste nella moltiplicazione dei contesti d'uso e nello sviluppo di un significato più vago. È stata fatta un'analisi quantitativa in base ad un corpus che ha dimostrato un notevole aumento di frequenza nell'uso di en nella lingua parlata rispetto a quella scritta. La riduzione fonologica viene provata dalla perdita di accento che si sposta conseguentemente sulla parola adiacente. L'indebolimento categoriale vede usare nella nuova funzione solamente le forme aggettivali e non più quella pronominale. Infine, la fissazione della posizione prevede che questo elemento sintattico occupi sempre la prima posizione proclitica del sintagma in cui compare, deviando così dal resto dei clíticos slavi che obbediscono alla legge di Wackernagel (Benacchio, Renzi, 1987). Benché alcune delle sue caratteristiche morfologiche lo portino verso la parte degli affissi, esso è comunque classificato come clítico in base al suo stato fonologico e sintattico: è atono e quindi per poter essere adoperato ha bisogno di un ospite rispetto a cui ha una posizione fissa. Tuttavia non ha ancora adempito ai criteri per potersi univerbare con il supporto in quanto ci sono altri elementi che intercorrono tra esso e l'ospite e si può alternare nella stessa distribuzione con altri elementi.*

**Parole chiave:** grammaticalizzazione, articolo indeterminativo, clíticos, posizione Wackernagel, lingue slave

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## LEKSIKALNI PRIMERI GOVORA KOPRIVE NA KRASU GLEDE NA STAROSTNI PARAMETER

Klara ŠUMENJAK

Univerza na Primorskem, Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče, Garibaldijeva 1, 6000 Koper, Slovenija  
e-mail: klara.sumenjak@zrs.upr.si

### IZVLEČEK

*V prispevku je predstavljena generacijska raznolikost v leksiki govora Koprive na Krasu. Enaka vprašanja iz pomenskega polja Garderoba in dodatki iz vprašalnice za NASIK (Narečni atlas slovenske Istre in Krasa) so bila zastavljena desetim ljudem, starim od 6 do 81 let, razdeljenim v devet starostnih skupin. Skušali smo ugotoviti, kako se odgovori razlikujejo na leksikalni ravnini in ali drži trditev, da mlajše generacije ne govorijo več v narečju, ampak se njihov govor približuje knjižnemu jeziku. Dobljene odgovore je mogoče razdeliti v pet tipov.*

**Ključne besede:** slovenska dialektologija, spreminjanje narečij, izginjanje narečij, Kopriva na Krasu, generacijska raznolikost v jeziku

## ESEMPI LESSICALI DELL'IDIOMA DI CAPRIVA DEL CARSO SECONDO IL PARAMETRO DELL'ETÀ

### SINTESI

*Il contributo presenta la diversità generazionale nel lessico della parlata di Capriva del Carso. A dieci persone tra i 6 e gli 81 anni, divise in nove fasce di età, sono state poste le stesse domande appartenenti al campo semantico del Guardaroba e accessori del questionario per il NASIK (Atlante dei dialetti dell'Istria slovena e del Carso). Il nostro obiettivo era di identificare le differenze tra le risposte a livello lessicale e verificare l'affermazione che le generazioni più giovani non parlano più il dialetto e che invece il loro idioma si sta avvicinando alla lingua standard/letteraria. Le risposte ottenute possono essere suddivise in cinque tipi.*

**Parole chiave:** dialettologia slovena, processo di trasformazione dei dialetti, scomparsa graduale dei dialetti, Capriva del Carso, diversità generazionale nella lingua

## UVOD

V članku je obravnavanih petinšestdeset leksikalnih primerov iz pomenskega polja *Garderoba in dodatki* vprašalnice za Narečni atlas slovenske Istre in Krasa (daleje NASIK). Enaka vprašanja so bila zastavljena desetim ljudem, ki smo jih razporedili v devet starostnih skupin. Narečno gradivo je bilo zbrano avgusta 2009 in junija 2010 v vasi Kopriva na Krasu in je zapisano s slovensko fonetično pisavo z vnašalnim sistemom ZRCOLA.<sup>1</sup>

Pričakovali bi, da se z izginjanjem, izumiranjem narečij zaradi vpliva knjižnega jezika ukvarja veliko jezikoslovcv, a so prispevki s to temo zelo redki in nasprotujoči si, saj nekateri avtorji (prim. Smole, 2003, 2007, 2009; Kenda Jež, 2003; Škofic, 2006) menijo, da stanje narečij ni zaskrbljujoče, saj ne izginjajo, ampak se le spreminja, drugi (prim. Gruden, 1996, Warchala, 2006) pa menijo, da narečij kmalu ne bo več, saj se bodo zlila s knjižnim jezikom, vendar v nobenem primeru ne moremo zagotovo napovedati, kako se bo jezik v prihodnosti razvijal.

## NAMEN

Namen članka je prikazati, da je jezik živ organizem, ki se neprestano spreminja. Ne spreminja se zgolj knjižni jezik, ki vase sprejema nove in opušča, spreminja nekatere druge besede, spreminja se tudi narečje, govor posameznega kraja, vasi. Vprašanje, na katerega bomo skušali odgovoriti v prispevku, je, ali raba knjižnega jezika na leksikalni ravni izpodriva rabo narečja, to pomeni, da se besedje mlajših govorcev vedno bolj približuje knjižni slovenščini, medtem ko starejši govorci ohranajo narečne izraze.

## METODOLOGIJA

Dialektološka raziskava je potekala po ustaljenem vzorcu; iz vprašalnice za NASIK smo izbrali pomensko polje *Garderoba in dodatki*, ki zajema 55 vprašanj s petimi podvprašanjimi, dopolnili pa smo jih še s petimi vprašanjimi,<sup>2</sup> ki smo jih ocenili kot relevantna za to področje. Za to pomensko polje smo se odločili, ker vsebuje tudi pojme, ki so blizu vsem generacijam, če pa bi izbrali npr. pomensko polje *Vinogradništvo, Reja živali, Čebelarstvo* ipd., bi bila tovrstna raziskava nemogoča, saj se s takim

besedjem mladi skorajda ne srečujejo več (Škofic, 2006, 175). Po preučitvi vprašalnice smo ugotovili, da bo po odgovorih najlaže spraševati s pomočjo slikovnega grada, saj je tako mogoče dobiti zanesljivejše odgovore kot z opisovanjem iskanega poimenovanja. Enaka vprašanja so bila zastavljena 9 oz. 10 ljudem<sup>4</sup> iz različnih starostnih skupin, starim med 6 in 81 let. Skušali smo ugotoviti, kako se odgovori na leksikalni ravni razlikujejo, ali drži trditev, da raba knjižnega jezika izpodriva rabo narečja, kar bi pomenilo, da mlajše generacije govorijo bližje knjižnemu, starejše pa narečnemu govoru. Ko smo s pomočjo avdio tehnike posneli vse odgovore, smo jih zapisali s slovensko fonetično pisavo in analizirali vsako besedo posebej, na koncu pa je podana še skupna ugotovitev.

## STAROSTNE SKUPINE IN INFORMANTI<sup>5</sup>

Kopriva je majhna vas, šteje okrog 168 prebivalcev, od tega 82 moških in 86 žensk (STAT, 2011). Izbera nekaterih informantov je bila enostavna, saj je predstavnikov dočlene starostne skupine veliko. Najtežje je bilo izbrati predstavnika v zadnji starostni skupini, ker je prebivalcev med 80. in 90. letom v Koprivi le 7, od teh pa jih je nekaj takih, ki ne bi bili primerni informanti, zato je prav pri tej starostni skupini največja nevarnost, da je zapisan idolekt. Pri raziskavi so bili zanemarjeni sociolingvistični vidiki, kot so izobrazba, spol in poklic, saj smo na podlagi lastnega vedenja in poznavanja vaščanov skušali izbrati tipičnega predstavnika vsake generacije. Informanti<sup>6</sup> so bili glede na starost razdeljeni v naslednje skupine:

- 1–10 let; D. G. (2001), K. G. (2004), vrtec, osnovna šola
- 11–20 let; M. G. (1995), osnovna šola
- 21–30 let; B. G. (1981), elektrotehnik
- 31–40 let; D. G. (1972), strojni tehnik
- 41–50 let; V. G. (1964), strugar
- 51–60 let; R. G. (1959), strojni ključavničar
- 61–70 let; S. P. (1946), administratorka
- 71–80 let; B. U. (1934), delavka
- 81–90 let; S. L. (1929), šofer

## VPRAŠANJA IZ POMENSKEGA POLJA GARDEROBA IN DODATKI<sup>7</sup>

### 642. OBLEKA (MOŠKA) abito (maschile)

1 Vnašalni sistem ZRCOLA (<http://ZRCOLA.zrc-sazu.si>), ki ga je na Znanstveno-raziskovalnem centru SAZU v Ljubljani (<http://www.zrc-sazu.si>) razvil dr. Peter Weiss.

2 Ta vprašanja so označena z Vpr. K. Š.

3 Izkušnje so pokazale, da se s slikami dobi hitrejši in točnejši odgovor, vendar se pri vprašanjih za pridevne in glagole nanje ne moremo opirati (prim. vsakdanja obleka, zakrpati čevalj, oguljen, obrabljen, splahniti perilo itd.).

4 Za prvo starostno skupino 1–10 let sta bila izbrana 2 informanta, saj bi bilo za eno samo mlado osebo prezahtevno odgovoriti na toliko vprašanj. Žal (zaradi velikosti kraja) v raziskavo ni bilo mogoče zajeti po več govorcev za vsako starostno skupino, menimo pa, da so zajeti informanti tipični predstavniki narečnega govorja svoje generacije.

5 Informanti so bili izbrani tako, da ni možen generacijski prenos družinskega idolekta.

6 Imena in priimki informantov niso izpisani v celoti zaradi varovanja osebnih podatkov.

7 Romanske izposojenke izbranega pomenskega polja je natančneje analizirala Suzana Giljanović v svoji doktorski disertaciji: Leksikološko-etimološka razčlenba izbranih romanizmov v šavrinskih govorih, Volk (2007) pa analizira italijanske jezikovne prvine v spontanem govoru v Slovenski Istri, zato tu niso ponovno analizirane.

1. ob'leka
2. ob'leka
3. ɻəb'ljɛka
4. ub'ljɛka
5. γ'vənt
6. ob'ljɛka
7. ɻəb'ljɛka
8. γ'vənt
9. γ'vənt

Analiza:

Za ‘moška obleka’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer slovenska beseda *obleka* (← pslovan. \*ob(v)bl̥t'i, SES, 394) v starostnih skupinah 1–4, 6–7 ter germanska izposojenka *gvant* (< srvnem. *gewant*, ‘(boljša) obleka’, SES, 163) v starostnih skupinah 5, 8–9. Na glasoslovni ravni lahko zasledimo, da mlajše generacije pred *o*- nimajo več proteze, za pslovan. jat pa namesto narečnega refleksa *je* govorijo *e*.

#### 643. BLAGO panno

- 1.'roba
2. bla'γu
3. bla'γu
4. bla'γu
5. š'tofa
6. 'rꝑeba
7. bla'γu
8. 'rꝑeba
9. 'rꝑeba

Analiza:

Za ‘blago’ se v Koprivi rabijo trije leksemi, in sicer romanska izposojenka *roba* v starostnih skupinah 1, 6, 8–9, slovenska beseda *blago* (← pslovan. \*bolgo, SES, 35) v starostnih skupinah 2–4, 7 in romanska izposojenka *štوفа* v starostni skupini 5.

#### 644. VSAKDANJA OBLEKA vestito da strapazzo

1. o'bleka za do'ma
2. ob'leka za ɻ'sak 'dan
3. ɻəb'ljɛka za 'doma
4. ub'ljɛka zə 'doma
5. –
6. ob'ljɛka zə 'doma
7. ɻəb'ljɛka zə ɻ'sek 'dan
8. γ'vənt zə 'doma
9. 'dięloūni / ɻ'sek'dańi γ'vənt

Analiza:

Za ‘vsakdanja obleka’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer slovenska beseda *obleka* z desnim prilastkom *za doma* (← pslovan. \*domb, SES, 98) v starostnih skupinah

1, 3, 4, 6 in z desnim prilastkom *za vsak dan* (< pslovan. \*v̥xakъ in \*dъnbъ, SES, 80, 732) v starostni skupini 2, 7 ter germ. izposojenka *gvant* z desnim prilastkom *za doma* v starostni skupini 8 in levim prilastkom *delovni* (< pslovan. \*dělo, SES, 84) / *vsakdanji* v starostni skupini 9.

#### 645. PRAZNIČNA OBLEKA vestito da festa

1. 'lepša ob'leka
2. –
3. ɻəb'ljɛka za 'vən
4. γvənta'rija
5. 'mašni γ'vənt
6. ob'leka zə u 'nove
7. nə'diełska ɻəb'ljɛka
8. tax'mašən γ'vənt
9. p'ražni γ'vənt

Analiza:

Za ‘praznična obleka’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer sloven. beseda *obleka* z levim prilastkom *lepša* (← pslovan. \*lēp, SES, 298) v starostni skupini 1, z levim prilastkom *nedeljska* (← pslovan. \*ne in \*dělo, SES, 377) v starostni skupini 7, z desnim prilastkom *za ven* (← pslovan. \*v̥lnbъ, SES, 711) v starostni skupini 3 in z desnim prilastkom *za v nove* (← pslovan. \*novbъ, SES, 388) v starostni skupini 6 ter germ. izposojenka *gvant* z levim prilastkom *mašni* in *tahmašen* (← slovan. \*mъša, SES 326–327) v starostnih skupinah 5 in 8, z levim prilastkom *pražnji* (← pslovan. \*porzdbъ, ‘prazen’ in ‘dela prost’, SES, 485) v starostni skupini 9 ter izpeljanka *gvanterija* v 4. starostni skupini.

#### 646. OGULJEN, OBRABLJEN liso

1. zble'del
2. s'tar
3. s'cufən
4. z'yylen
5. scaf'ran
6. po'nucan
7. z'yulən
8. ɻəb'rablən
9. z'yylən

Analiza:

Zbrano narečno gradivo ni relevantno za leksikalno analizo, saj gre za pojem, ki ga lahko glede na dojemanje sveta vsakdo izrazi drugače. Večinoma se uporablja izraz *zguljen* (← pslovan. \*guliti, SES, 162) v starostnih skupinah 4, 7 in 9. V starostni skupini 1 se rabi izraz *zbledel* (← pslovan. \*bl̥edbъ, SES, 36). V starostni skupini 3 uporabljajo germ. izposojenka *scufan* (nem. *zupfen* ‘puliti’, SES, 63–64). V 5. starostni skupini poznajo izraz *scefran* (← nar. *cufráti* < najverjetneje ekspresivna izpeljanka iz *cufati*, SES, 57). V 6. starostni skupini se rabi germanizem *ponu-*

*can* (← stvn. *nuz, nuzza* ‘raba, šega’, ESSJ II, 229), medtem ko se v 8. starostni skupini uporablja leksem *obrabiſen* (← pslovan. \**orbiti* ‘služiti’, SES, 518).

647. a) KLOBUK  
cappello

1. klo'buk
2. klo'buk
3. klə'buk
4. klə'byk
5. klə'buk
6. klə'buk
7. klə'buk
8. klə'buk
9. klə'buk

Analiza:

Za ‘klobuk’ uporabljajo vsi informanti leksem *klobuk* (< slovan. \**klobukъ*, SES, 239), odgovori se razlikujejo le na glasoslovni ravnini, kjer pri mlajših generacijah ni več tako izrazite samoglasniške oslabitve.

b) SLAMNATI KLOBUK  
cappello di paglia

1. s'lamnik
2. s'lamnik
3. s'lamnik
4. s'lamnik
5. s'lamnik
6. s'lamnik
7. s'lamnək
8. s'lamnik
9. s'lamnik

Analiza:

Za ‘slamnik’ uporabljajo vsi informanti leksem *slamnik* (← pslovan. \**solma*, SES, 578), odgovori se razlikujejo le na glasoslovni ravnini.

648. PLAŠČ  
cappotto

1. p'lašč
2. p'lašč
3. ka'pot
4. ka'pot
5. kə'pot
6. kə'pot
7. kə'pot
8. kə'pot
9. kə'pot

Analiza:

Za ‘plašč’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer sloven. *plašč* (< \**plast'* ali \**plašč'*, SES, 450) v starostnih

skupinah 1–2 in romanska izposojenka *kapot* v starostnih skupinah 3–9, kjer pri mlajših generacijah ni več tako izrazite samoglasniške oslabitve.

649. KAPUCA PLAŠČA  
cappuccio del mantello

1. ka'puca
2. ka'puca
3. kə'puca
4. kə'puča
5. kə'puca
6. kə'puča
7. kə'puča
8. kə'puca
9. kə'puča

Analiza:

Za ‘kapuca plašča’ uporabljajo informanti leksem *kapuca/kapuča* (< nem. *Kapuze* < it. *capuccio*, SES, 217), kjer gre morda za različni stopnji prevzemanja, in sicer iz slovenskega *kapuca* ali iz romanskega *kapuča*. Na glasoslovni ravnini pri mlajših generacijah ni več tako izrazite samoglasniške oslabitve.

650. ROBEC (ZA NOS)  
fazzoletto da naso

1. 'ropčək
2. 'robəc
3. 'ruəbəc
4. 'fəču
5. fə'coꝝ
6. fə'čoꝝ
7. fə'čoꝝ
8. fə'čoꝝ
9. fə'čoꝝ

Analiza:

Za ‘robec’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer sloven. *robec* (< pslovan. \**rɔbъ* ‘kar je odsekano, odrezano, kos tkanine’, SES, 541) v starostnih skupinah 1–3 in romanizem *facol* v starostnih skupinah 4–9, z glasoslovno varianto *c* > č. Na glasoslovni ravnini lahko opazimo, da prvi dve skupini ne poznata več razvoja *ɔ* > ȇ.

651. SUKNJIČ  
giacca

1. ob'leka
2. ob'leka
3. 'rajkəlc
4. fə'ni̯ela
5. fə'ni̯ela
6. fə'ni̯ela
7. fə'ni̯ela
8. fə'ni̯ela
9. fə'ni̯ela

## Analiza:

Za ‘suknjič’ se v Koprivi rabijo trije leksemi, in sicer *obleka* v starostnih skupinah 1–2, *rekelc* (prevzeto in prilagojeno iz bav. nem. *Röckel*, SES, 531) v starostni skupini 3 in *fanelia* (morda iz nem. *Flanell*, SES, 127) v starostnih skupinah 4–9.

652. a) OVRATNIK PRI SRAJCI  
collare

1. ov'ratnik
2. ov'ratnik
3. ov'ratnik
4. k'rayəlc
5. k'rayəlc
6. k'rayəlc
7. k'rayəlc
8. k'rayəlc
9. k'rayəlc

## Analiza:

Za ‘ovratnik pri srajci’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer sloven. *ovratnik* (← pslovan. \**vortъ*, SES, 728) v starostnih skupinah 1–3 in germ. *kragelc* (< nem. *Kragen*) v starostnih skupinah 4–9.

b) OVRATNIK NA PLAŠČU  
bavero

1. ov'ratnik
2. ov'ratnik
3. ov'ratnik
4. k'rayəlc
5. k'rayəlc
6. k'rayəlc
7. k'rayəlc
8. k'rayəlc
9. k'rayəlc

## Analiza:

Za ‘ovratnik na plašču’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer *ovratnik* v starostnih skupinah 1–3 in *kragelc* v starostnih skupinah 4–9.

653. TELOVNIK  
panciotto

1. brezro'kaunik
2. brezro'kaunik
3. brəzro'kaunik
4. 'laibæk
5. brəzro'kaunik
6. 'laibæk
7. 'laibæk
8. 'laibæk
9. 'laibæk

## Analiza:

Za ‘telovnik’ se v Koprivi rabijo trije leksemi, in sicer *brezrokavnik* v starostnih skupinah 1–3, 5 ter *lajbec* v starostni skupini 8 in *lajbek* v starostnih skupinah 4, 6–7, 9, oboje prevzeto in prilagojeno iz *lajbič* < bav. nem. *Leiblein* (SES, 291).

654. ŽEPNA URA  
orologio da tasca

1. 'žepna 'ura
2. 'žepna 'ura
3. 'ura
4. 'ura
5. 'žepna 'ura
6. 'žepna 'ura
7. 'ura nə 'kjētəncəx
8. 'ura nə 'kjētənci
9. 'žepna 'ura

## Analiza:

Za ‘žepna ura’ uporabljajo vsi informanti leksem *ura* (< srvnem. *ūre*, SES, 699), ki se veže z levim prilastkom *žepna* (< hrv. srb. *džep* < turš. *ceb*, SES, 760) v starostnih skupinah 1, 2, 5, 6, 9 in z desnim prilastkom *na ketnici* v starostnih skupinah 7–8.

655. HLAČNI RAZPOREK  
apertura dei calzoni sul davanti

1. za'dərya
2. 'šušta
3. bə'teyə / za'dərya
4. fərš'lus / bə'tjeyə
5. 'šušta / fərš'lus
6. bə'tjeyə
7. bə'tjeyə
8. bə'tjeyə
9. bə'tjeyə

## Analiza:

Za ‘hlačni razporek’ se v Koprivi rabijo štirje leksemi, in sicer *zadrga* (← pslovan. \**dъrgnоти* ‘odtrgati’, SES, 103) v starostni skupini 1, kot drugi odgovor tudi v starostni skupini 3, *šušta* (< furl. *suste* ‘molla’, Pirona, 1153, oz. trž. it., ben. it. *susta* ‘vzmet’ > rom. deverbativa \**sūscita* k *suscitare* ‘pokonci spraviti, dvigniti; vznemiriti’, ESSJ IV, 136) v starostnih skupinah 2 in 5, romanska izposojenka *botega* v starostnih skupinah 3, 6–9, kot drugi odgovor tudi v starostni skupini 4, in germanizem *fršlus* (< nem. *Verschluss*) v starostni skupini 4, kot drugi odgovor tudi v starostni skupini 5.

656. PAS  
cintura

1. 'pas
2. 'pas

3. 'pas  
4. 'pas  
5. 'pas  
6. 'pas  
7. 'pas  
8. pas  
9. 'pas

Analiza:

Za 'pas' uporabljajo vsi informanti slovensko besedo slovanskega izvora *pas* (< pslovan. \**pojasb*, SES, 427).

#### 657. NARAMNICE bretelle

1. na'ramnice  
2. 'yuzni  
3. na'ramənce  
4. 'yuzni  
5. 'yuzni  
6. 'yuzni  
7. 'yuzni  
8. 'yuzni  
9. 'yuzni

Analiza:

Za 'naramnice' se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer naramnice (← pslovan \**na* + \**ormo*, SES, 366, 522) v starostnih skupinah 1 in 3 ter izvorno nejasni leksem *gu-zni* v starostnih skupinah 2, 4–9.

#### 658. HLAČNIK tromba dei pantalonì

1. x'lačnica  
2. x'lačnica  
3. x'ləčnik  
4. x'lačənca  
5. x'lačnica  
6. x'ləčnik  
7. x'lačənca  
8. x'lačənca  
9. x'lačənca

Analiza:

Za 'hlačnik' so informanti uporabili besedotvorni različici *hlačnik* v starostnih skupinah 3 in 6 ter *hlačnica* (oboje izposojeno iz romanskih jezikov, verjetno iz vlat. *calcea*, kar ustreza klas. lat. *calceus* 'čevelj, nizek škorjenj', SES, 170) v starostnih skupinah 1–2, 4–5, 7–9. Odgovori se razlikujejo na besedotvorni ravnini in na glasoslovni ravnini, kjer pri mlajših generacijah ni več tako izrazite samoglasniške oslabitve.

#### 659. NOGAVICE calza

1. noga'vece  
2. noŋa'vece  
3. noŋa'vece  
4. ko'cjetē  
5. kə'cjetā (sing.)  
6. kəl'cjetē  
7. kə'cjetē  
8. ko'cjetē  
9. ko'cjetē

Analiza:

Za 'nogavice' se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer *nogavice* (← pslovan. \**noga*, SES, 368) v starostnih skupinah 1–3 in romanska izposojenka *kocete* v starostnih skupinah 4–9. Pri najmlajši generaciji lahko zasledimo tudi glasoslovni razvoj γ > g.

#### 660. ČEVELJ scarpa

1. 'čevel̄  
2. 'šulən  
3. 'šulən  
4. 'šulən  
5. 'šulən  
6. 'šulən  
7. 'šulən  
8. 'šulən  
9. 'šulən

Analiza:

Za 'čevelj' se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer v prvi skupini slovenska beseda slovanskega izvora *čevelj* (< pslovan \*červyb, SES, 71–72), v ostalih skupinah pa germanска izposojenka *šulen* (< srvn. *schuochlīn* 'čevelj-ček', dem. od *schuo(ch)* 'čevelj' ESSJ IV, 91).

#### 661. VEZALKE laccio della scarpa

1. špa'geti  
2. špa'yeti  
3. špa'yeti  
4. špa'γete  
5. špa'γjetē  
6. špa'γete  
7. špa'γjetē  
8. špa'γjet (sing.)  
9. špa'γjetē

Analiza:

Za 'vezalke' so vsi informanti uporabili isti leksem, romanizem *špagete*. Odgovori se razlikujejo na glasoslovni ravnini, kjer pri mlajših generacijah ni več tako izrazite vokalne redukcije. Na glasoslovni ravnini je pri mlajših generacijah značilen tudi prehod e > iɛ > e. Pri najmlajši generaciji lahko zasledimo tudi prehod γ > g.

a) PETA  
tacco

1. 'peta
2. 'peta
3. 'peta
4. 'pəta
5. 'peta
6. 'peta
7. 'peta
8. tə'kɥən
9. tə'kɥən

Analiza:

Za ‘peta’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer *peta* (< pslovan. \**pęta*, SES, 439) v starostnih skupinah 1–7 in romanska izpeljanka takon v starostnih skupinah 8–9.

b) PODPLAT  
soprattacco

1. –
2. potp'lat
3. potp'lat
4. 'popłat
5. potp'lat
6. potplət
7. 'popłęt
8. 'potplət
9. 'potplət

Analiza:

Za ‘podplat’ uporabljajo vsi informanti leksem *podplat* (< pslovan. \**podъplatъ*, SES, 460), odgovori se razlikujejo le na glasoslovni ravnini, kjer pri mlajših generacijah ni več tako izrazite samoglasniške oslabitve, v skupinah 4 in 7 pa pride tudi do asimilacije *-tp-* v *-p-*.

## 663. ZAKRPATI ČEVELJ

rattoppare la scarpa

1. pop'ravit
2. pop'raꝝt
3. pop'raꝝt
4. pop'raꝝt
5. pop'raꝝt
6. pop'raꝝt
7. pop'raꝝt
8. pop'raꝝt
9. pop'raꝝt

Analiza:

Za ‘zakrpati čevelj’ uporabljajo vsi informanti isti pomensko splošnejši leksem *popraviti* (sestavljenka iz pslovan. \**pravъ*, SES, 471, 484), odgovori se razlikujejo le na glasoslovni ravnini, kjer se v 1. starostni skupini izgovor najbolj približuje zborni izreki.

664. PLATNENI ČEVLJI  
scarpe di tela

1. 'teniska (sing.)
2. 'šulen (sing.)
3. 'šulən (sing.)
4. ca'vata (sing.)
5. cə'vata (sing.)
6. cə'vata (sing.)
7. cə'vata (sing.)
8. plət'neni š'ulni
9. plat'nene ca'vate

Analiza:

Za ‘platneni čevlji’ se v Koprivi rabijo trije leksemi, novejša tvorjenka *teniska* (< čevelj za tenis) v starostni skupini 1, germ. izposojenka *šulen* v starostnih skupinah 2–3, 8 in rom. izposojenka *cavata* v starostnih skupinah 4–7, 9.

665. ŽENSKE COKLE  
pianella da donna

1. 'coklá
2. 'šulən
3. 'cę́kla
4. 'flæk
5. 'šulən
6. 'cę́kla
7. 'cę́kəl
8. 'cę́kəl
9. nati'kača

Analiza:

Za ‘ženske cokle’ se v Koprivi rabi pet leksemov, in sicer romanizma *cokla* v starostnih skupinah 1, 3, 6 oz. *cokel* v starostnih skupinah 7–8, germanizma *šulen* v starostnih skupinah 2, 5 in *flek* (< nem. *Fleck* ‘madež, lisa’) v starostni skupini 4 ter *natikača* v starostni skupini 9.

COKLA  
zoccolo

1. 'coklá
2. 'šulən
3. 'cę́kla
4. 'flæk
5. 'šulən
6. 'cę́kla
7. 'cę́kəl
8. 'cę́kəl
9. š'tyérkəl

Analiza:

Za ‘cokla’ se v Koprivi rabi pet leksemov, in sicer romanizma *cokla* v starostnih skupinah 1, 3, 6 oz. *cokel* v starostnih skupinah 7–8, germanizem *šulen* v starostnih

skupinah 2, 5, *flek* v starostni skupini 4 in *štorkelj* (← nem. *storklen* ‘nezanesljivo hoditi’, SES, 647) v starostni skupini 9.

### ŠKORENJI stivale

1. š'korən̩
2. š'k̥orən̩
3. š'k̥orən̩
4. š'k̥orən̩
5. š'k̥orən̩
6. š'k̥orən̩
7. š'k̥orən̩
8. š'k̥orən̩
9. š'k̥orən̩

Analiza:

Za ‘škorenj’ uporabljajo vsi informanti leksem *škorenj* (< pslovan. \**skorъn’ni*, SES, 636), odgovori se razlikujejo le na glasoslovni ravnini, kjer pri najmlajši generacijski skupini ni več prisoten razvoj *o* > *u*.

### 668. ZGORNJI DEL, GOLENICA PRI ŠKORNJU tromba dello stivale

1–9 —

Analiza:

Nihče od informantov ne pozna leksema za ta poimen.

### BOS scalzo

1. 'bos
2. 'bus
3. 'bus
4. 'bus
5. 'bus
6. 'bus
7. 'bus
8. 'bus
9. 'bus

Analiza:

Za ‘bos’ uporabljajo vsi informanti leksem *bos* (< pslovan. \**bosъ*, SES, 42), odgovori se razlikujejo le na glasoslovni ravnini, kjer v prvi starostni skupini ne poznajo več *ô* > *u*.

### RUTA fazzoletto da testa

1. 'ruta
2. 'ruta
3. 'ruta
4. 'fōču
5. fə'čou

6. fə'čou
7. fə'čou
8. fə'čou
9. fə'čou

Analiza:

Za ‘ruta’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer *ruta* (< pslovan. \**ruta*, SES, 549) v starostnih skupinah 1–3 ter romanska izposojenka *facol* z glasoslovno varianto *c* > č v starostnih skupinah 4–9.

### KRILO gonna

1. k'rilo
2. k'rilo
3. k'rilo
4. k'rilo
5. k'rilo
6. k'rilo
7. 'kotla
8. 'kotla
9. 'kotla

Analiza:

Za ‘krilo’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer *krilo* (< pslovan. \**kridlo* prvotno ‘(ptičje) krilo’, SES, 273–274) v starostnih skupinah 1–6 in romanska izposojenka *kotla* v starostnih skupinah 7–9.

### PREDPASNÍK grembiule

1. pret'pasnik
2. pret'pasnik
3. 'firtof
4. 'firtox
5. 'firtox
6. 'firtox
7. 'fjērtof
8. 'firtof
9. 'firtox

Analiza:

Za ‘predpasník’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer *predpasník* v starostnih skupinah 1–2 in germanska izposojenka *firtoh* z glasoslovno različico *firtof* (< nem. *Vortuch*) v starostnih skupinah 3–9.

### ŽENSKA BLUZA camicetta

1. b'luzza
2. s'rāčca
3. s'rāčca
4. b'luzza
5. b'luzza

6. b'luza
7. 'bluza
8. b'luza
9. b'luza

Analiza:

Za ‘ženska bluza’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer *bluza* (< nem. *Bluse*, SES, 38) v starostnih skupinah 1, 4–9 in *srajca* (< pslovan. \**sorka*, SES, 599) v starostnih skupinah 2–3.

#### 647. ŽENSKA OBLEKA vestito da donna

1. k'rilo
2. ob'leka
3. k'rilo
4. k'rilo
5. k'rilo
6. k'rilo
7. k'rilo
8. γ'vənt
9. γ'vənt

Analiza:

Za ‘ženska obleka’ se v Koprivi rabijo trije leksemi, in sicer *kribo* v starostnih skupinah 1, 4–7, *obleka* v starostni skupini 2 in *gvant* v starostnih skupinah 8–9.

#### a) PODVEZA giarrettiera

1. –
2. –
3. pod'vezica
4. –
5. pod'vezica
6. –
7. pod'vejza
8. pod'vezica
9. –

Analiza:

Za ‘podveza’ uporabljajo vsi informanti, ki pojem poznajo, isti leksem *podveza* ozioroma njegovo izpeljanko *podvezica* (< pslovan. \**vęzati*, SES, 715). Zgolj v 7. starostni skupini pa lahko opazimo še ohranjen razvoj  $\epsilon > i\dot{\epsilon}$ .

#### PAS ZA NOGAVICE reggicalze

1. –
2. –
3. –
4. rež'i'kalce
5. rež'i'kalce
6. –

7. rež'i'kalce
8. rež'i'kalce
9. –

Analiza:

Za ‘pas za nogavice’ uporabljajo vsi informanti, ki pojem poznajo, romansko izposojenko *redžikalce*.

#### SPODNJE HLAČE mutande

1. s'podné x'lače
2. 'γate
3. 'γate
4. bən'dante
5. mən'dante
6. bən'dante / 'γate
7. mən'dante
8. s'podni x'lači, bən'dante
9. s'podni x'lači, mən'dante

Analiza:

Za ‘spodnje hlače’ se v Koprivi rabijo trije leksemi, in sicer *spodnje hlače* v starostnih skupinah 1, 8–9, *gate* (< pslovan. \**gat'i* in \**gaty* (mn.) ‘hlače’, SES, 138) v starostnih skupinah 2–3, kot drugi odgovor tudi v starostni skupini 6, in romanizem *bondante* z glasoslovno različico *mondante* v starostnih skupinah 4–7, kot drugi odgovor tudi v starostnih skupinah 8–9.

#### 677. OBLOGA POD KRILOM (SPODNJE KRILO) sottogonna, sottana

1. k'rilo
2. –
3. –
4. –
5. –
6. s'podné k'rilo
7. z'dulna 'kotla
8. 'untərca
9. kombi'neža

Analiza:

Za ‘obloga pod krilom (spodnje krilo)’ se v Koprivi rabijo štirje leksemi, in sicer (*spodnje krilo*) *krilo* v starostnih skupinah 1 in 6, romanska izposojenka *kotla* v starostni skupini 7, germanska izposojenka s slovensko pripomo *unterca* (< *Indra* (f.) ‘ženska spodnjica’ (gor.), tudi indrica; verjetno okrajšano iz pomensko enakega *interfat* (gor.), že v 18. st. *interfat* (Gutsmann); izposojeno iz neke neizpričane oblike \**ünterfeit*, ESSJ I, 211) v starostni skupini 8 ter romanizem *kombineža* v starostni skupini 9.

#### 678. ŽENSKI TELOVNIK corpetto da donna

1. brezro'kaunik
2. brezro'kaunik
3. brəzro'kaunik
4. 'lajbæk
5. brəzro'kaunik
6. 'lajbæk
7. 'lajbæk
8. te'louñik / brəzro'kaunik
9. 'lajbæk

Analiza:

Za ‘ženski telovnik’ se v Koprivi rabijo trije leksemi, in sicer *brezrokavnik* (< pslovan. \*bez(b) + \*rōka, SES, 46, 543) v starostnih skupinah 1–3, 5, kot drugi odgovor tudi v starostni skupini 8, germanska izposojenka *lajbek* (< verjetno iz nem. *Leibchen* ‘životec’) v starostnih skupinah 4, 6–7, 9 in *telovnik* (< pslovan. \*tēlo, SES, 660) v starostni skupini 8.

#### 679. ŽENSKI STEZNIK busto da donna

1. –
2. –
3. kor'zet
4. s'težnik
5. s'težnik
6. s'težnik
7. s'tjēžnik
8. s'təžnik
9. –

Analiza:

Za ‘ženski steznik’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer *korzet* (< eventualno prek nem. *Korsett* < frc. *corset* ‘korzet, steznik, modrc’, SES, 262) v starostni skupini 3 in *steznik* (< pslovan. \*tēgnōti ‘vleči, raztegovati, napenjati’, SES, 657–658) v starostnih skupinah 4–8.

#### KOMBINŽA sottoveste

1. –
2. –
3. – 4. kombi'ne (m.)
5. kombi'neža
6. kombi'neža
7. kombi'ne (m.)
8. kombi'ne (m.)
9. kombi'neža

Analiza:

Za ‘kombineža’ uporabljajo informanti, ki izraz poznajo, romanski izposojenki *kombine* v starostnih skupinah 4, 7–8 in *kombineža* v starostnih skupinah 5–6, 9.

#### MODRC regjiseno

1. 'modərc
2. 'modərc
3. 'modərc
4. 'modərc
5. 'modərc
6. 'modərc
7. reži'peto
8. 'modərc / reži'peto
9. 'modərček

Analiza:

Za ‘modrc’ se v Koprivi rabijo trije leksemi, in sicer *modrc* (prevzeto in prilagojeno iz svrneh. *muoder*, *müeder* ‘del obleke, ki pokriva prsi, telovnik, steznik’, SES, 350) v starostnih skupinah 1–6, 8, *modrček* v starostni skupini 9 ter *romanizem redžipeto* v starostni skupini 7, kot drugi odgovor tudi v starostni skupini 8.

#### a) ZAPONKA fermaglio

1. š'pangica
2. s'ponka
3. s'ponka
4. 'fibja
5. 'fibja
6. 'fibja
7. 'fibja
8. 'fibjəca
9. 'fibja

Analiza:

Za ‘zaponka’ se v Koprivi rabijo trije leksemi, in sicer *špangica* (< nem. *Spange*, SES, 641) v starostni skupini 1, kjer lahko zasledimo tudi razvoj γ > g, *sponka* (< pslovan. \*sъpona < \*sъpēti ‘skupaj speti’, SES, 597) v starostnih skupinah 2–3, romanski izposojenki *fibja* v starostnih skupinah 4–7 in 9 ter *fibjica* (*fibja* + sloven. dem. pripona -ica) v starostni skupini 8.

#### ZAPONKA NA PASU fabbia

1. –
2. –
3. 'fibja
4. 'fibja
5. 'fibja
6. 'fibja
7. 'fibja
8. 'fibja
9. 'fibja

Analiza:

Za ‘zaponka na pasu’ uporabljajo vsi informanti, ki izraz poznajo, isti leksem.

## ŠIVANKA

ago per cucire

1. 'igla
2. 'jeyla
3. jiyla
4. jeyla
5. 'jeyla
6. 'jeyla
7. 'jeyla
8. 'jeyla
9. 'jeyla

## Analiza:

Za ‘igla’ uporabljajo vsi informanti isti leksem *igla* (< pslovan. \**jbgъla*, SES, 181), odgovori se razlikujejo le na glasoslovni ravnini, kjer najmlajša generacija ne rabi več proteze *-j-* pred *-i*, za γ pa uporablja (knjižno) varianto *g.*

## 684. ŠIVANKINO UHO

cruna dell’ago

1. 'uxo
2. 'uxo
3. 'uxo
4. 'uxo
5. 'uxo
6. 'uxo
7. 'uxo
8. 'uxo
9. 'uxo

## Analiza:

Za ‘šivankino uho’ uporabljajo vsi informanti isti leksem, odgovori se ne razlikujejo niti na glasoslovni ravni.

## NAPRSTNIK

ditale

1. na'pərstnik
2. na'pərstnik
3. na'persnik
4. 'finyrət
5. 'finyrət
6. 'finyrot
7. 'finyrut
8. 'finyrət
9. 'finyrət

## Analiza:

Za ‘naprstnik’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer *naprstnik* v starostnih skupinah 1–3 in germanizem *fin-grot* (< nem. *Fingerhut*) v starostnih skupinah 4–9.

## KOS BLAGA

pezza

1. 'kos 'robe
2. bla'γu
3. 'kqəs bla'γa
4. 'kus bla'γa
5. 'kqəs bla'γa
6. 'kqəs 'ryəbe
7. 'kqəs bla'γa
8. 'kqəs 'ryəbe
9. 'kqəs 'ryəbe

## Analiza:

Za ‘kos blaga’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer romanska izposojenka *roba* v starostnih skupinah 1, 6, 8–9 in *blago* v starostnih skupinah 2–5, 7, povsod (razen v starostni skupini 2) z desnim prilastkom *kos* ‘koliko blaga’ (< pslovn. \**kqəs b*, SES 262).

## 687. VARNOSTNA ZAPONKA

spillo di sicurezza

1. s'ponka
2. s'ponka
3. s'ponka
4. bə'tunka
5. bə'tonka
6. bə'tojnka
7. zə'pçənka
8. bə'tçənka
9. bə'tçənka

## Analiza:

Za ‘varnostna zaponka’ se v Koprivi rabijo trije leksema, in sicer *sponka* (< pslovan. \**spъnka*, SES, 597) v starostnih skupinah 1–3, *zaponka* v starostni skupini 7 in romanska izposojenka *botonka* v starostnih skupinah 4–6, 8–9.

## KRTAČA

spazzola

1. glaγ'nik
2. kər'tača
3. kər'tača
4. kər'tača
5. kər'tača
6. kər'tača
7. kər'tača
8. kər'tača
9. kər'tača

## Analiza:

Za ‘krtača’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer *glavnik* (< pslovan. \**golva*, SES, 143), kjer gre verjetno zgolj za to, da informant še ne pozna izraza, v starostni skupini 1 in *krtača* (< nem. *Kardätsche* ‘glavnik za česanje volne, čohalnik za konja’, SES, 280) v starostnih skupinah 2–9.

MIL  
sapone

1. 'milo / 'žajfa
2. 'žajfa
3. 'žajfa
4. 'žajfa
5. 'žajfa
6. 'žajfa
7. 'žajfa
8. 'žajfa
9. 'žajfa

## Analiza:

Za ‘milo’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer *milo* (< pslovan. \**mydlo* ‘sredstvo za umivanje’) v starostni skupini 1 in germ. izposojenka *žajfa* (< stvn. *seif(j)a*, ESSJ IV, 440) v starostnih skupinah 2–9, kot drugi odgovor tudi v starostni skupini 1.

LUG  
liscivia, ranno

1. –
2. –
3. 'žajfa
4. pə'piɛu
5. 'žajfa
6. 'lux / 'žajfa
7. 'lux
8. 'lux
9. 'lux

## Analiza:

Za ‘lug’ se v Koprivi rabijo trije leksemi, in sicer *žajfa* v starostnih skupinah 3, 5, kot drugi odgovor tudi v starostni skupini 6 (gre za ljudi, ki s tovrstnim sredstvom niso prali in so za odgovor uporabili pralno sredstvo, ki ga poznajo), *pepel* (< pslovan. \**pepelъ* in \**popelъ*, SES, 436) v starostni skupini 4 (gre najverjetneje za sugeriran odgovor s strani izpraševalke) in *lug* (< stvnem. *louge*, SES, 312) v starostnih skupinah 6–9.

ŠKAF ZA PRANJE  
mastello da bucato

1. –
2. –
3. 'kada
4. š'kəf
5. š'kəf
6. š'kəf
7. š'kəf
8. š'kəf
9. š'kəf

## Analiza:

Za ‘škaf za pranje’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer *kada* (< pslovan. \**kadъ*, SES, 207) v starostni skupini 3 in *škaf* (< srvnem. *Schaff*, SES, 635) v starostnih skupinah 4–9.

692. PERILNIK, DESKA ZA ROČNO PRANJE  
tavola da bucato

1. –
2. –
3. p'lox
4. p'lox
5. p'lox
6. p'lox
7. p'lox
8. p'lox zə p'rət
9. 'çərənca

## Analiza:

Za ‘perilnik, deska za ročno pranje’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer *ploh* (< srvnem. *bloch*, *bloc* ‘ploh’ ali pa iz nar. sloven. prid. *plōh* ‘plosk’, SES, 455–456) v starostnih skupinah 3–8 in *ornica* (< *orna* ‘vrč, vedro’ izposojeno iz it. nar. *orna*, dem. *ornaccio* iz lat. *urna* ‘vrč’, ESSJ II, 254) v starostni skupini 9.

LESENA PALICA ZA MLATENJE PERILA  
pezzo di legno per battere il bucato

1. –
2. –
3. –
4. –
5. –
6. –
7. –
8. lo'par
9. –

## Analiza:

Gradiva za ‘lesena palica za mlatenje perila’ ni mogoče analizirati glede na generacijske razlike, saj smo dobili le en odgovor, tj. *lopar* (< pslovan. \**loparъ*, SES, 309).

SPLAKNITI PERILO  
risciaquare il bucato

1. sp'laxənt
2. sp'laxənt
3. s'pləxənt
4. sp'laxənt
5. sp'laxənt
6. sp'laxənt
7. çop'laiχənt
8. sp'laxənt ['cunje]
9. sp'laxənt

Analiza:

Za ‘splakniti perilo’ uporabljajo vsi informanti sestavljeni iz glagola *plakniti* (< pslovan. \**polknǫti*, SES, 449) s predpono *s-* v starostnih skupinah 1–6 in 8–9 ter s predpono *o-* v starostni skupini 7.

#### 695. CUNJA ZA LUŽNI PEPEL ceneracciolo

1. –
2. –
3. –
4. –
5. –
6. –
7. –
8. 'cunja zə 'lux
9. 'cunja

Analiza:

Za ‘cunja za lužni pepel’ uporabljajo vsi informanti, ki izraz poznajo, isti leksem.

#### PRALNICA lavatoio

1. p'ralnica
2. –
3. –
4. p'ralnica
5. p'ralnica
6. p'ralnica
7. p'ralnica
8. –
9. p'ralnica

Analiza:

Za ‘pralnica’ uporabljajo vsi informanti, ki izraz poznajo, leksem *pralnica* (pslovan. \**p̄brati* ‘tolči’, SES, 483–484).

#### OGRLICA (Vpr. K. Š.) collana

1. o'gərlıca
2. ve'rišca
3. ve'rišca
4. və'rišca
5. ve'rižica
6. ve'rižica
7. 'kiętənca
8. 'kiętənca
9. 'kiętənca

Analiza:

Za ‘ogrlica’ se v Koprivi rabijo trije leksemi, in sicer *ogrlica*, zelo verjetno prevzeto iz knjižnega jezika, sicer

bi beseda imela protezo, v starostni skupini 1, *verižica* (← pslovan. \**veriga*, SES, 712) v starostnih skupinah 2–6 in romanska izposojenka *kētnica* v starostnih skupinah 7–9.

#### 698. ZAPESTNICA (Vpr. K. Š.) bracciale

1. barčo'let
2. za'pesənca
3. braču'let
4. barču'let
5. bərčo'let
6. bərčo'let
7. bərču'let
8. bərču'let
9. bərču'let

Analiza:

Za pomen ‘zapestnica’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer *zapestnica* (< pslovan. \**za* + \**p̄estb-*, SES, 438, 735) v starostni skupini 2 in romanska izposojenka *barčolet* v starostnih skupinah 1, 3–9. Na glasoslovni ravnini lahko opazimo, da pri mlajših generacijah ni več toliko samoglasniške oslabitve.

#### 699. UHANI (Vpr. K. Š.) orecchini

1. u'xani
2. u'xani
3. u'xani
4. u'xani
5. u'xani
6. rin'kini
7. mə'nine
8. ma'nine
9. ma'nine

Analiza:

Za ‘uhani’ se v Koprivi rabijo trije leksemi, in sicer *uhani* (← pslovan. \**uhō*, SES, 696) v starostnih skupinah 1–5, romanska izposojenka *rinkini* v starostni skupini 6 in *manine* morda v zvezi z *manin*, v pomenu ‘okrasek za na roko, ki ga uporabljajo ženske’ - torej ‘zapestnica’ (Boerio, 394) v starostnih skupinah 7–9.

#### 700. DENARNICA (Vpr. K. Š.) portafoglio

1. de'narnica
2. tək'çin
3. tək'vin
4. tak'vin
5. tə'kçin
6. de narnica
7. tək'vin

8. tək'vin  
9. tək'vin

Analiza:

Za ‘denarnica’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer *denarnica* (< it. *denaro*, SES, 85) v starostnih skupinah 1, 5 in romanizem *takvin* v starostnih skupinah 2–4, 6–9.

701. ŽEP (Vpr. K. Š.)  
tasca

1. 'žep  
2. 'žep  
3. 'žep  
4. 'varžet  
5. 'unaržet  
6. 'unaržet  
7. 'unaržet  
8. 'unaržet  
9. 'varžet

Analiza:

Za ‘žep’ se v Koprivi rabita dva leksema, in sicer *žep* (< hrv., srb. *džep* < turš. *ceb*, SES, 760) v starostnih skupinah 1–3 in *varžet* (< srvnem. *ars-sac*, ESSJ I, 6) v starostnih skupinah 4–9.

## ANALIZA

Iz odgovorov ne moremo enostavno sklepati, da knjižni jezik zamenjuje ali izpodriva narečje, saj odgovori, ki jih lahko razdelimo v pet tipov, kažejo na drugačno tendenco razvoja krajevnega govora Koprive.

**Prvi tip odgovorov**, ki je tudi najbolj pogost, kaže, da mlajše generacije narečnega izraza ne rabijo več. Taki so odgovori tipa *plašč* namesto nar. *kapot*, *robec* za *nos* namesto nar. *facol*, *suknjič* namesto nar. *fanel*, *ovratnik* namesto nar. *kragelc*, *nogavice* namesto nar. *kocete*, *čevlj* namesto nar. *šulen*, *peta* namesto nar. *takon*, *ruta* namesto nar. *facol*, *krilo* namesto nar. *kotla*, *predpasnik* namesto nar. *fırtoh*, *naprstnik* namesto nar. *finigrot*, *varnostna zaponka* namesto nar. *botonka*, *žep* namesto nar. *varžet*, *ogrlica* namesto nar. *ketnica*, *uhani* namesto nar. *manine* ...

V **drugi tip odgovorov** so uvrščeni narečni izrazi, ki jih uporabljajo vse generacije, rabijo pa se tudi v slovenskem knjižnem jeziku; taki so odgovori tipa *klobuk*, *slamnik*, *kapuca*, *ura*, *pas*, *hlačnik*, *podplat*, *škorenj*, *igla*, *aho*.

V **tretji tip odgovorov** so uvrščeni narečni leksemi, ki jih prav tako uporabljajo vse generacije, a se v knjižnem jeziku v tem pomenu ne rabijo (čeprav so geografsko bolj ali manj razširjeni). Takih odgovorov sicer ni veliko, nekaj pa jih vseeno lahko zasledimo, npr. *špageti* za *vezalke*,

*fibija* za *zaponka pri pasu*, *žajfa* za *milo*.

V **četrtem tipu odgovorov** se v vmesnih starostih skupinah narečni izraz umika knjižnemu, vendar mlajše (ne pa nujno najmlajše) generacije ponovno uporabljajo starejše, narečne izraze; taki so npr. odgovori nar. *roba* za *blago*, nar. *guzni za naramnice*, nar. *bluza za srajco* (kjer starejši izraz ponovno uporabljajo najmlajše generacije) in odgovori nar. *gvant za obleko*, nar. *lajbek za telovnik*, nar. *barčolet za zapestnico*, nar. *takvin za denarnico* (kjer narečni izraz ponovno uporabljajo vmesne generacije).

**Peti tip odgovorov** zaradi različnih razlogov (prema-lo odgovorov, ker pojem ni več znan, opisovanje, ko se informant ne spomni ustreznega izraza ali ko informanti različno dojemajo svet ...) ni relevanten za leksikalno analizo; taki so odgovori tipa *oguljen*, *obrabljen*, *zgornji del*, *golenica pri škornju*, *cunja za lužni pepel* ...

Nekaj ugotovitev o glasoslovnih<sup>8</sup> značilnostih zbrane leksiKE:<sup>9</sup>

Izrazito narečne glasoslovne značilnosti koprivskega govora, ki spada v primorsko narečno skupino, natančneje v kraško narečje, so pri vokalizmu: razvoj ē > ī<sup>10</sup> (*uob'ljeka* ‘obleka’); razvoj o > Ȣ (‘robəc’ ‘robec’, *škūerən* ‘škorenj’); razvoj ô > u (‘bus’ ‘bos’); pred vzglasnim o- se v koprivskem govoru pojavi protetični Ȣ- (*uob'ljeka* ‘obleka’, *yop'lažənt* ‘oplakniti’); pred vzglasnim i- pa se ohranja pslovan. j- (*jīyla*, *jəylə* ‘igla’). Za konzonantizem je značilen razvoj g > γ (‘vənt’ ‘obleka’, *bla'yu* ‘blago’). Predvsem v prvih dveh starostnih skupinah lahko opazimo, da so se skoraj vse glasoslovne značilnosti, tipične za govor Koprive, izgubile, tako pri mlajši generaciji opažamo monoftongizacijo ī > e (*ob'leka* ‘obleka’), izgubo protetičnega Ȣ- pred zadnjimi samoglasniki (*ob'leka* ‘obleka’). V najmlajši starostni skupini so opazni tudi naslednji razvoji zaradi vpliva knjižnega jezika: monoftongizacija Ȣ > o (*'kos* ‘kos’); opuščanje narečnega refleksa za dolgi cirkumflektirani o (*'bos* ‘bos’); opuščanje protetičnega j- pred sprednjimi samoglasniki (*'igla* ‘igla’); opuščanje narečnega refleksa za g (*'ogərlīca* ‘ogrlica’, *'igla* ‘igla’).

Iz analize je razvidno, da se spreminjanje koprivskega govora in stavljanje slednjega s knjižnim jezikom veliko bolj kaže na glasoslovni ravnini, kjer je najmlajša starostna skupina izgubila večino tipičnih koprivskih narečnih značilnosti, medtem ko na leksikalni ravnini to ni tako očitno, saj tudi v tej starostni skupini še najdemo (stare) narečne izraze.

## SKLEP

Koprivski govor zaradi vpliva knjižnega jezika ne izginja, se pa, kot večina drugih slovenskih narečij, spreminja. Tudi iz raziskave lahko vidimo, da na eni strani mlajše ge-

8 Koprivski govor ne pozna intonacijskih in kvantitetnih opozicij v naglašenih zlogih.

9 Glasoslovje bo natančneje predstavljeno ob drugi priložnosti.

10 Glas e v drugem delu diftonga se različno realizira, lahko bolj e-jevsko, lahko bolj polglasniško, odvisno od informanta in glasovnega okolja.

neracije ne uporabljajo več določenih narečnih izrazov, kar je najbolj razvidno iz številčnosti prvega tipa odgovorov, kjer je jasno prikazano, da narečne izraze nadomeščajo s knjižnimi ustreznicami (prim. *kapot* > *plašč*; *facol* > *robec*; *kragelc* > *ovratnik*; *takon* > *peta*; *firtoh* > *predpasnik* ...). Tudi drugi tip odgovorov je tak, da vse generacije za določen pojmom rabijo leksem, ki je enak knjižnemu (prim. *klobuk*, *slamnik*, *kapuca*, *ura*, *pas* ...). Po drugi strani pa lahko opazimo, da se v odgovorih tipa 3 in 4 pojavljajo bodisi samo narečni izrazi (prim. *milo* > *žajfa*; *vezalke* > *špagete*; *zaponka* > *fibja*) ali pa mlajše generacije v svoj jezikovni kod ponovno vpeljujejo določene narečne lekseme, ki so jih starejše generacije že zamenjale s knjižnimi inačicami (prim. *gvant* > *obleka* > *gvant*; *laibek* > *brezrokavnik* > *laibek*; *barčolet* > *zapestnica* > *barčolet*; *takvin* > *denarnica* > *takvin*). Najbolj pa je očitna jezikovna konvergenca na glasoslovni ravnnini, kjer sta najmlajši generacijski skupini, vključeni v raziskavo, izgubili večino tipičnih koprivskih narečnih značilnosti, česar pa za leksikalno ravnino ne moremo trditi.

Narečje, ki je bilo nekoč zaničevano, preganjano in so njegovi govorci veljali za neizobražene, je danes vedno bolj prisotno tudi v javnem življenju: nastaja narečna poezija, izhajajo narečne leposlovne knjige, pravljice, ne manjka niti televizijskih in radijskih programov z narečnimi vložki. Niti novinarji, politiki in druge javne, medijske osebnosti v javnosti ne govorijo več le knjižno/zborno, ampak tudi kako različico pokrajinskega govorja. Vse to

dokazuje, da narečja ne izginjajo, ampak se z novimi generacijami le spreminja in se prilagajajo družbenim spremembam.

## KRAJŠAVE

bav.	bavarsko
ben.	beneško
dem.	deminutivno
frc.	francosko
furl.	furlansko
germ.	germansko
gor.	gorenjsko
hrv.	hrvaško
it.	italijansko
klas.	klasično
lat.	latinsko
nar.	narečno
nem.	nemško
pslovan.	praslovansko
rom.	romansko
slovan.	slovansko
sloven.	slovensko
srbs.	srbsko
srvnem.	srednjevisokonemško
trž.	tržaško
turš.	turško
vlat.	vulgarnolatinsko

## LEXICAL INSTANCES OF THE KOPRIVA-NA-KRASU SPEECH IN RELATION TO THE AGE PARAMETER

*Klara ŠUMENJAK*

University of Primorska, Science and Research Centre, Garibaldijeva 1, 6000 Koper, Slovenia  
e-mail: klara.sumenjak@zrs.upr.si

## SUMMARY

The article analyzes 65 questions related to the topic *Wardrobe and Accessories* included in the questionnaire of the Dialect Atlas of Slovene Istria and Kras. All the questions were posed to 10 people from the same age group. There were 9 groups, with the age spanning from 6 to 81 years. Our aim was to determine whether and to what extent the answers differed at the lexical level and whether standard Slovene superseded dialect, which would mean that younger speakers increasingly used standard Slovene in daily communication, while older speakers still used dialect words. The answers were divided into 5 types. Classified under type 1, the majority of answers show that younger speakers replace dialect words with standard ones. Nevertheless, a number of answers were classified under type 4, testifying to the fact that the state of dialect is not that alarming as some researchers would like us to believe since younger generations do introduce dialect words that middle-age speakers omit into their code.

*In general, the changing nature of the Kopriva speech and its merging with standard Slovene is much more obvious at the level of phonetics: the youngest age group has lost the majority of characteristics typical of Kopriva dialect, which is not that obvious at the lexical level given the fact that old dialect words are still used by youngest speakers.*

*The dialect material was compiled and recorded in the village of Kopriva na Krasu in August 2009 and June 2010, and was transcribed using the Slovene phonetic alphabet.*

**Key words:** Slovene dialectology, changing of dialects, disappearance of dialects, Kopriva na Krasu, generational diversity in language

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## VEČPOMENSKOST POIMENOVANJ ZA POMENA 'OBRVI' IN 'TREPALNICE' V SLOVENSKIH NAREČIJH (PO GRADIVU ZA SLA, ALI IN ASLEF)

*Danila ZULJAN KUMAR*

Znanstveno-raziskovalni center Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, Inštitut za slovenski jezik Fran Ramovš,  
Novi trg 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija  
e-mail: DZuljan@zrc-sazu.si

### IZVLEČEK

*V prvem delu prispevka je z metodo lingvistične geografije predstavljen slovensko besedje za pomena 'obrvi' in 'trepalnice', in sicer po gradivu za Slovenski lingvistični atlas. Drugi del prispevka se osredotoča na tipologijo poimenovanj po pomenu, pri čemer je posebna pozornost namenjena poimenovanjem, nastalim po pomenskem prenosu. Med temi v gradivu najdemo metaforična in metonimična poimenovanja. Razmerje med denotativnimi in poimenovanji, nastalimi po pomenskem prenosu, je prikazano na dveh jezikovnih kartah. Za primerjavo so v prispevku predstavljeni še zapisi za pomena 'obrvi' in 'trepalnice' v Atlante linguistico italiano in Atlante storico-linguistico-etnografico del Friuli-Venezia-Giulia, in sicer v krajih s (pretežno) slovensko govorečim prebivalstvom.*

**Ključne besede:** slovenska narečja, lingvistična geografija, poimenovanja za pomena 'obrvi' in 'trepalnice', *Slovenski lingvistični atlas, Atlante linguistico italiano, Atlante storico-linguistico-etnografico del Friuli-Venezia-Giulia*

## LA POLISEMIA DELLE DESIGNAZIONI PER I SIGNIFICATI 'SOPRACCIGLIA' E 'CIGLIA' NEI DIALETTI SLOVENI (SECONDO I MATERIALI PER LO SLA, L'ALI E L'ASLEF)

### SINTESI

*La prima parte del contributo presenta, attraverso il metodo della geografia linguistica, il lessico sloveno per i significati 'sopracciglia' e 'ciglia' secondo i materiali raccolti per lo SLA (L'Atlante linguistico sloveno). La seconda parte, invece, s'incentra sulla tipologia delle designazioni secondo il significato, con particolare attenzione per le designazioni formatesi mediante un trasferimento di significato. Tra queste si possono trovare nel materiale delle designazioni metaforiche e metonimiche. Il rapporto tra le designazioni denotative e quelle formatesi mediante un trasferimento di significato viene presentato in due carte linguistiche. A scopo di confronto, il contributo presenta anche dei lemmi per il significato di 'sopracciglia' e 'ciglia' nell'ALI (Atlante linguistico italiano) e l'ASLEF (Atlante storico-linguistico-etnografico del Friuli-Venezia-Giulia), in zone di popolazione (prevalentemente) slovenofona.*

**Parole chiave:** dialetti sloveni, geografia linguistica, designazioni per i significati 'sopracciglia' e 'ciglia', *Atlante linguistico sloveno, Atlante linguistico italiano, Atlante storico-linguistico-etnografico del Friuli-Venezia-Giulia*

UVOD<sup>1</sup>

Za pomena 'obrvi' in 'trepalnice' obstaja v slovenskih narečjih vrsta poimenovanj, ki so si med seboj motivacijsko, besedotvorno pa tudi izvorno različna. Prispevek bo najprej z metodo lingvistične geografije prikazal posamezna poimenovanja za pomena 'obrvi' in 'trepalnice', zapisana v gradivu za *Slovenski lingvistični atlas* (dalje SLA),<sup>2</sup> jih v drugem delu tipološko razvrstil glede na pomen ter prikazal njihov izvor, v tretjem delu pa bodo za primerjavo podani še zapisi za zahodnoslovenska narečja, objavljeni v *Atlante linguistico italiano* (dalje ALI) in *Atlante storico-linguistico-etnografico del Friuli-Venezia-Giulia* (dalje ASLEF).

S semantičnega stališča vzbujajo posebno pozornost tista poimenovanja, ki jih uvrščamo v skupino t.i. pomeniskih prenosov, zato bo zadnji del prispevka podrobnejše obravnaval metaforično in metonimično motivirana poimenovanja.

### POIMENOVANJA ZA POMENA 'TREPALNICE' IN 'OBRVI' V SLOVENSKIH GOVORIH (PO GRADIVU ZA SLA)

#### Pomen 'trepalnice' (SLA V066)

Pomen 'dlake na robu vek', tj. 'trepalnice', se v slovenskih narečjih izraža z veliko različnimi poimenovanji. V celotnem slovenskem prostoru, razen v panonskem, so najbolj razširjene tvorjenke s korenom *-trep-*, med njimi je najpogosteje poimenovanje *trepalnice*.<sup>3</sup> Poleg tega še: *trepalke* (T044, T210, T211, T216, T235, T236 in T376), *potrepalnice* (T338 in T339), *trepulje* (T029–T031), *trepavice* (T407, T408, T410–T412), *trepetalke* (T023), *trepenjice* (T069), *potrepanjke* (T333), *potrepanice* (T334) in *potrepali* (T339).<sup>4</sup> Drugo najpogosteje poimenovanje za pomen 'trepalnice' je *obrvi*. Nekajkrat je zapisana različi-

ca *brvi* (T188, T204, T257 in T260), dvakrat besedna zveza (*ta spodnje obrvi* (T148 in T158), enkratno pa *podobrvi* (T079), *podbrvi* (T153) in *obrvki* (T087) ter *obrvi ta male* (T074) in *obrvi od oči* (T058). Zemljepisno razpršeno je isti pomen izražen s poimenovanjem veke (T048, T055, T129, T158, T165, T172, T311, T316, T327, T357, T360 in T362). Sledijo še poimenovanja: *vejice* (T009, T113, T150, T152, T204, T244, T245, T263 in T264) z enkratno obliko *vejčice* (T136), v primorski narečni skupini *čilje* (T063, T082, T087, T118, T123 in T127) z enkratno tvorjenko *sopračilje* (T105), *mige* (T292, T246–T351 in T409) z enkratno izpeljanko *migalice* (T184), *moštace* (T057), *vehe* (T117 in T286), *lid* (T001–T003), *lasje* (T018), *lasje na očeh* (T124), *bimpar(ji)* (T020), *augenbimpar(ji)* (T023), *gubice* (T024), *dlake* (T035), *perle od očov* (T060), *tipalnice* (T163), *moškalice* (T168), *čumige* (T307), *lopatnice* in *podočnjaki* (T311). V panonskem načrtem prostoru prevladujeta poimenovanji *zeNice<sup>5</sup>* in *ozeNice*.<sup>6</sup>

#### Pomen 'obrvi' (SLA V065)

Za pomen 'dlake nad očesno jamico v obliki loka' tj. 'obrvi', je v vseh narečnih skupinah, razen v panonski, najpogosteje rabljeno poimenovanje *obrvi*, dvakrat je zapisana izpeljanka *obrvki* (T087 in T339), po enkrat *obrvce* (T290), *obrvnice* (T408), *sopraobrvi* (T074), *obrvi tam nad okom* in *obrvi tam nad uhom* kot dvojnici v isti točki (T059), *obrvi ta velike* (T074) in *ta zgornje obrvi* (T158). Zemljepisno razpršeno se pojavlja še oblika *brvi* (T034, T204, T210, T213, T216, T256, T257, T259, T260, T264, T276 in T338).

V zahodnih slovenskih narečjih je zapisana romanska izposojenka *sopračilje* (T087, T105, T118, T121, T137), v eni točki (T087) kot dvojnica *čilje*, v štirih točkah točkah terskega narečja *čolje* (T060–T063), v eni točki (T362) je zapisan leksem veke, v panonskih narečjih pa tako kot za pomen 'trepalnice' prevladujeta poimenovanji *ozeNice* in *zeNice*.

- 1 Prispevek je napisan v vnašальнem sistemu ZRCOLA, ki ga je na ZRC SAZU razvil dr. Peter Weiss. Pri kartografinju je bil uporabljen seznam simbolov SIMBOLA, ki jih je prav zato zasnoval dr. Peter Weiss.
- 2 Gradivo, karti in komentarja za pomena 'obrvi' in 'trepalnice' so objavljeni v: Slovenski lingvistični atlas. 1, Človek (telo, bolezni, družina) 1 Karte (2011, 63, 65), 2 Komentarji (2011, 72, 74). Do leta 2008 objavljeni članki s kartami za SLA so dostopni v spletni publikaciji Ponovne objave člankov s kartami za Slovenski lingvistični atlas (do leta 2008) (Weiss, Škofic, Kenda-Jež, 2009).
- 3 V publikaciji so objavljeni tudi vsi podatki o osnovni karti slovenskih narečij, mreži krajev (po številkah in abecedi), vprašalnica SLA (po številkah in abecedi), seznam zapisovalcev, seznam po letnicah objav ter seznam kart (po avtorjih, številkah vprašanj ter abecednem redu vprašanj).
- 4 Za posamezne kraje (točke – T), iz katerih imamo zapise za SLA, navajam le njihovo zaporedno številko, zato naj za boljšo orientacijo bralcu, v katero narečno skupino omenjeni kraj spada, navedem naslednje podatke:  
T001–T055 koroška narečna skupina, T056–T157 primorska narečna skupina, T158–187 rovtarska narečna skupina, T188–T227 gorenjska narečna skupina, T228–T296 dolenska narečna skupina, T297–T362 štajerska narečna skupina in T363–T405 panonska narečna skupina. Za T406 Ženavci/Jennersdorf (Avstrija, na meji z Mardžarsko) zapisa nismo uspeli pridobiti, saj tam Slovenci ne živijo več, T407–T413 so (slovenske) točke na Hrvaškem.
- 5 Raba velike tiskane črke označuje, da je v nekaterih govorih prišlo do glasovne spremembe (v tem primeru *-n-* > *-m-*).
- 6 VT378 je zapisovalka zabeležila, da se je v času zapisa (leta 2005) v pomenu 'trepalnice' uporabljalo poimenovanje 'zenice', iz knjižnega jezika prevzeto poimenovanje 'trepalnice pa se je uporabljalo le v pomenu 'umetne trepalnice'.

## TIPOLOGIJA POIMENOVANJ GLEDE NA POMEN IN NJIHOV IZVOR

Poimenovanja za obravnavana pomena so v gradivu za SLA tipološka različna. Največji del tvorilo denotativna poimenovanja,<sup>7</sup> ki so izvorno lahko slovenska ali neslovenska. Ostala poimenovanja tvorijo skupino t.i. pomenskih prenosov.

### Denotativna poimenovanja za pomena 'obrvi' in 'trepalnice'

#### Denotativna poimenovanja slovanskega izvora

Za pomen 'trepalnice' spadajo v to skupino poimenovanje *trepalnice* ter druga poimenovanja s korenom *-trep-*,<sup>8</sup> poimenovanje *mige*<sup>9</sup> z izpeljanko *migalice*, poimenovanje *obrvi*, vendar samo v T074,<sup>10</sup> poimenovanji *podobrvi* in *podbrvi* ter besedne zveze *ta spodnje obrvi*,<sup>11</sup> *obrvi ta male*<sup>12</sup> in *obrvi od oči*,<sup>13</sup> za pomen 'obrvi' pa poimenovanji *obrvi*<sup>14</sup> in *brvi*, tvorjenke *obrvki*, *obrv(n)ice* in *sopraobrvi* ter besedne zveze *ta zgornje obrvi*, *obrvi ta velike* ter *obrvi tam nad uhom* in *obrvi tam nad okom*.

#### Denotativna poimenovanja neslovanskega izvora

Za pomen 'trepalnice' spadata v to skupino poimenovanji *bimpar(j)i* in *augenbimpar(j)i*,<sup>15</sup> za pomen 'obrvi' pa *sopračilje*<sup>16</sup> in *augenbrauen*.<sup>17</sup>

## Poimenovanja po pomenskem prenosu

Med poimenovanji za pomena 'trepalnice' in 'obrvi', ki temeljijo na pomenskem prenosu, so v gradivu za SLA zapisana metaforična in metonimična poimenovanja.<sup>18</sup> Tretjo skupino prenesenih poimenovanj, zapisanih v gradivu za SLA, tvorijo sinekdohična poimenovanja, npr. *grlo* 'vrat', *smrkelj* 'nahod', *šoba* 'usta', *peta* 'stopalo' ipd., vendar teh pri obravnavanih pomenih ni zapisanih.

### Metaforična poimenovanja za pomena 'trepalnice' in/ali 'obrvi'

Metaforični prenos je odnos med osnovnim in metaforičnim pomenom, ki ju povezuje enaka lastnost ali, največkrat, več lastnosti (Warren, 2002, 122), kar pomeni, da izbira metaforičnega izraza izhaja iz podobnih ali enakih lastnosti primerjanih entitet. Metaforični pomenski prenos tako temelji na podobnosti med primerjanima entitetama. Pri pomenu 'trepalnice' je nesporno podobnost primerjanih entitet opaziti pri poimenovanjih *vejice*<sup>19</sup> in *vejčice*, *lasje*<sup>20</sup> in *lasje na očeh*, *tipalnice*,<sup>21</sup> *gubice*<sup>22</sup> ter prevzetem poimenovanju *moštace*,<sup>23</sup> manj jasna pa je podobnost primerjanih entitet pri poimenovanjih *čumige*,<sup>24</sup> *moškalice*,<sup>25</sup> *vehe*,<sup>26</sup> *lopatnice*<sup>27</sup> in *perle od očov*,<sup>28</sup> ki so zapisana kot enkratnice.<sup>29</sup> Pri pomenu 'obrvi' tovrstnih poimenovanj ni zapisanih.

7 Z besedno zvezo denotativno poimenovanje ali denotat mislim na neposredni pomen ali niz pomenov določenega poimenovanja.

8 Poimenovanja s korenom *trep-* so izpeljana iz iz psl. glagola \**trepāti* 'narahlo udarjati, plahutati, kriliti, tresti' (povzeto po: Snoj, 2003, 780). Slovenskemu leksemu trepalnica je soroden hrv., srbs. *trepavica* 'trepalnica', ki se v gradivu za SLA pojavlja v krajih na hrvaški meji (tj. v T407, T408, T410–T12).

9 Nar. sln. *miga* ← psl. \**migāti* 'mežikati, utripati, tj. migati z vekam' (Snoj, 2003, 400). Gl. tudi Skok (1988, 419): *miga* ž (Hrvatsko zagorje) 'trepavica'.

10 Pomen 'obrvi' je v tej točki (T074) izražen s poimenovanjem *sopraobrvi*.

11 Poimenovanje je v pomenu 'trepalnice' denotativno glede na to, da je pomen 'obrvi' v T148 izražen s poimenovanjem *obrvi*, v T158 pa s poimenovanjemta *zgornje obrvi* in *obrvi*.

12 Pomen 'obrvi' je v isti točki (T074) izražen z besedno zvezo *obrvi ta velike*.

13 Pomen 'obrvi' je v isti točki (T058) izražen z leksemom *obrvi*.

14 Obliki *obrvi* in *brv* sta nastali iz psl. \**brý*, rod. \**brvě* 'obrvi', pri čemer vsebuje različica \**obrý* verjetno predpono o- 'pri' (povzeto po Snoj, 2003, 460).

15 Poimenovanje *augenbimpar* (← knj. nem. *Augenwimper* 'trepalnica') je zapisano v Radišah/Radsberg na Koroškem (T023), poimenovanje *bimpar* pa v rožanski vasi Žihpolje/Maria Rein.

16 Nar. slov. poimenovanje *sopračilja* (← knj. it. *sopracciglio* ed. 'obrvi', *sopracciglia* mn.) je zapisano v petih točkah na Primorskem.

17 Poimenovanje *augenbraue* (← knj. nem. *Augenbraue* 'obrvi') je zapisano v koroški severnopohorsko-remšniški točki (T049) Radvanje - Pernice, in sicer kot drugo poimenovanje, zapisano le v Radvanju (na avstrijski strani, Pernice so na slovenski strani). V dveh zapisih je sicer kot prvo poimenovanje zapisano obrvi, zato gre morda za citatno nemško besedo.

18 Več o pomenskih prenesenih poimenovanjih v gradivu za SLA glej v Zuljan Kumar (2010).

19 Sln. *veja* < psl. \**veja* 'veja' (Snoj, 2003, 811).

20 Sln. *las* < psl. \**vôls* 'las, kocina' (Snoj, 2003, 345). Uvrstitev poimenovanj *lasje* in *lasje na očeh* med metaforična je pogojna, saj je psl. \**vôls* menilo tudi kocino, torej je to lahko tudi denotativno poimenovanje, sploh v besedni zvezi *lasje na očeh*.

21 Sln. *tipalnica* < psl. \**tipati*, kar etimološko ni pojasnjeno; beseda morda temelji na onomatopeji \*tip, ki posnema zvoke, nastale pri rahilih udarcih (Snoj, 2003, 765).

22 Sln. *guba* < psl. \**gubā* je tvorba iz ide. korenja \**g(h)eubh-* 'upogibati, kriviti' (Snoj, 2003, 195).

23 Nar. sln. *moštace* < furl. *mostače* ž ed., *mostačhis* mn. 'brki'.

24 Nejasno, morda v zvezi s poimenovanjem *mige*.

25 Nejasno, morda v zvezi s poimenovanjem *moštace*.

26 Nejasno. Za sln. *veha* Snoj (2003, 810) navaja dva pomena: 1. 'lesen zamašek za sode' in 2. 'odprtina na vrhu soda'. Če je 1. pomen prvotnejši, je beseda izpeljana iz *véhati* 'pihat', če pa je prvotnejši 2. pomen, je beseda enaka npr. s češ. *věcha* 'šop slame' in polj. *wiecha* 'metlica'.

27 Sln. *lopata* < psl. \**lopāta* < psl. \**lopъ* 'list, nekaj ploščatega'; prvotni pomen je \*opremljena z listom, s ploščatim delom (za zajemanje) (Snoj, 2003, 364).

28 Ter. slov. *perla* ← knj. it. *perla* 'biser'. Morda se poimenovanje nanaša na zenico v pomenu 'zenica kot biser očesa'. Če je tako, potem je to hkrati metonimično in metaforično poimenovanje. Na karti smo ga uvrstili med metaforična poimenovanja.

29 Uvrstitev med metaforična poimenovanja je zaradi nejasnosti izvora in njihove enkratne pojavitve vprašljiva.

### **Metonimična poimenovanja za pomena 'trepalnice' in/ali 'obrvi'**

Kar povezuje osnovni in metonimični pomen, je vzročni, prostorski, časovni ipd. odnos (Warren, 2002, 122). Metonimični pomenski prenos torej temelji na obstoječi povezavi med sosedskima denotatom (Birih v Snoj, 2006, 76). Metonimična poimenovanja, zapisana za pomena 'trepalnice' in/ali 'obrvi', temelijo na lokalni, tj. prostorski bližini med sosedskima denotatom, kar pomeni, da so trepalnice, obrvi in veke denotati/denotativna poimenovanja, ki označujejo prostorsko bližnje entitete. Takó poimenovanje *obrvi* v več točkah pokriva tudi pomen 'trepalnice', poimenovanja veke, *zeNice* in *ozeNice*<sup>30</sup> pa se uporabljajo v pomenu 'trepalnice' in/ali 'obrvi'.

Prav tako se prevzeto poimenovanje *čilje*<sup>31</sup> uporablja tudi v pomenu 'obrvi'. Morebiti sem spada tudi poimenovanje *čolje* (fonetično zapisano kot *čo'je*), zapisano v treh točkah terskega narečja v pomenu 'obrvi', katerega izvor sicer ni jasen, vendar morda izhaja iz it. mn. oblike *ciglia* 'trepalnice', čeprav je vprašljiv korenski *-o-* za it. *-i-*. V enem od ali v obeh pomenih se rabi še prevzeto poimenovanje *lid*<sup>32</sup> v enem primeru je v pomenu 'trepalnice' zapisano poimenovanje *podočnaki*.<sup>33</sup>

S stališča pomenskega razmerja med pojmomoma obrvi in trepalnice je potrebno izpostaviti tipološko zanimiva poimenovanja, ki temeljijo (predvsem) na njunem prostorskem odnosu. Tovrstnih poimenovanj je v zbranem gradivu več vrst:

a) predložne zveze, ki temeljijo na nasprotjih zgornji : spodnji (*ta zgornje obrvi 'obrvi' : ta spodnje obrvi 'trepalnice'* v T158) ter majhen : velik (*obrvi ta male 'trepalnice' : obrvi ta velike 'obrvi'* v T074),

b) tvorjenke s predpono *pod-* (*podočrvi 'trepalnice' : obrvi 'obrvi'* v T079, *podbrvi 'trepalnice' : obrvi 'obrvi'* v T153) oziroma *sopra-* (*sopraobrvi 'obrvi' : obrvi 'trepalnice'* v T074), na tvorbo katerih je vplivala (tudi) romanska soseščina,<sup>34</sup> in tvorjenke z *-o-*, ki je pri poimenovanjih

*obrvi* in *ozenice* verjetno predpona s pomenom 'pri, ob' nastala z asimilacijo iz *ob-*.<sup>35</sup>

c) predložna zveza z ojačalnimi krajevnimi prislovom *tam*, značilna za zahodne slovenske govore (*obrvi tam nad okom* in *obrvi tam nad uhom 'obrvi'* v T059),

č) besedna zveza s predložno zvezo (*obrvi od oči 'trepalnice' : obrvi 'obrvi'* v T058, *perle od očov 'trepalnice' : čolje 'obrvi'* v T060).

Za primerjavo nas v nadaljevanju prispevka zanima, kakšna je tipologija poimenovanj za pomena 'obrvi' in 'trepalnice' v zapisih za kraje s slovensko govorečim prebivalstvom v ALI in ASLEF.

### **POIMENOVANJA ZA POMENA 'OBRVI' IN 'TREPALNICE' V KRAJIH S SLOVENSKIM PREBIVALSTVOM V ALI**

Iz zapisov za ALI nas zanima gradivo, zbrano v naslednjih točkah: Bila/Resia, Bardo/Lusevera, Lož/Lonzano, Sovodnja/Savogna, Tolmin, Gorica, Idrija, Martinščina/San Martino, Komen, Postojna, Trst, Divača, Ilirska Bistrica, Koper (Semedela) in Piran. Pri točkah, ki so tudi točke SLA, bomo primerjalno podali še gradivo iz tega vira.

Poimenovanja za pomena 'obrvi', 'trepalnice' in 'veke' so v ALI prikazana na Karti 21, in sicer z naslednjim uvodnim besedilom: »Gradivo izhaja iz gesel 145 in 147, po katerih se je spraševalo s primeri (III. 27 in 28) ter vprašanjema: 'Kako imenujete te dlake? Kako imenujete te dlake na očesni koži?', pri čemer sta vprašanji postavljeni tako, da se gre najprej s kazalcem čez obrv ter nato z dvema prstoma prime trepalnice levega očesa.

Na vprašanje 145 je odgovor pogosto v množini.

V seznamu se pojavlja gradivo, ki se obravnava pri geslu 146, po katerem se je spraševalo s primeri (III. 28) in vprašanjem: 'Kako imenujete to kožo, ki pokriva oko?', pri čemer se z dvema prstoma prime veko levega očesa.

Na splošno dajejo vsa gesla, podana na tej karti, ne-zanesljive in nenatančne odgovore« (ALI, Vol. 1, Carta 21).<sup>36</sup>

30 Leksem *zenica* 'pupilla', tudi 'veka', 'trepalnica' je nastal iz psl. \*zénīca oziroma \*zénīca, kar je verjetno deminutiv od zénā oziroma zéna, iz česar je tvorjeno rus. nar. zénko (s) in zenók (m) 'zenica', br. zénka 'zenica' in zénki (mn.) 'oči' ter nar. sln. ozémci 'trepalnice'. Oblika zémci je nastala z aferezo (tj. opuščanjem začetnega glasu) o- iz \*o(b)-zénci oziroma ozemice iz \*o(b)zénice (Bezlaj, 2005, 405). Obliki ozeNice in zeNice v pomenu 'obrvi' in/ali 'trepalnice' imata po gradivu za SLA v slovenskem panonskem narečnem prostoru strnjena pojavna areala: oblika zeNice se zemljepisno strnjeno rabi v pleškem in dolinskem prekmurskem narečju, medtem ko se oblika ozeNice rabi v ravenskem in goričkem prekmurskem narečju narečja. Prehod -n- v -m- v nekaterih govorih (npr. zémice v T375, 'o:uzmice v T402) je nejasen, morda je nastal iz oblike z glasovnim sklopom -nc-, pri katerem je prišlo do fonetičnega sovpada z -mc- (T402).

31 Nar. sln. čilja ← knj. it. *ciglia* mn. 'trepalnice', *ciglio* ed.

32 Zilj. slov. *lid* ← knj. nem. *Lid* 'veka'.

33 Sln. *podočnjak* ← sln. *podočen* ← psl. \*podb 'pod' + psl. \*oko 'oko' (Snoj, 2003, 533).

34 Prim. it. *sopracciglia* (mn.), ki v dobesednem prevodu pomeni 'nad trepalnicami'.

35 Podobno kot npr. *osorej* iz *obsorej* (Snoj, 2003, 454).

36 »I materiali provengono dalle vv. 145 e 147, richieste con l'ausilio di illustrazioni (III. 27 e 28) e delle domande: 'Come dite questi peli? e Come dite questi peli sulla pelle dell'occhio?', poste, la prima, passando con l'indice sopra un sopracciglio, la seconda prendendo con due dita le ciglia dell'occhio sinistro.

Alla v. 145 si risponde spesso con il plurale.

In elenco figurano i materiali tratti dalla v. 146, richiesta con l'ausilio di illustrazione (III. 28) e della domanda: 'Come dite questa pelle che copre l'occhio?', posta prendendo con due dita la palpebra dell'occhio sinistro.

In genere, tutte le voci di questa carta danno risposte poco sicure e poco precise.« (ALI, Vol. 1, Carta 21)

Kot lahko vidimo že iz uvoda h karti, se je tudi Ugo Pellis kot glavni zbiralec gradiva za ALI,<sup>37</sup> soočal s podobnimi problemi, kot tisti, ki pripravljamo SLA: odgovori niso vedno zanesljivi, ampak so posebej pri entitetah, ki so si pomensko blizu, kot to velja za trepalnice, obrvi in veke, pomensko nenatančni oziroma prekrivni. To potrjujejo tudi zapisi: kar šest od petnajstih zapisov za pomen 'obrvi' je narečnih različic furl. leksema céi 'trepalnica' (mn. céis), leksem *paliere*<sup>38</sup> (T360) pa je zapisan v pomenu 'trepalnici'.<sup>39</sup>

Primerjava med zapisi za ALI in SLA pa nam pokaže tudi nekaj razlik. V Bili je za pomen 'obrvi' Pellis zapisal

besedno zvezo s furlansko izposojenko v jedru (*lače*) in desnim prilastkom, ki ga sestavlja predložna zveza z imenovalniško obliko samostalnika (*ta nad oko*),<sup>40</sup> medtem ko podajata oba zapisa iz SLA slovenski izraz (*obrve*). Prav tako je v isti točki za pomen 'trepalnice' v ALI naveden izposojen furlanski izraz (*čeje*), medtem ko je v SLA naveden slovenski izraz (*obrve*). Za Idrijo ALI za pomen 'obrvi' navaja tudi prevzeti leksem *sopračiljo*, medtem ko ga SLA ne navaja. Za pomen 'obrvi' ALI za Trst navaja furlanski izraz *čeje*,<sup>41</sup> medtem ko SLA navaja italijanski *sopračilje* in slovenski *obrve*.

Številka in ime kraja zapisa	ALI: 'obrvi'	SLA: 'obrvi'	ALI: 'trepalnice'	SLA: 'trepalnice'
311 Bila/Resia	láðe <sup>42</sup> ta nad óko	ȝâbârve, ȝâbârvę	_tčée <sup>43</sup>	ȝobârve, ȝâbârve
321 Bardo/Lusevera	dan čoř, tčoř (pl.)	čořę	pérle, <sup>44</sup> tčěřd	/
332 Lož/Lonzano	li ðěřš'	— <sup>45</sup>	/	—
333 Sovodnja/Savogna	obérve	—	/	—
334 Tolmin	óbravi	—	trepálñize	—
342 Gorica/Gorizia	li ðěřs'	—	li ðěřs'	—
343 Idrija	abřvi, sopračilřo	abârwa, abarų̄	/	trepâlnice, trepâlnice
349 Martinščina/San Martino	le ðeáre	—	i péř	—
351 Komen	ob•rvi	wąbârvi	/	trepâlnicə
353 Postojna	ubřvi	—	/	—
357 Trst/Trieste	tðée, ðee	šopračilję, obðrvę	/	čil'e
358 Divača	objvì	—	věšze <sup>46</sup>	—
359 Ilirska Bistrica	qb•rvi	obârvi, o'bæ:rvi, obârvj	/	trepâlñce, trə'pa:lənce, trəpâlənca
360 Koper (Semedela)	le s'ége	—	le palpíere, pěř del óčo	—
361 Piran	le ðée	—	/	—

#### POIMENOVANJA ZA POMENA 'OBRVI' IN 'TREPALNICE' V KRAJIH S SLOVENSKIM PREBIVALSTVOM V ASLEF<sup>47</sup>

V ASLEF je gradivo za pomen 'trepalnice' prikazano pri vprašanju št. 1225, gradivo za pomen 'veke' pri vprašanju št. 1226 in gradivo za pomen 'obrvi' pri vprašanju št.

1227. Za kraje s (pretežno) slovenskim prebivalstvom je zbranega gradiva, ki ga prikazuje spodnja tabela, malo.<sup>48</sup> Potrebno je tudi poudariti, da se kot nezanesljivi in problematični kažejo zapisi za kraje, v katerih že dolgo živita dve ali več jezikovnih skupnosti, kot so Dipalja ves/Laglesie San Leopoldo, Trbiž/Tarvisio, Gorica, Trst, Bračan/

37 Ugo Pellis je bil rojen v kraju San Valentino di Fiumicello pri Ogleju leta 1882. Po diplomi iz filologije na Dunaju leta 1902 je začel poučevati na liceju v Kopru, v letih 1912–1925 je bil profesor književnosti na liceju v Trstu. Bil je med glavnimi pobudniki in ustanovitelji društva Società filologica friulana, ki mu je bil tudi prvi predsednik. Leta 1925 je začel sodelovati z Matteom Giuliom Bartolijem pri ALI. Ta dejavnost ga je zaposlovala do smrti leta 1943 v Gorici. Leta 2008 je Società filologica friulana izdala monografijo z naslovom Ugo Pellis, un fotografo in movimento z obsežno zbirko fotografij, ki jih je Pellis naredil med svojih dolgoletnim terenskim delom. Glej Perulli, 2008.

38 Za nar. it. *palpièra*, zapisano v Kopru, navaja Rosamani dva pomena 'veka' in 'trepalnica' (Rosamani, 1990, 726).

39 Vsi zapisi iz ALI in ASLEF so citatni.

40 Morda gre za napako ali ne dovolj dobro poznavanje zapisanega govora. SLA za isti pomen za sosednjo Solbico (T059) navaja predložni zvezi: *obrve ta nad uhom* in *obrve ta nad okom*. Za pomen 'trepalnice' pa ASLEF za Osojane navaja besedno zvezo *obrve od oču*.

41 Morebiti je Pellis raziskoval le med italijansko in furlansko govorečimi, vendar podatka o tem nimamo. Jezikovno situacijo v Trstu pa omenja Pellegrini v Uvodu v ASLEF, kjer navaja, da v mestu prevladuje lokalna različica beneškega narečja, o slovenskem jeziku pa dodaja le, da je za celotno manjšino v Trstu značilna visoka stopnja dvojezičnosti (Pellegrini, 1972, 23).

42 Faggin navaja furl. leksem *lačhe* tudi v pomenu 'kožica, koprena' (Faggin, 1985, 679) – Pirona tega pomena za isti leksem ne navaja –, kar se verjetno nanaša na veko. Če je tako, je poimenovanje *lačhe* metonimično poimenovanje, temelječe na prostorski bližini vek in obrvi.

43 Furl. céi ed. 'trepalnica', céis mn.

44 Prim. leksem *perle od očov* v zapisu za SLA v terski točki (T060) Breg/Pers.

45 Znak – pomeni, da kraj ni točka SLA, znak / pa, da podatka nimamo.

46 Beseda vešica je izpeljanka s pripono -ica iz veha. Poimenovanje vehe za pomen 'trepalnice' je v gradivu za SLA zapisano dvakrat (T286 in T117). T117 je vas Prešnica v Občini Hrpelje - Kozina, blizu Divače.

47 V krajih Lož/Lonzano in Bračan/Brazzano je bilo prebivalstvo že v času nastajanja furlanskega jezikovnega atlasa narodnostno mešano, tj. slovensko in furlansko.

48 Nimamo pa podatka o tem, ali poimenovanja v času zbiranja gradiva niso obstajala ali zapisovalci podatkov niso pridobili.

Brazzano in Lož/Lonzano, saj so tu zapisana praviloma le nemška, furlanska ali italijanska poimenovanja, kar pomeni, da spraševalec ali ni vprašal tudi slovensko govorečih prebivalcev<sup>49</sup> ali pa so ti na vprašanja odgovarjali v prevladujočem jeziku kraja. Tretji razlog za prevlado tujezičnih odgovorov je verjetno tudi v tem, da se

poimenovanja za pomene 'trepalnice', 'obrvi' in 'veke' v narečnih govorih v času zbiranja podatkov<sup>50</sup> niso (veliko) uporabljala, zato so bila kasneje<sup>51</sup> v govore prevzeta poimenovanja iz dominantnega jezika okolja.<sup>52</sup>

Iz sicer skromnega gradiva je vseeno mogoče razbrati, da lahko poimenovanje *obrvi* pokriva tudi pomen

Številka in ime kraja zapisa	ASLEF: 'obrvi'	SLA: 'obrvi'	ASLEF: 'trepalnice'	SLA: 'trepalnice'	ASLEF: 'veke' <sup>53</sup>
6a Dipalja ves/ <sup>54</sup> Laglesie San Leopoldo	möbe, <sup>55</sup> áugnpräun <sup>56</sup>	—	/	—	/
7a Ukve/Ugovizza	/	aþärþe	/	aþärþe	/
8 Trbiž/Tarvizio	áugnpräun	—	áugnliet <sup>57</sup>	—	vímparn <sup>58</sup>
34a Osojani/Oseacco	/	obärve, obärve	/	obärve od očū,	čée
34b Solbica/Stolvizza	/	obärve ta nad ühon, obärve tâ nad ôkön	/	obärve	/
46a Ter/Pradielis	/	—	/	—	pérle, čejs
67a Černjeja/Cergneu	/	če'je	/	če'je	/
70 Sovodnja/Savogna	obérve	—	/	—	/
88a Barnas/Vernasso	/	—	/	—	/
199 Lož/Lonzano	/	—	/	—	/
134a Bračan/Brazzano	/	—	piél dal vóli <sup>59</sup>	—	/
138 Gorica/Gorizia	šejs <sup>60</sup>	—	/	—	šejs
186a Martinščina/ San Martino del Carso	ðeáre	—	/	—	/
199 Selce/Cave di Selz	/	—	/	—	/
219 Zgonik/Sgonico	/	—	/	—	/
221 Trst/Trieste	tsée	šopračilię, obärve	péle <sup>61</sup> del óčo	čil'e	/
223a Žavlje/Zàule	/	—	/	—	/
223 Milje/Muggia	/	—	/	—	/

49 Pri terenskem delu za ASLEF so sodelovali tudi slovenski spraševalci, ki so pomagali pri zapisih v krajih s slovensko govorečim prebivalstvom in jih Pellegrini navaja v Uvodu v ASLEF (1972, 95–97, 166), vendar za zgoraj omenjene kraje podatkov o zapisovalcih ne navaja.

50 Ugo Pellis je gradivo zbiral v letih od 1925 do 1943, gradivo za ASLEF pa se je v krajih s slovenskim prebivalstvom zbiralo v 60. letih 20. stoletja.

51 Npr. v času, ko so si začele ženske barvati trepalnice in veke.

52 Veliko informatorjev ob spraševanju po poimenovanjih za telesne dele, kot so: obrvi, trepalnice, stegna, meča, dlani, pravi, da teh v preteklosti niso posebej poimenovali, imenovali so jih le s splošnimi izrazi kot: *ocí, noge, roke*. Enako velja za bolezni, kot so: tuberkuloza, mrzlica, šen. Te so poimenovali z opisi kot: *je bil bolan, ga je tresel mraz, je imel pike*.

53 SLA za pomen 'veke' nima vprašanja.

54 Gre za različico v slovenskem jeziku bolj ustaljenega poimenovanja Lipalja vas (Leopoldskirchen, San Leopoldo). To je nastalo po napačni naslonitvi prvotnega imena na svetniško ime Leopold (Ramovš; Merkù, 1969, 69). V priročniku Slovenska krajevna imena v Italiji Merkù navaja samo različico Dipalja ves (Merkù, 1999, 28).

55 Nejasno.

56 Prim. bav. nem. *Augenpräue*, knj. nem. *Augenbraue* 'obrv'.

57 Prim. knj. nem. *Augenlid* 'veka'.

58 Prim. knj. nem. *Augenwimper* 'trepalnica'.

59 Prim. furl. *pél* 'dlaka kocina'; *vóli* ed. 'oko', *voi*, mn.

60 Prim. nar. it. *sefa* U. ž 1. 'ciglio'; 2. (Pir.) 'sopraciglio'; tudi *sea* (Cap.) (Rosamani, 1990, 997).

61 Prim. it. *pelo* 'dlaka, kocina', it. *pelo del ciglio* 'trepalnica'.

'trepalnice'. Enako velja za leksema *veke* in *palpiere*, v zapisu za Trbiž/Tarvisio sta poimenovanji za pomena 'veke' in 'trepalnice' zamenjani, torej gre za metonimični pomenski prenos, temelječ na prostorski bližini dveh entitet.<sup>62</sup>

### PROBLEMATIČNOST VEČPOMENSKIH POIMENOVANJ

Kot je bilo v prispevku pokazano, večpomenskost poimenovanj lahko vzbudi pri raziskovalcu dvom, ali gre res za pomenski prenos ali pa morda za napako in/ali nenatančnost spraševalca in/ali informatorja. Največ dvoma vzbujajo metonimična poimenovanja, saj imajo ta za razliko od metaforičnih – ki temeljijo na odnosu podobnosti, in so zato lažje preverljiva –<sup>63</sup> primarno referenčno funkcijo (Lakoff, Johnson, 2003, 36; Dirven, 2002, 101) in v obravnavanih primerih nadomeščajo entitete, ki so prostorsko blizu. Raba nekaterih med obravnavanimi metonimičnimi poimenovanji ni redka, npr. raba poimenovanja *obrvi* za pomen 'trepalnice'.<sup>64</sup> Zato v takih primerih lahko govorimo o sistemskem metonimičnem pomenskem prenosu.<sup>65</sup> Tudi Lakoff in Johnson navajata, da raba metonimičnih poimenovanj – enako kot metaforičnih – v jeziku ni redka in arbitrarna in jih zato ne moremo obravnavati kot osamljene primere (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980, 37). Metonimični koncepti so v posameznih jezikih/govorih pravzaprav sistemske narave (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980, 37), saj bi jih nasprotuem primeru pripadniki znotraj jezikovne/narečne skupine sploh ne ali pa težko razumeli. Problem ostaja pri poimenovanjih, ki so v gradivu zapisana le en- ali dvakratno, kot je bil primer metonimičnega poimenovanja *podočnjaki* za pomen 'trepalnice' in metaforičnih (?) poimenovanj *gubice* in *lopatnice* za isti pomen. Pri takih poimenovanjih ne moremo govoriti o sistemskem pomenskem prenosu, saj so lahko to zelo prostorsko zamejeni<sup>66</sup> ali celo idiolektalni pojavi.<sup>67</sup> Lahko pa je zapis le posledica napake in/ali nenatančnosti zapisovalca in/ali informanta. Ali gre za redek pomenski prenos ali napako, je pri količini gradiva za SLA, ki ga obdelujemo, skorajda nemogoče preveriti. Poleg tega je, kot navaja Dirven, »sposobnost vzpostavljanja metonimičnega razmerja del človekove kognitivne/konceptu-

alne sposobnosti povezati dve entiteti tako, da lahko en pomen nadomešča drugega« (Dirven, 2002, 80). Ta kognitivna sposobnost pa se od posameznika do posameznika (lahko) razlikuje, kot se razlikuje tudi posameznikova sposobnost metonimično razmerje prepozнатi kot tako.

### ZAKLJUČEK

Čeprav večpomenskost (polisemija) kot pojav in večpomenska poimenovanja kot njegova uresničitev sprožajo nejasnosti in dvoumnost v jeziku, pa novejše raziskave v polju leksikalne semantike ugotavljajo, da pri večpomenskosti ne gre za anomalijo v jeziku, ampak za pomembno značilnost vseh naravnih jezikov (glej npr. Paulin-Béjont, 2008, 7), zato lahko nadalje sklepamo, da so tudi posamični pomenski prenos le značilnost živega jezika in govorcev, ki v vsakodnevni komunikaciji jezik, ki ga uporabljajo, tudi sostvarjajo. Sodobna leksikografija pritrjuje temu spoznanju (glej Blank, 2003, 267–294), saj večpomenskost obravnava kot zapleten večstopenjski pojav, ki sega na področje kognicije, diskurza in posebnosti ubešedovanja. Osnovni problem, s katerim se srečujejo ne samo leksikologi, ampak tudi govorci na splošno, je, da je število besed, ki jih posamezni govorec pozna, omejeno, človekova domišljija pa je neomejena (in se je ne da omejiti). Da bi premostili to neskladje, obstajata dve strategiji: prvič, določeni entiteti pripišemo leksikalizirani pomen besede in ta pomen aktualiziramo v določenem kontekstu. Če te strategije ne moremo uporabiti, ker nimamo na voljo leksikaliziranega pomena, ki bi ustrezal določeni entiteti, moramo: 1. ustvariti novo poimenovanje, 2. sprejeti poimenovanje iz drugega jezika/sistema ali 3. uporabiti pomenski prenos (Blank, 2003, 267). Vprašanje, ali gre pri navedenih problematičnih poimenovanjih za pomena 'trepalnice' in 'obrvi' dejansko za pomenski prenos ali napako zapisovalca ali/in informanta, ostaja odprto. Toda upoštevajoč ugotovitve, da so pomenski prenosи zapleten pojav, ki presega vedenje posameznega jezikoslovca (skupine jezikoslovcev, ki urejamo gradivo za SLA), interpretacijo posameznih zapisanih poimenovanj kot pomenskih prenosov ali napak prepuščamo presoji bralcev.

- 62 Da prihaja v rabi do zamenjav med pojmom obrvi in trepalnica oziroma večpomenskosti, je razvidno tudi iz gesel *obrv* in *trepalnica* v italijansko-nadiškem slovarju, v katerem avtorja navajata ustrezne izraze po posameznih nadiških vaseh. Tako za italijanski leksem *ciglio* navajata nadiške ustreznice: *obarvà* (G.), *obarvè* (St.), *obrovì* (D.), *obrùa* (Mf.) in *podobàrvà* (M.) (Rigoni, Salvino, 1999, 45), za italijanski leksem *sopracciglio* pa podobno: *obàrbo* (S.), *obàrvo* G., M., R., V.), *obrovò* (D.), *obàrba* (V.) (Rigoni, Salvino, 1999, 157).
- 63 Taka poimenovanja so lažje preverljiva, četudi so lahko redka (npr. značilna le za en kraj) ali celo individualne narave (kot idiolektalna značilnost posameznega govorca). V gradivu za SLA se kažejo kot en- ali le nekajkratnice, npr. metaforično poimenovanje *čompa*, zapisano v T072 v pomenu 'pest'; prim. obs. *čompa* v pomenu 'krompir'; *klobasa* v pomenu 'črevo' v T405.
- 64 Kot lahko vidimo na karti SLA, se poimenovanje *obrvi* 'trepalnice' rabi v več krajih rožanskega, podjunskega in rezijanskega narečja.
- 65 Apresjan tovrstno metonimijo imenuje ustaljena večpomenskost (regular polysemy), pri čemer ima ustaljenost za razločevalno lastnost (Apresjan, 1974, 16), ki pogojuje razumljivost metonimičnega prenosa, kar pomeni, da je metonimični prenos ustrezno razumljen, če je ustaljen. Barcelona celo navaja vrsto kriterijev, ki jim mora metonimični prenos ustrezati, da metonimijo lahko imenujemo ustaljena metonimija (Barcelona, 2002, 229–230). Pri metaforičnih prenosih ustaljenost ni nujni pogoj za razumljivost, saj so metaforična poimenovanja zaradi enakih lastnosti, ki jih delijo z osnovnim pomenom, lažje razumljiva.
- 66 Značilni so npr. samo za en kraj.
- 67 Apresjan tovrstne metonimične prenose imenuje trenutna večpomenskost (immediate polysemy), ki je vedno neustaljena (Apresjan, 1974, 16). O različnih vrstah metonimičnih prenosov piše tudi Dirven, ki jih ločuje glede na stopnjo ad hoc ali stalnosti/permanentnosti spremembe pomena (Dirven, 2002, 85).

**KRATICE, KRAJSKE, POSEBNI ZNAKI**

bav. nem. = bavarskonemško  
 br. = belorusko  
 Cap. = Capodistria  
 D. = Dreka  
 ed. = ednina  
 češ. = češko  
 furl. = furlansko, furlanščina  
 G. = Grmek<sup>68</sup>  
 hrv. = hrvaško  
 ide. = indoevropsko  
 it. = italijansko, italijanščina  
 knj. it. = knjižno italijansko  
 knj. nem. = knjižno nemško  
 m = moški spol  
 M. = Marsin  
 Mf. = Čarni varh (Montefosca)  
 mn. = množina  
 nar. = narečno  
 nar. it. = narečno italijansko  
 nar. sln. = narečno slovensko  
 obs. = obsoško  
 Pir. = Piran  
 polj. = poljsko  
 prim. = primerjaj  
 psl. = praslovansko  
 rod. = rodilnik  
 R. = Ronac

rus. nar. = rusko narečno  
 s = srednji spol  
 sln. = slovensko  
 srbsk. = srbsko  
 St. = Srednje  
 ter. = tersko  
 U. = Umag  
 V. = Barnas (Vernasso)  
 zilj. = ziljsko  
 ž = ženski spol

**PRILOGI**

Karta SLA V065 obrvi: Tipologija poimenovanj po pomenu

Karta SLA V066 trepalnice: Tipologija poimenovanj po pomenu

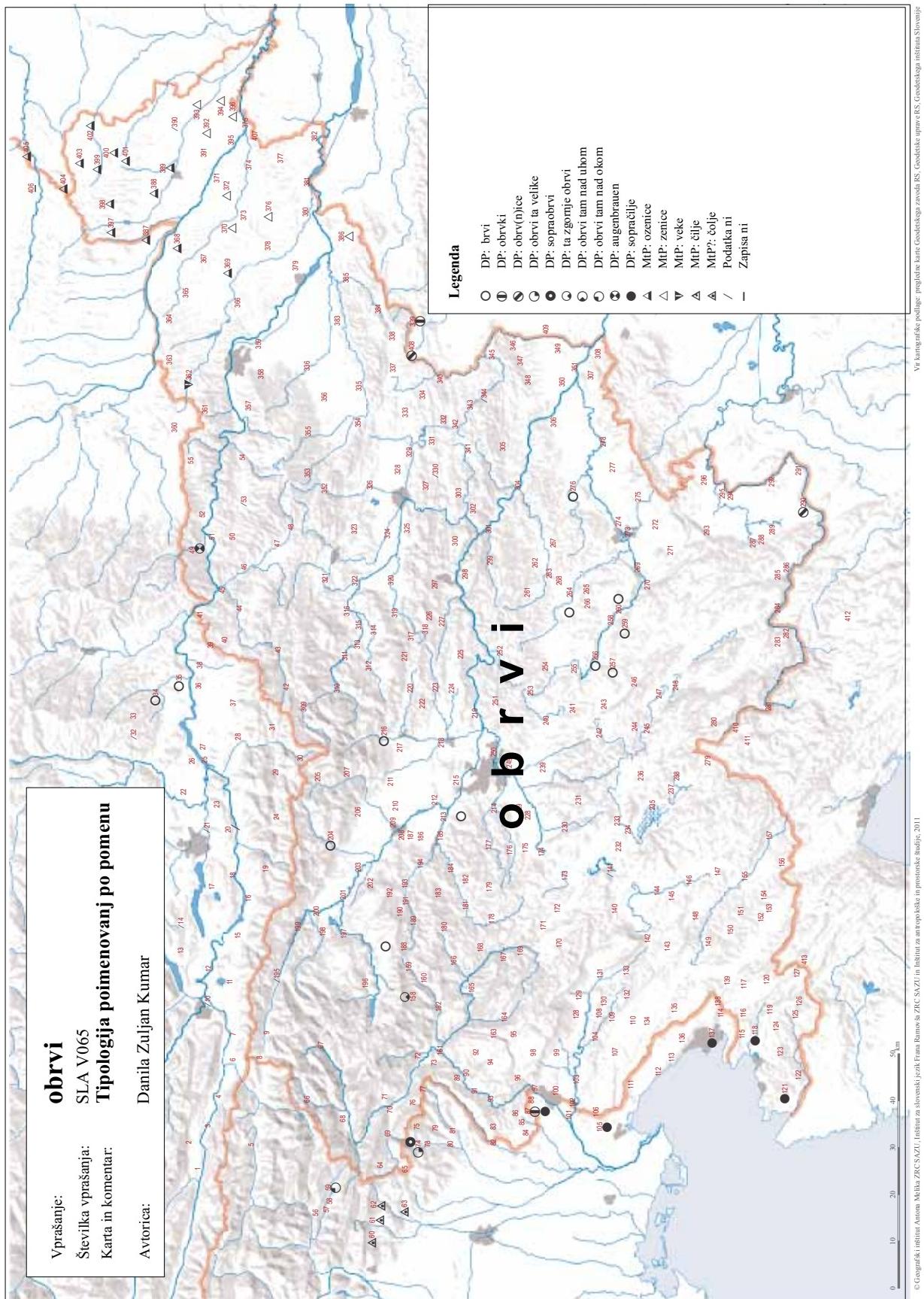
Kratice na kartah:

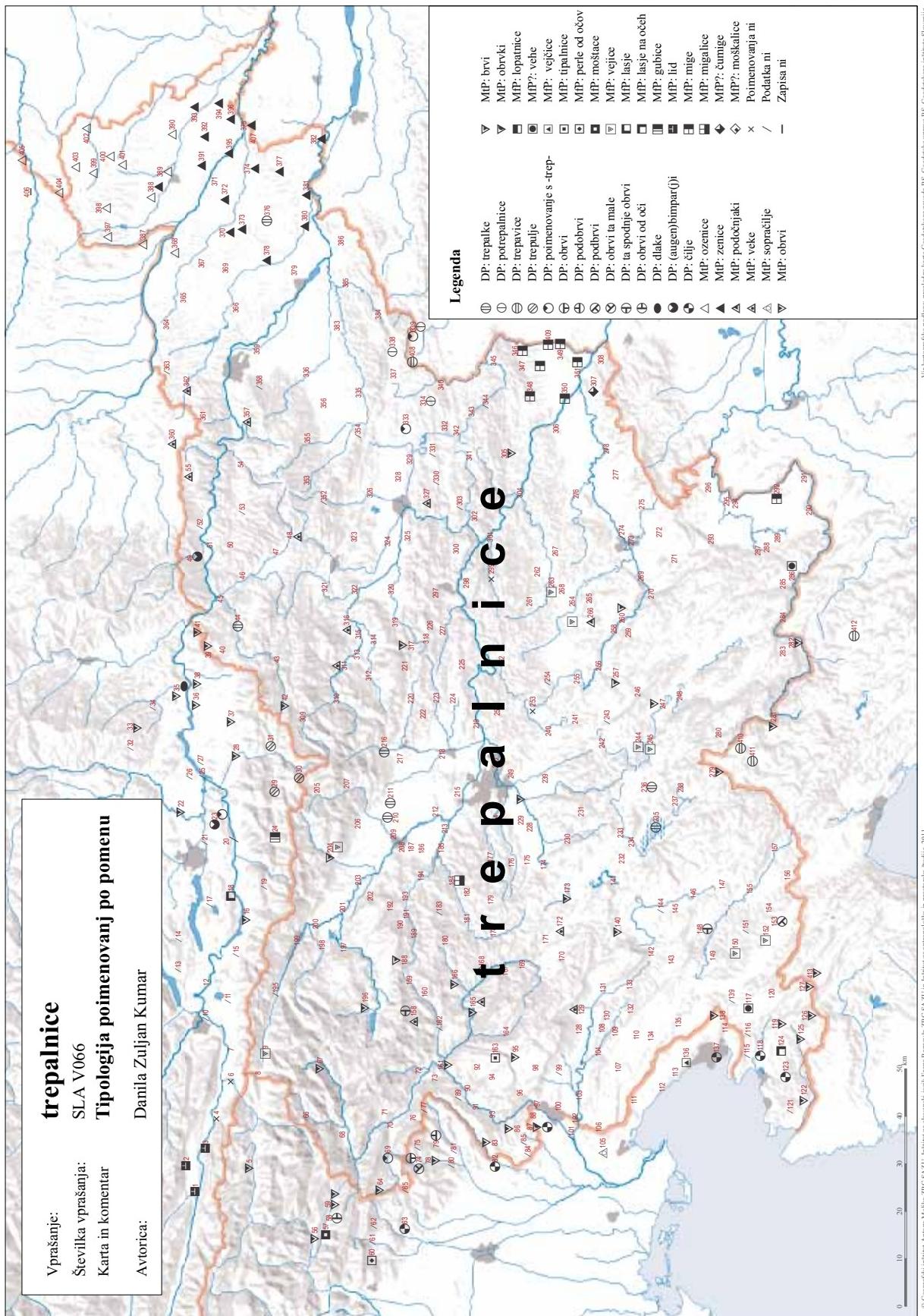
DP = denotativno poimenovanje, MfP = metaforično poimenovanje, MtP = metonimično poimenovanje

Poimenovanja, katerih izvor ni jasen, smo sicer na karti uvrstili v posamezno pomensko skupino, vendar imajo v legendi h karti dodan vprašaj (?).

Najbolj razširjeno poimenovanje za pomen 'trepalnice', to je *trepalnice*, je na karti označeno napisno (razen v primeru, ko je poleg njega v isti točki zapisano še drugo (ali tretje) poimenovanje, takrat je na karti zastopano s simboliom, t.j. s krožcem). Enako velja za poimenovanje *obrvi* v pomenu 'obrvi'.

68 V seznamu krajev na str. 13 je v delu Vocabolarietto italiano-natisoniano kratica G. sicer izpuščena, da gre za vas Grmek, lahko ugotovimo iz nekaterih opomb, v katerih avtorja navajata narečne posebnosti posameznih govorov, npr. kjer omenjata razlike v rabi leksema skâla za Srednje in Grmek (Rigoni, Salvino 1999, 139).





## POLYSEMES USED TO EXPRESS THE MEANINGS 'EYEBROWS' AND 'EYELASHES' IN SLOVENIAN DIALECTS (BASED ON MATERIALS FOR THE SLA, ALI AND ASLEF)

Danila ZULJAN KUMAR

Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Science and Arts, Fran Ramovš Institute of the Slovenian Language, Novi trg 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia  
e-mail: DZuljan@zrc-sazu.si

### SUMMARY

The article focuses on the various words and expressions used to convey the meanings of *obrvi* - 'eyebrows' and *trepalnice* - 'eyelashes' in Slovenian dialects. Typologically and based on their meaning, the words and expressions were classified into two groups. The first group comprises words and expressions that have a denotative meaning and the second group comprises words and expressions that were the result of semantic change. In the first group, the expressions *obrvi* and *brvi*, *obrvki*, *obrv(n)ice* and *sopraobrvi*, *ta zgornje obrvi*, *obrvi ta velike*, *obrvi tam nad uhom*, *obrvi tam nad okom* and *sopračilje* and *augenbraue* were used to denote 'eyebrows', while the expressions *trepalnice* and other words with the base morpheme *-trep-*, *obrvi* (only in one instance), *podobrvi* and *podbrvi* and *ta spodnje obrvi*, *obrvi ta male* in *obrvi od oči* and *bimpar(j)i* and *augenbimpar(j)i* were used to convey the meaning 'eyelashes'.

The types of semantic change involved in the formation of the words and expressions that were the result of semantic change are metaphor and metonymy. Some of the words and expressions are clearly metaphoric, such as *vejice* and *vejčice*, *mige*, and *migalice*, *lasje* and *lasje na očeh*, *tipalnice*, *gubice* and *moštace*, where the comparison with 'eyelashes' is obvious, while in some other cases the connection is less clear, such as *lopatnice*, *čumige*, *vehe* and *moškalice* and *perle od očov*. There were no similar examples recorded for the meaning of 'eyebrows'. As for metonymy, which is a semantic change based on closeness in space with the base meaning, the words and expressions *obrvi*, *veke*, *podočnjaki*, *zeNice*, *ozeNice* and *lid* were used for 'eyelashes' and *čilje*, *zeNice*, *ozeNice*, *lid* and the less obvious *čolje* were used to convey the meaning 'eyebrows'. In terms of the semantic relations between the concepts of eyebrows and eyelashes, the words and expressions that are based on their spatial relationship are particularly interesting from a typological perspective, such as *ta zgornje obrvi* 'eyebrows': *ta spodnje obrvi* 'eyelashes' and *sopraobrvi* 'eyebrows': *obrvi* 'eyelashes'.

When examining the words and expressions that were the result of semantic change and that in most cases appear as separate entities, except for the use of the lexeme *obrvi* to express the meaning of 'eyelashes', the question arises whether this is an actual case of semantic change or perhaps the result of an error committed by the contributor or the collector. Therefore, we compared the entries in the SLA with those in the ALI and the ASLEF (mainly for Slovenian towns). Data comparison showed that the words and expressions used to express the meanings discussed in this article are typologically very similar in all three atlases. These results are consistent with the latest views in lexicography, according to which semantic changes should not be considered as an anomaly, but as an important feature of all living languages and, at the same time, a complex phenomenon that cannot be fully understood by an individual person, not even a linguist (or a group of linguists editing the SLA) and for this reason, the decision to interpret each individual problematic word or expression (e.g., *gubice*, *podočnjaki* and *lopatnice* to express the meaning 'eyelash') as a case of semantic change or as an error is left to the reader.

**Key words:** Slovenian dialects, linguistic geography, the words or expressions used to convey the meanings of 'eyebrows' and 'eyelashes', *Slovenski lingvistični atlas*, *Atlante linguistico italiano*, *Atlante storico-linguistico-etnografico del Friuli-Venezia-Giulia*

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*Marjeta VRBINC*

Univerza v Ljubljani, Filozofska fakulteta, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija  
e-mail: marjeta.vrbinc@ff.uni-lj.si

*Alenka VRBINC*

Univerza v Ljubljani, Ekonomski fakulteta, Kardeljeva ploščad 17, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija  
e-mail: alenka.vrbinc@ef.uni-lj.si

### IZVLEČEK

*V prispevku obravnavamo podobnosti in razlike med frazemi v angleščini in slovenščini, ki izvirajo iz Svetega pisma in drugih literarnih del, ki sodijo v skupno evropsko kulturno in jezikovno dediščino. Gradivo, na podlagi katerega smo opravili to raziskavo, obsega 211 frazemov. Vse frazeme smo prevedli v slovenščino, nato pa smo med seboj primerjali frazeme v angleščini in njihove frazeološke in prevodne ustreznice v slovenščini, da bi ugotovili, v kakšni meri se jezika ujemata oz. razlikujeta. Posebno pozornost smo namenili leksikografskim problemom in dilemam, ki so povezani z vključevanjem (mikro- proti makrostruktura) in obravnavo (iztočnice, frazeološko gnezdo, zgledi rabe) teh zvez v eno- in še posebej v dvojezičnih slovarjih (v našem primeru v angleško-slovenskem slovarju).*

**Ključne besede:** frazemi iz Svetega pisma in literarnih virov, semantična analiza, leksikalna analiza, slovarska obravnava frazemov

## ESPRESSIONI FRASEOLOGICHE DI ORIGINE BIBLICA E LETTERARIA NELLA TRADUZIONE E NELLA LESSICOGRAFIA

### SINTESI

*Nell'articolo vengono analizzate le analogie e le differenze tra le espressioni fraseologiche in lingua inglese e in lingua slovena che hanno origine nella Bibbia e in altre opere letterarie, facenti parte della comune cultura europea e del comune patrimonio linguistico. La documentazione all'origine della ricerca si compone di 211 espressioni fraseologiche. Tradotte in sloveno, sono state confrontate tra loro le espressioni fraseologiche in inglese e il loro corrispettivo in sloveno per verificare in quale misura le lingue coincidono ovvero differiscono. Particolare attenzione è stata dedicata ai problemi e dilemmi di ordine lessicografico connessi all'inserimento (microstruttura versus macrostruttura) e alla trattazione (spunto, origine fraseologica, esempi d'uso) di queste frasi idiomatiche in dizionari monolingua e in particolare bilingue (nel nostro caso nel dizionario inglese sloveno).*

**Parole chiave:** espressioni fraseologiche della Bibbia e di fonti letterarie, analisi semantica, analisi lessicale, trattazione delle espressioni fraseologiche nei dizionari

## UVOD

V članku skušamo predstaviti podobnosti in razlike med frazemi v angleščini in slovenščini, katerih izvor je Sveti pismo in druga literarna dela, ter opozoriti na leksikografske probleme in dileme, ki so povezani z vključevanjem in obravnavo teh frazmov. Izvedena raziskava, katere rezultati so predstavljeni v tem prispevku, je sinhrona, pri konvencionalizaciji pa gre za diahroni proces; poleg tega ne gre zanemariti tudi zgodovinskih vidikov. Ko postane neologizem konvencionaliziran in se ne uporablja več v originalnem kontekstu, se razлага ali motivacija metafore lahko izgubi ali pa postane nerazumljiva. Neologizmi gredo torej skozi proces semantičnega siromašenja ali semantičnega premika (Moon, 1998, 40).

V preteklosti so bili frazemi v angleščini pod močnim vplivom skupne evropske jezikovne in kulturne dedičine; danes je ta vpliv mnogo manjši, kajti veliko močnejši postaja vpliv med posameznimi različicami angleščine, kar pomeni, da v britansko angleščino vdirajo frazemi iz ameriške angleščine. Mnogi frazemi so v preteklosti nastali s pomočjo kalkiranja, kajti jeziki so vedno vplivali drug na drugega in tudi slovenščina tu ni bila izjema. Tako je bila slovenščina v času avstro-ogrskih monarhij (od 14. stoletja do leta 1918) pod vplivom nemščine, po 1. svetovni vojni pod vplivom srbohrvaščine, po osamosvojitvi leta 1991 pa nanjo najbolj vpliva angleščina, kar je tudi v skladu s kontekstom 'jezikovnega približevanja' (Pedersen, 1992) v okviru Evropske unije. Primeri kalkov v slovenščini so: *the tip of the iceberg* – vrh ledene gore, *the carrot and (the) stick* – korenček in palica.

Za pravilno in primerno rabo frazmov morajo imeti govorci določenega jezika ustrezno znanje, na voljo pa morajo imeti tudi določene informacije. Značilno za posamezne kulture je, da so omejene na določen prostor (ki ni nujno omejen na določen jezik), zato se tudi frazemi običajno ne uporabljajo izven tega prostorsko omejenega okvira. Vseeno pa lahko nekatere frazeme uporabljamo bolj univerzalno kot druge; zlahka jih prevedemo v drug jezik, pa tudi metaforični pomen je razumljivejši. Frazemi imajo lahko svoje korenine v zgodovini jezika (Gläser, 1988, 267; Kržišnik, 2000, 68–69). Najpogostejši frazemi imajo lahko zelo globoke korenine, pojavili so se že pred več stoletji in jih najdemo v različnih jezikih. Številne lahko v druge jezike tudi prevedemo in rečemo lahko, da postajajo internacionalni. Vzporedne stalne besedne zveze torej lahko najdemo v različnih jezikih. V takih primerih govorimo o univerzalnosti določenih situacij, v katerih se lahko znajdejo ljudje, in o kulturološki specifičnosti. Bistveno je, da so situacije kulturološke stalnice ali kulturološke univerzalije; razlikujejo se samo metaforični izrazi, ki te situacije opisujejo. S kulturološkega vidika ni tako zelo pomemben uporabljeni izraz – veliko pomembnejša je situacija, za opis katere je nastal določeni frazem (Moon, 1992, 18–19).

Metafora je pomembna zaradi funkcije, ki jo ima, tj. razlaganje, pojasnjevanje, opisovanje, ocenjevanje in zabavanje (Knowles, Moon, 2006, 2–5). Uporablja se jo v govorjenem in pisnem jeziku, kajti včasih ni na voljo kakšen drug način opisovanja določene situacije. Kadar imamo možnost izbire, se odločimo za frazeološko metaforo, da z neno pomočjo posredujemo svoje mnenje ali občutke o določeni stvari; prav tako z metaforo razložimo, kakšna je določena stvar, posredujemo pomen na zanimivejši ali izvirnejši način ali pa jo uporabimo za izražanje vsega zgoraj navedenega. Za Sveti pismo in literarna dela so značilne številne izvirne besedne zveze in prav zaradi tega Sveti pismo in literarna dela pogosto povezujemo z metaforami.

## METODE

Iz literarnih del izvira ogromno frazmov, zato je gradivo, na katerem temelji ta raziskava, sestavljeno s pomočjo dveh virov: *Oxford Idioms Dictionary for Learners of English* in *A Concise Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*. Iz obeh slovarjev smo v gradivo vključili vse frazeme, pri katerih je bilo navedeno, da izvirajo iz literarnega dela. Upoštevali smo samo frazeme, ki so bili originalno uporabljeni v literarnem besedilu (proza, poezija ali drama), tudi če se po obliki sedaj malenkost razlikujejo od prvotne oblike ali pa če je oblika frazema, ki jo uporabljamo danes, precej drugačna od oblike, ki jo najdemo v literarnem delu. V gradivo niso vključeni frazemi, za katere ni mogoče točno ugotoviti, ali res izvirajo iz literarnega dela, prav tako pa tudi ne frazemi, ki izvirajo iz legend, mitov, ljudskih pripovedk ali otroških pesmic.

Gradivo za raziskavo sestavlja 211 frazmov: frazemi, ki izvirajo iz Svetega pisma (115 frazmov, kar pomeni 54,5 %), frazemi iz Shakespeareovih del (44 frazmov, kar pomeni 20,9 %) in frazemi iz drugih literarnih del (52 frazmov, kar pomeni 24,6 %).

Za vse frazeme, vključene v gradivo za raziskavo (in zapisane ležeče), smo poiskali frazeološke ali prevodne (zapisano v enojnih narekovajih) ustreznice v slovenščini, nato pa smo analizirali frazeme v angleščini in njihove ustreznice v slovenščini. Rezultati raziskave so predstavljeni v poglavju Analiza angleških frazmov, ki izvirajo iz literarnih del, in njihov prevod v slovenščino.

## VIRI FRAZMOV V GRADIVU ZA RAZISKAVO

## Sveti pismo in njegov vpliv na kulturo in jezik

Po svoji univerzalnosti se Sveti pismo verjetno ne more meriti z nobeno drugo duhovno stvaritvijo človeka. Sveti pismo dejansko lahko beremo na različnih nivojih: kot versko knjigo, etični standard za življenje, zgodovino judovstva in krščanstva, filozofsko tradicijo in kot literarno umetnino; zaradi vsega tega 'knjiga vseh knjig' ohranja neuničljivo živahnost in moč, s katerima

kljubuje tisočletjem (Bernik, 1998, 47). Univerzalne spodobe, frazemi in motivi, kot so Bog in ljudje, konflikt med dobrom in zlim, ljubezen, ljubosumnost in človekov boj za svobodo, resnico in pravico, so univerzalne teme, ki so prodrle v besedišče, vsakdanji govor in v vse vidike kulture narodov v skoraj vseh državah sveta (Krašovec, 1998, 52).

Skoraj tako pomembni kot Sveti pismo samo so tudi prevodi Svetega pisma v različne jezike. Ti prevodi so pogosto karakterizirali cela obdobja in tvorili temelje za razvoj nacionalne literature. To velja tako za Luthrov prevod Svetega pisma v nemščino kot za angleško *Verzijo kralja Jakoba* (King James Version) ali za Dalmatinov prevod v slovenščino (Drnovšek, 1998, 42). 'Avtorizirana' verzija ali *Verzija kralja Jakoba* iz leta 1611 je postala najvplivnejše delo angleške proze (Sanders, 2000, 192–193). Zelo hitro je ta verzija izpodrinila vse prejšnje prevode, ljudje so jo visoko cenili, se jo učili na pamet in jo citirali, njen vpliv pa se je hitro razširil po vsem angleško govorečem krščanskem svetu. Podobno velja tudi za slovenščino, saj so svetopisemska tematika, svetopisemski slog in jezik očitna značilnost slovenske književnosti (Bernik, 1998, 47). Kot zanimivost naj omenimo, da je Dalmatinov prevod Svetega pisma ostal v rabi tudi po koncu protestantizma na Slovenskem, kar je omogočil papež s posebnim dovoljenjem.

Vpliv Svetega pisma na evropske jezike je opazen tudi pri lastnih imenih, npr. Adam, David, Jožef, Mihael, Sara, ki nastopajo tudi v frazemih, npr. *as old as Methuselah* (v slovenščini: star kot Metuzalem), *the wisdom of Solomon* (v slovenščini: Salomonova modrost). Prav tako so pomembne besede in številni frazemi, ki so tipično svetopisemski, npr. *scapegoat* (v slovenščini: grešni kozel), *the garden of Eden* (v slovenščini: raj), *a forbidden fruit* (v slovenščini: prepovedani sad), *an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth* (v slovenščini: oko za oko, zob za zob) (Krašovec, 1998, 52–53).

V slovenščini in po vsej verjetnosti tudi v angleščini in drugih jezikih so se biblične stalne zveze oblikovale na naslednje načine (povzeto po Kržišnik, 2000, 70–71):

a) Besedna zveza se je osamosvojila v dobesedni obliki (npr. *prah si in v prah se povrneš, dati cesarju kar je cesarjevega, in bogu, kar je božjega*).

b) Besedna zveza se je osamosvojila v nekoliko spremenjeni obliki:

- sprememba glede na to, kaj je v jeziku običajnejše: *blagor ubogim na duhu* (namesto 'blagor ubogim v duhu');

- večja ali manjša sprememba leksikalne zapolnitve: *biti trn v peti* (namesto 'biti trn v očesu');

- sprememba besednega reda: *dežela, kjer se cedi(ta) med in mleko* (namesto 'dežela, kjer se cedi(ta) mleko in med');

- krajšanje: (*kaj*) *iti skozi šivankino uho* (iz »Laže gre kamela skozi šivankino uho kakor bogatin v nebeško kraljestvo«).

c) Besedna zveza je bila sprejeta kot ljudska modrost, npr. »Poglejte ptice pod nebom! Ne se jejo in ne žanjejo...«, ki lahko osamosvojena tvori mnoge variante, npr. *kar se ješ, žanješ, kdor zgodaj seje, zgodaj žanje, kdor seje, ta žanje*.

d) Besedna zveza se je oblikovala na podlagi biblične zgodbe ali kakega dogodka v njej (*izgubljeni sin, ločiti Iuljko od pšenice*).

Pri prevajanju frazmov iz Svetega pisma bi pričakovali, da bomo najustreznejšo prevodno ustreznicu dobili, če bomo primerjali Sveti pismo v angleščini in Sveti pismo v slovenščini, vendar pa zadeva ni tako preprosta. Glavni problem, povezan s prevajanjem frazmov iz Svetega pisma, je, da se frazem, ki ga prevajamo, in dejanska formulacija v Svetem pismu ne ujemata vedno popolnoma. To še posebej velja za t. i. *Sodobno angleško verzijo* (Contemporary English Version) Svetega pisma iz leta 1999; edina rešitev v takem primeru je, da si pomagamo z različnimi verzijami Svetega pisma, v katerih preverjamo, ali bomo v njih našli frazem v obliki, v kateri ga imamo zapisanega. Številne frazeme, ki jih v *Sodobni angleški verziji* ni, najdemo v *Verziji kralja Jakoba*. Zdi se, da se različni prevodi Svetega pisma v angleščino med seboj kar precej razlikujejo, hkrati pa ugotavljamo, da številni frazemi dejansko izvirajo iz starejših verzij prevoda. Če primerjamo različne prevode Svetega pisma v slovenščino, npr. *Slovenski standardni prevod* (iz leta 1997) in Dalmatinovo Biblijo (iz leta 1584), ne opazimo tako velikih razlik kot pri angleških verzijah prevoda.

### William Shakespeare in druga literarna dela

William Shakespeare je resda umrl že pred skoraj 400 leti, kljub temu pa ta največji angleški dramatik in pesnik še vedno živi, in to ne samo zaradi svojih del, ampak tudi zaradi besed, frazmov in pregovorov, ki mu jih pripisujejo in ki se v angleščini še vedno uporablja. Tako je Shakespeare uporabil besedne zveze (ki v njegovih časih seveda še niso imele statusa frazmov), kot sta *the green-eyed monster* (v slovenščini: 'ljubosumnost, ljubosumje, zavist') in *have been hoisted by their own petard* (v slovenščini: 'ujeti se v lastno zanko, kdor drugim jamo koplje, sam vanjo pade'), in ustvaril besede, kot so *marketable* (v slovenščini: 'ki se dobro trži/prodaja', 'tržljiv', 'prodajljiv'), *reword* (v slovenščini: 'preformulirati') in *misquote* (v slovenščini: 'napačno citirati') (Flavell, Flavell, 2006, 152).

Kljub velikemu vplivu Shakespearjevega jezika na angleščino je pogosto težko ugotoviti, kdaj je bila določena beseda ali besedna zveza prvič uporabljena oziroma kdo jo je dejansko skoval ali prvi uporabil. Shakespeare je pogosto uporabil zvezo, ki so jo v tistem času že uporabljali (npr. *pin someone/something on one's sleeve* – 'biti zelo navezan na koga/kaš'). In jo malenkost predelal, tako da jo danes pripisujemo njemu (npr. *to*

*wear one's heart on one's sleeve* – v slovenščini: nositi srce na dlani (Flavell, Flavell, 2006, 273).

Močan vpliv Shakespearjevega jezika na vsakdanji govor se je ohranil kljub kasnejšim spremembam v jeziku, kar je še danes opazno v govorjeni angleščini. Angleži so stoletja citirali barda, ne glede na to, ali so se tega zavedali ali ne. Kot ugotavlja Macrone (2000, xi–xii), je v angleščino iz Shakespearovih del prišlo veliko število vsakdanjih besed in zvez – številne so postale tako običajne, da jih danes uporabljamo, ne da bi pomislili, od kod pravzaprav izvirajo.

Poleg Svetega pisma in Shakespearovih del izvirajo frazemi v angleščini tudi iz drugih literarnih del, čeprav v veliko manjši meri. Tako izvira reklo *fools rush in (where angels fear to tread)* (v slovenščini: 'spopasti se s stvarmi, s katerimi se drugi ljudje nočejo ukvarjati') iz *Eseja o kritiki* Alexandra Popa (1711). *The Shape of Things to Come* (v slovenščini: 'Oblika prihajajočih stvari') H. G. Wellsa (1933) je naslov prljubljenega dela o političnih in znanstvenih špekulacijah, iz njega pa se je razvil frazem *be the shape of things to come* 'kazati, kako se bodo stvari v prihodnje razvijale'. Tudi John Milton je prispeval številne zvezze, ki jih danes najdemo v angleščini kot frazeme, npr. *trip the light fantastic* (v slovenščini: 'plesati') iz njegovega dela *L'Allegro* (1632). Danes se ta zveza uporablja kot šaljivi kliše za 'plesati', čedalje bolj pa se uporablja tudi v številnih novih sobesedilih od nogometna do atletike in politike, torej tam, kjer so za uspeh potrebeni spretni koraki (Flavell, Flavell, 2006, 296). Kljub temu da daje frazem *a knight in shining armour* (v slovenščini: 'princ na belem konju') vtis, da izvira iz srednjega veka, je nastal v 20. stoletju, prvič pa naletimo nanj v delu Victorta Channinga *Whip Hand* (1965).

Kot je razvidno iz zgoraj navedenih primerov, izvirajo v angleščini številni frazemi iz naslovov literarnih del ali pa so jih avtorji uporabili v delu samem. Poudariti je treba, da se tudi ti frazemi uporabljajo v različnih sobesedilih oz. je zanje značilna različna jezikovna zvrstnost.

#### ANALIZA ANGLEŠKIH FRAZEMOV, KI IZVIRAOV IZ LITERARNIH DEL, IN NJIHOV PREVOD V SLOVENŠČINO

Če primerjamo angleške frazeme, ki, etimološko gledano, izvirajo iz literarnih del, in njihove prevodne ustreznice v slovenščini, ugotovimo, da obstaja več različnih skupin:

1. Frazem v angleščini je primerljiv z ustreznicami v slovenščini tako semantično kot tudi glede na sestavinsko zapolnitev:

*cast pearls before swine* – metati bisere svinjam

Vir: Svetlo pismo

*like rats deserting/leaving a sinking ship* – podgane že zapuščajo ladjo

Vir: William Shakespeare

*ugly duckling* – grdi raček

Vir: Hans Christian Andersen

2. Frazem v angleščini je glede na sestavinsko zapolnitev skoraj enak ustrezni v slovenščini z manjšimi odstopanjimi v sestavinah (semantika in pragmatika frazema ostaneta nespremenjeni):

*thorn in the flesh* – trn v peti

Vir: Svetlo pismo

*kill the goose that lays the golden egg/eggs* – ubiti kokoš, ki nese zlata jajca

Vir: Ezop

*Prince Charming* – princ čigavih sanj

Vir: pravljica (Pepelka)

3. Frazem je v angleščini popolnoma drugačen od ustreznice v slovenščini. Frazemi, ki izvirajo iz literarnih del, so pogosto prevedeni dobesedno, vendar tega preveda rojeni govorec slovenščine ne bi razumel:

*gird (up) one's loins* – zavihati rokave

Prevod v Svetem pismu: opasal si je ledje

*the primrose path* – z rožicami postlano življenje, ki se slabo konča (v slovenščini je ustaljeno samo z *rožicami je postlano komu*, kar pomeni 'kdo ima dobro, lahko življenje'; 'ki se slabo konča' je že sobesedilni dodatek, ki pojasnjuje pomen angleškega frazema)

Prevod v slovenščino (Milan Jesih): po cvetoči poti v večni kres

Vir: William Shakespeare

4. Frazem v angleščini in njegova ustreznična v slovenščini se zelo razlikujeta, vendar pa dobesedni prevod v slovenščini obstaja, a je semantično različen. Frazem v angleščini in njegov dobesedni prevod v slovenščini sta primer t. i. lažnih prijateljev:

*apple of one's eye* – 'ljubljenček koga'

Dobesedni prevod: *punčica čigavega očesa* (rabljeno v zvezi *paziti na koga kot na punčico svojega očesa*, kar pomeni 'zelo')

Vir: Svetlo pismo

5. Frazem v angleščini ustreza frazemu v slovenščino, edina razlika je, da pišemo posamezne sestavine frazema v angleščini z veliko začetnico, v slovenščini pa ne (gre za razlikovanje na ortografski ravni, kar je moč pričakovati), seveda pa je tudi s skladenskega vidika zveza različna:

*Tower of Babel* – babilonski stolp

Vir: Svetlo pismo

*Day of Judgement* – sodni dan

Vir: Svetlo pismo

#### SLOVARSKA OBRAVNAVA FRAZEMOV IZ LITERARNIH DEL

Na podlagi izsledkov analize protistavnih razlik med angleškimi frazemi, ki izvirajo iz literarnih del, in njihovimi

prevodnimi ustreznicami v slovenščini je potrebno nekaj besed nameniti vključevanju teh zvez v dvojezični slovar in njihovi obravnavi v dvojezičnem slovarju.

### 1. Makro- proti mikrostruktura:

Poudariti je treba, da je večina frazmov v angleških enojezičnih slovarjih (npr. v OALD8, CALD3, MED2, ODE3) vključena v posebno frazeološko gnezdo, vendar pa je to za uporabnika slovarja, ki je s tem seznanjen, tudi zavajajoče, kajti upravičeno lahko domneva, da je to edino mesto v slovarju, kjer lahko najde frazeme. To vsekakor ne ustreza dejanskemu stanju, kajti številni frazemi se danes uporabljam tako pogosto, da sčasoma dobijo status večbesednega leksema, večbesedni leksemi pa so v sodobnih slovarjih glede na najnovejša doognanja metaleksikografije vključeni kot samostojne (večbesedne) iztočnice. Uporabniku slovarja se bo verjetno zdelo logično, da bo našel *holier-than-thou* kot samostojno iztočnico v slovarju, kajti pisanje z vezaji implcira, da se beseda danes uporablja kot pridevnik, čeprav je šlo originalno za večbesedno zvezo. Prav zaradi tega

je v slovarju obravnavana kot vse ostale enobesedne iztočnice. Obstajajo tudi zapletenejši primeri, kjer je večbesedna zveza obravnavana kot samostojno geslo, na primer *scarlet woman, Day of Judgement, holy of holies, salad days, ugly duckling, fairy godmother*. S stališča uporabnika je v prvi vrsti zelo težko ugotoviti, da dve ali več besed, na katere naleti v besedilu, spadajo skupaj. Poleg tega pa velikokrat tudi ne ve, kje v slovarju naj išče te zveze: v frazeološkem gnezdu ali kot samostojne iztočnice. To potrjujejo tudi raziskave rabe angleških enojezičnih slovarjev za tujejezične govorce, opravljene v Sloveniji (prim. Vrbinc, Vrbinc, 2004).

Frazemi, ki izvirajo iz literarnih del, so torej v slovarje vključeni v okvir frazeološkega gnezda in/ali kot samostojne iztočnice, nekatere frazeme pa najdemo tudi kot zgled rabe, iz katerih je razvidno, kako se iztočnica uporablja v sobesedilu (prim. zgled rabe *be the root of all evil* v geselskem članku samostalnika *root*, 3. pomen, zgled rabe v geselskem članku glagola *sin* in zgled rabe v geselskem članku pridevnika *sad*, 1. pomen):

<b>root</b> (sam.) 1. korenina: <i>pull the plant by the roots</i> izpuliti rastlino s korenino vred 2. (anat.) koren, korenina 3. glavni razlog/vzrok: <i>be/lie at the root of sth</i> biti vzrok česa • <i>be the root of all evil</i> biti vir vsega zla • <i>get to the root of the problem</i> priti težavi do dna • <i>root cause</i> glavni vzrok 4. (jez., mat.) koren 5. (glas.) osnovni ton <b>FRAZEMI have a (good) root round</b> (brit., pog.) premetati kaj; <b>put down roots</b> pognati korenine, zakoreniniti (se); <b>root and branch</b> temeljito, popolnoma: <b>root and branch reforms</b> temeljite reforme; <b>take root</b> pognati/poganjati korenine	<b>sin</b> (gl.) grešiti, pregrešiti se: <i>be more sinned against than sinning</i> kdo je bolj žrtev kot krivec	<b>sad</b> (prid.) 1. žalosten: <i>The divorce left him sadder and/but wiser</i> . Ločitev je bila zanj grenka izkušnja, iz katere se je marsikaj naučil. 2. (pog.) dolgočasen <b>FRAZEMI sad to say</b> na žalost
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Opazimo lahko, da se tu nakazuje problem ločevanja frazema in kolokacije. Pričakovali bi, da je to razlikovanje razloženo v obslovarske besedilih, vendar pa je situacija popolnoma drugačna. V vseh izdajah angleških enojezičnih slovarjev za tujejezične govorce, ki so izšle v zadnjih 15 letih, so obslovarska besedila zreducirana na minimum, pravzaprav je ostal samo še grafični prikaz geselskih člankov s kratkim pojasnilom strukture geselskega članka. V angleških enojezičnih slovarjih za rojene govorce so obslovarska besedila sicer ohranjena, vendar so tudi ta manj podrobna kot v prejšnjih izdajah. Tako frazeologiji tudi v teh slovarjih ne namenajo posebne pozornosti.

2. Dobesedni prevod proti kontekstualno pogojeni prevod:

#### a) Sveti pismo:

Upoštevajoč semantiko frazmov, ki izvirajo iz Svetega pisma, je potrebno poudariti, da dobosednega prevoda, ki ga najdemo v *Slovenskem standardnem prevodu* (1997), ne moremo uporabiti kot prevodno

ustreznico številnih bibličnih frazmov. Poudariti je treba, da se v obeh primerjanih jezikih niso frazeologizirala ista citatna mesta, prav tako pa imajo lahko isti izcitatni frazemi v različnih jezikih različen status (v jeziku sploh ali samo kateri od zvrsti). Kot primer lahko navedemo angleški frazem *turn/beat swords into ploughshares*. Če pogledamo, kako je ta frazem ubeseden v *Sodobni angleški verziji* (1. stolpec v spodnjem primeru; posamezne dele citiranih odlomkov podčrtali avtorici prispevka), vidimo, da ne ustreza različici, ki se uporablja v sodobni angleščini. Po drugi strani pa najdemo frazem v tej obliki v *Verziji kralja Jakoba* (2. stolpec v spodnjem primeru). V slovenščini najdemo dobosedni prevod samo v Svetem pismu (*prekovati svoje meče v lemeže*; prim. odlomke iz Svetega pisma spodaj), vendar zvezne večina rojenih govorcev slovenščine ne razume (predvsem zaradi nepoznavanja pomena besede 'lemež') in je tudi ne uporablja. Zaradi tega mora sestavljač slovarja v takem primeru uporabiti neidiomatski prevod, ki pa je semantično ustrezен: npr. 'prenehati se bojevati in se lotiti miroljubnih dejavnosti'.

1.	Izajja 2, 4	
	He will settle arguments between nations. <u>They will pound their swords and their spears into rakes and shovels;</u> they will never make war or attack one another.	And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and <u>they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks:</u> nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.
	Razsojal bo med narodi, dokazoval številnim ljudstvom. <u>Svoje meče bodo prekovali v lemeže in svoje sulice v srpe.</u> Narod ne bo več vzdignil meča proti narodu, ne bodo se več učili vojskovanja.	
2.	Joel 3,10	
	<u>Make swords out of plows and spears out of garden tools.</u> Strengthen every weakling.	<u>Beat your plowshares into swords, and your pruninghooks into spears:</u> let the weak say, I am strong.
	Joel 4, 10 Svoje lemeže prekujte v meče in svoje srpe v kopja; kdor je šibak, naj reče: »Junak sem!«	
3.	Mihej 4, 3	
	He will settle arguments between distant and powerful nations. <u>They will pound their swords and their spears into rakes and shovels;</u> they will never again make war or attack one another.	And he shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and <u>they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks:</u> nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.
	Razsojal bo med številnimi ljudstvi, dokazoval močnim narodom v daljavo. <u>Svoje meče bodo prekovali v lemeže in svoje sulice v srpe.</u> Narod ne bo več vzdignil meča proti narodu, ne bodo se več učili vojskovanja.	

## b) Druga literarna dela:

*discretion is the better part of valour*Vir: William Shakespeare: *Henrik IV*, 1. del, V, 4

Prevod v slovenščino (Matej Bor in Anuša Sodnik):

Opreznost je boljša polovica junaštva

Slovarska ustrezница: previdnost je mati modrosti

*cry wolf (once too often)*Vir: *Ezopove basni*

Prevod v slovenščino (Vasja Cerar):

... deček ... je zaklical: »Na pomoč, volk je!«

Zato je ... deček ... zavpil: »Volk! Volk!«

Slovarska ustrezница: 'zganjati paniko'

## 3. Frazem proti izpeljanke in zloženke iz frazem:

Zanimivo je tudi, da so frazemi lahko podvrženi besedotvornim procesom, zaradi česar so v slovar vključene iztočnice, ki so izpeljane iz določenega frazema. Tako sta, na primer, pridelnik *hard-line* in samostalnik *hardliner* tvorjena iz samostalniške besedne zvezze *hard line*, ki je vključena kot samostojna iztočnica s frazemom *take a hard line*.

**hard line** (sam.) trdost, strogost **FRAZEMI take a hard line** odločno ukrepati, biti nepopustljiv

**hard-line** (prid.) ekstremističen, zagrizen

**hardliner** (sam.) zagrizenec, zagrizenka, ekstremist, ekstremistka

## 4. Monosemija proti polisemiji:

Večina frazemov iz literarnih del je enopomenskih, nekateri pa so tudi večpomenski. V nekaterih primerih se lahko eden od pomenov nanaša na izhodiščni pomen, medtem kot se drugi uporablja v prenesenem (tj. frazeološkem) pomenu (prim. *holy of holies* spodaj; 1. pomen je izhodiščni pomen, 2. pomen pa je frazeološki pomen). Druga možnost je, da se prvotni pomen ni ohranil in v tem primeru se polisemija nanaša na preneseni pomen oz. prenesene pomene (prim. *fall by the wayside* spodaj).

**holy of holies** (sam.) **the holy of holies** 1. (prostor v templju) najsvetejše 2. (šalj.) prostor za posvečene ljudi

**fall by the wayside** 1. propasti: *Luxury items fell by the wayside during a recession.* Luksuzni izdelki med recesijo niso šli v promet. 2. odpasti

5. Osnova frazema izvira iz literarnega dela, zlasti iz Svetega pisma, in je sestavni del različnih frazmov:

Zveza 'kingdom come' izvira iz vrstice 'Thy kingdom come' v Očenašu v Svetem pismu (Matej 6,10). Iz te zvezze sta v angleščini nastala dva frazema, in sicer *till/until kingdom come* in *blow sb/sth to kingdom come*, ki morata biti seveda vključena v dvojezični slovar.

***till/until kingdom come*** (zastar.) celo večnost  
***blow sb/sth to kingdom come*** (pog.) popolnoma raznesti koga/kaj

6. Variabilnost ene ali več sestavin frazema:

Naslednji zelo pomembni vidik, ki ga moramo upoštевati pri vključevanju frazmov v slovar, je variantnost frazemski sestavine. Frazem *the error of one's ways*, na primer, ki ga najdemo v *Verziji kralja Jakoba* (2. stolpec v spodnjem primeru), ne pa v *Sodobni angleški verziji* (1. stolpec v spodnjem primeru), se danes uporablja z dvema glagoloma, in sicer *see/realize the error of one's ways*.

Jakob 5, 20

If you turn sinners from the wrong way, you will save them from death, and many of their sins will be forgiven.	Let him know, that he which converteth the sinner from <u>the error of his way</u> shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins.
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*see/realize the error of one's ways* – 'sprevideti napako'

Drugi primer je frazem *pound of flesh*, ki izvira iz Shakespearovega Beneškega trgovca, in se ga danes uporablja s tremi glagoli, in sicer *have/want/demand one's pound of flesh*.

Beneški trgovec, IV. dejanje, 1. scena

And where thou now exact'st the penalty,  
 Which is a pound of this poor merchant's flesh,  
 Thou wilt not only loose the forfeiture ...

*have/want/demand one's pound of flesh* – 'brezobzirno zahtevati svoje nazaj'

7. Jezikovna zvrstnost frazmov iz literarnih del:

Glede na jezikovno zvrstnost uporabljamo frazeme zelo raznolikih situacijah, zaradi česar najdemo v slovarjih celo vrsto stilnih kvalifikatorjev od 'zastarelo' do 'knjižno', 'slabšalno' in celo 'pogovorno'. V skladu s tem moramo tudi v dvojezičnih slovarjih frazeme ustrezno označiti s kvalifikatorji.

a) zastarelo:

*Job's comforter* (zastar.) – 'slaba tolažba'  
*till/until kingdom come* (zastar.) – 'celo večnost'  
*in the land of Nod* (zastar.) – 'v kraljestvu sanj'

b) knjižno:

*gird (up) one's loins* (knjiž., šalj.) – zavihati rokave  
*beggar description* (knjiž.) – 'biti nepopisen'

c) slabšalno:

*holier-than-thou* (slabš.) – 'hinavski', 'licemerski', 'farijejski'

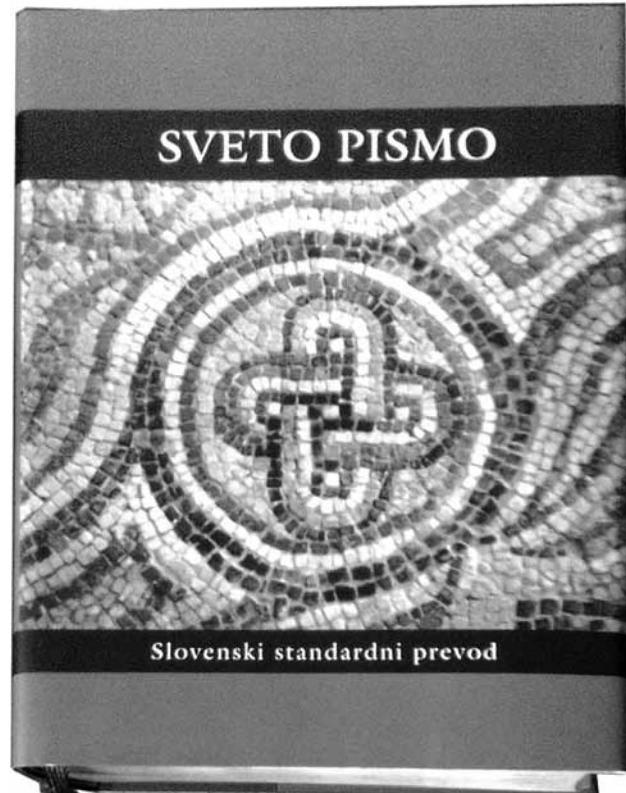
*Uncle Tom* (am., pog., slabš.) – 'črnec, ki skuša ustreči belcem'

d) pogovorno:

*a little bird told me* (pog.) – 'nekdo mi je povedal', 'izvedel sem'

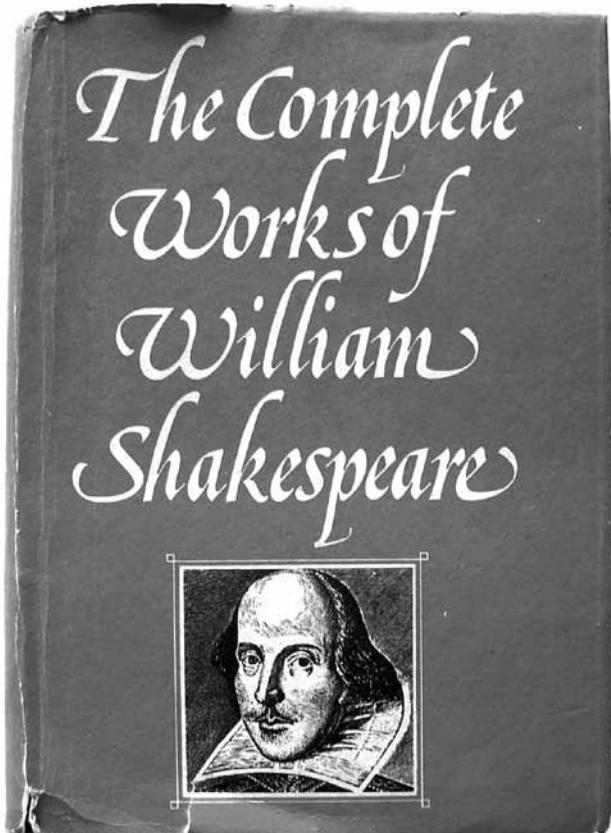
*live off/on the fat of the land* (pog.) – 'živeti na veliki nogi'

*at the crack of dawn* (pog.) – 'ob svitu/zori'  
*as mad as a hatter* (pog.) – 'popolnoma nor', 'čisto nor'



Sl. 1: Sveti pismo: Slovenski standardni prevod.  
 Fig. 1: The Holly Bible: Slovene standard translation.

## ZAKLJUČEK



*Sl. 2: Zbrana dela Williama Shakespeareja.  
Fig. 2: The Complete Works of William Shakespeare.*

Z raziskavo, katere rezultati so predstavljeni v tem prispevku, smo skušali ugotoviti, kateri problemi se pojavljajo pri prevajanju zelo specifične skupine frazemov, tj. frazemov, ki izvirajo iz Svetega pisma in drugih literarnih del, in kako lahko te frazeme vključujemo v dvojezični slovar oz. kako jih v takem slovarju obravnavamo. V nekaterih primerih jih prevajamo dobesedno, ker obstaja enaka metafora tako v izhodiščnem jeziku (v našem primeru v angleščini) kot tudi v ciljnem jeziku (v našem primeru v slovenščini). Z veliko gotovostjo lahko trdimo, da se določene analogije pojavljajo pri frazemih v velikem številu različnih jezikov (pri čemer angleščina in slovenščina nista nobeni izjemi), kajti Sveti pismo in druga literarna dela so prevedeni v številne jezike. Ko smo primerjali frazeme v angleščini in slovenščini, smo ugotovili, da se metafore razlikujejo v podrobnostih, hkrati pa tudi v ubesedenju. Na koncu velja poudariti, da na izbor ustreznice ne vplivata samo leksika ali semantika, ampak tudi kreativna metafora sama: zamenjava ene metafore z drugo lahko znatno spremeni razumevanje originala. To pomeni, kot pravita Knowles in Moonova (2006, 94), da se morajo sestavljavci slovarjev in prevajalci zavedati diskurzne funkcije originalne metafore – kako metafora ocenjuje in ali jo uporabljamo za to, da kaj natančneje razložimo, ali morda za to, da zakrijemo ali 'zakodiramo' pravi pomen.

## BIBLICAL AND LITERARY IDIOMS FROM TRANSLATIONAL AND LEXICOGRAPHIC POINT OF VIEW

*Marjeta VRBINC*

University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia  
e-mail: marjeta.vrbinc@ff.uni-lj.si

*Alenka VRBINC*

University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Economics, Kardeljeva ploščad 17, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia  
e-mail: alenka.vrbinc@ef.uni-lj.si

### SUMMARY

The aim of this contribution is to present similarities and differences between English and Slovene idiomatic expressions derived from the Bible and other literary works from the field of world (and especially European) literature. Special attention is paid to the lexicographic problems connected with the inclusion and treatment of these idioms. For the purpose of this research, idioms were collected on the basis of two important monolingual idioms dictionaries: *Oxford Idioms Dictionary for Learners of English* and *A Concise Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*. The material for the analysis includes only idioms, whose biblical or literary origin is certain, and ignores all the idioms which may derive from legends, myths, traditional stories or nursery rhymes. Based on these criteria, 211 idioms were obtained and analysed in detail. All the idioms were translated into Slovene, which formed a basis for a contrastive analysis.

A lexical and semantic comparison of English idioms derived from literary sources and translation equivalents in Slovene shows that five groups of idioms can be established: full lexical and semantic equivalence in both languages, lexical equivalence with minor differences in lexis, lexical differences in both languages, false-friends relationship, orthographic and syntactic differences in English and Slovene.

When studying the lexicographic treatment of idioms, it can be established that the majority of the idiomatic expressions are included in the special idioms section (microstructure), but there are cases where idioms have full headword status (macrostructure). Cases where idioms can be found as examples illustrating the use of the entry word are also not rare. Other aspects of lexicographic treatment of idioms from literary sources are also interesting: lemmata derived from idioms, monosemy and polysemy, the core of the idiom is part of different idioms, variability of one or several components in the idiom, register of the idioms.

This research study has revealed that the selection of a translation is not just lexical or semantic. Apart from that, it has also shown that a creative metaphor plays an important role: replacing one metaphor with another can change the meaning of the original significantly. Lexicographers need therefore to be aware of the discourse function of the original metaphor.

**Key words:** idioms from the Bible and literary sources, semantic analysis, lexical analysis, dictionary treatment of idioms

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## USODE IN NOVE RABE KOPRSKIH SAMOSTANOV PO RAZPUSTITVI REDOV S POUDARKOM NA OBDOBJU PO DRUGI SVETOVNI VOJNI

Neža ČEBRON LIPOVEC

Univerza na Primorskem, Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče, Garibaldijeva 1, 6000 Koper  
e-mail: neza.cebronlipovec@zrs.upr.si

### IZVLEČEK

*Prispevek raziskuje pomen novih rab historičnih stavb na primeru nekdanjih samostanskih kompleksov v starem jedru Kopra. Analiza novih rab in posledičnih posegov v historično stavbno tkivo je razčlenjena z vidika pomenov, ki jih te spremembe imajo za prebivalstvo mesta, njihov kolektivni spomin ter večplastnost dediščinskih vrednot. Načela prilagojene nove rabe ali adaptive re-use predstavljajo interpretativni ključ analize, saj v sodobni konzervatorski stroki slednja prevladuje kot optimalen pristop pri obnovi opuščenih javnih in sakralnih stavb. V pregledu arhivskih podatkov o rabah samostanskih stavb po razpustitvah se posveča predvsem obdobju po drugi svetovni vojni, ki je zaznamovalo identitetu današnjega starega jedra mesta Koper.*

**Ključne besede:** Koper, samostani, konservatorstvo, prilagojena nova raba, »adaptive reuse«,  
kolektivni spomin, povojno obdobje

## I DESTINI E I NUOVI USI DEI CONVENTI DI CAPODISTRIA IN SEGUITO ALLA SOPPRESSIONE DEGLI ORDINI, CON ENFASI SUL SECONDO DOPOGUERRA

### SINTESI

*Il contributo esplora il significato delle riqualificazioni di edifici storici sull'esempio dei complessi conventuali nel centro storico di Capodistria. I nuovi usi e i relativi interventi nel tessuto storico degli edifici sono analizzati a seconda degli impatti che questi cambiamenti hanno sulla popolazione della città, sulla loro memoria collettiva e sulla sfaccettatura dei valori di patrimonio. La chiave di lettura dell'analisi sono i principi di recupero o "adaptive reuse", poiché nel campo della conservazione contemporanea questi primeggia come approccio ottimale al restauro di edifici pubblici e sacrali abbandonati. Nell'esaminare i dati d'archivio sugli usi degli edifici conventuali dopo la soppressione degli ordini il contributo s'incentra soprattutto sul periodo del secondo dopoguerra, che ha segnato l'identità dell'odierno centro storico di Capodistria.*

**Parole chiave:** Capodistria, conventi e monasteri, conservazione, recupero, »adaptive reuse«,  
memoria collettiva, il dopoguerra

## UVOD

Samostanski kompleksi v mestih predstavljajo tako zgodovinske kot prostorske dominante. S svojimi prostranimi površinami in pogosto višjimi gabaritimi zaznamujejo fasade mest in ulic, s svojo zgodovinsko vlogo in prepletanjem z družbenim kontekstom pa identiteto mesta. Koper je izrazit primer mesta, ki ga tako v podobi kot v vlogi zaznamuje prisotnost samostanskih redov in njihovih kompleksov.

Številnim evropskim samostanom je skupna usoda v zadnjih dveh stoletjih, saj je njihova kompleksna vloga izginila po tem, ko so bili ukinjeni bodisi po jožefinskih reformah leta 1782, s katerimi so bili ukinjeni vsi t. i. »nekoristni redovi«,<sup>1</sup> predvsem pa po Napoleonovih reformah od leta 1806 dalje. Ta usoda je doletela tudi samostane v Kopru in s tem tudi zaznamovala usodo mesta. Od osmih samostanov je v sodobnem Kopru živ le frančiškanski samostan v prostorih observantov v nekdanjem samostanu sv. Ane.

Dve stoletji spremenjenih rab samostanskih kompleksov in torej tudi njihove drugačne, nove vloge v družbi sta konenito zaznamovali in sooblikovali pomen teh velikih arhitekturnih kompleksov v sodobnem času. Z vidika ohranjanja kulturne dediščine, ki je eden temeljev identitete prostora, igrajo te »žalostne usode samostanov«<sup>2</sup> prav za današnja obalna mesta Slovenije pomembno vlogo na socioološki ravni z dveh vidikov. Prvič, spremembe v obliki in rabi arhitekture prav tako sooblikujejo zgodbo arhitekturne dediščine in jo definirajo. Drugič, ohranjanje kulturne dediščine kot skupnega dobrega je uspešno le, če prenova integrira tudi tiste pomene dediščine, ki jih slednja ima za lokalno skupnost (Low, 2003). Pomeni, ki jih prepoznavata skupnost in ki so pogosto povezani z rabi stavbne dediščine, so neredko precej različni od pomenov, ki jih prepoznavata strokovna javnost. Zato je treba raziskati in kontekstualizirati prav te »žalostne usode samostanov«, torej njihove nove rabe, ki dejansko trajajo že dvesto let. V pričujočem prispevku predstavljamo kratek oris usod nekaterih koprskih samostanov po njihovih razpustitvah, s posebnim poudarkom na spremembah po drugi svetovni vojni.

Rezultati dopoljujejo kompleksno mozaično podobo spremenjanja mestne podobe Kopra v 20. stoletju. Nepričakovani rezultati, »kolateralna« odkritja med arhivskim gradivom, dodatno nadgrajujejo širšo sliko stanja arhitekture v povojnem Kopru.

## METODOLOGIJA

Raziskava temelji na klasični zgodovinopisni metodi raziskave arhivskega materiala, črpa iz izbora arhivskih dokumentov iz 19. in 20. stoletja, ki so hranjeni v koprskem Pokrajinskem arhivu.

Za celostni uvid jo metodološko dopolnjujemo z metodami arhitekturnega zgodovinopisja in s sloganovo analizo objektov in situ kot z arhitekturno analizo zasnov na načrtih. Interpretacijo virov kontekstualiziramo s pomočjo znanstvene literature s področja konservatorstva.

## PRILAGOJENA NOVA RABA ALI »ADAPTIVE REUSE«

Samostanski kompleksi poleg posameznih cerkva, palač, javnih stavb ter sklopov anonimne arhitekture v mestih predstavljajo eno ključnih kategorij arhitekturne in torej kulturne dediščine mest. S svojimi pogosto dominantnimi podobami ne le zaznamujejo urbano zasnovno mesta, temveč zaradi svoje zgodovinske vloge tudi identiteto mesta ali četrti. Večstoletna prisotnost redov v mestih od visokega srednjega veka pa vse do začetka francoske revolucije je odigrala ključno vlogo pri soustvarjanju mestnega življenja. A velike zgodovinske prelomnice, kot so razpustitve samostanov in redov v Beneški republiki, jožefinske reforme, francoska revolucija, so nepovratno spremenile usodo in vlogo teh pomembnih družbenih akterjev in posledično začrtale novo življenje samostanskih kompleksov. V 19. stoletju so številni nekdanji samostani služili kot bolnišnice, vojašnice ali šole. V dvajsetem stoletju se je nato znatno povečalo število opuščenih cerkva, kar je od 70-ih let dalje sprožilo razvoj konservatorsko-arhitekturnega pristopa t. i. »adaptive reuse« ali prilagojene ponovne rabe (Plevoets, 2011). Pristop poudarja, da je pogosto edina rešitev za historično stavbo, ki je izgubila izvorno funkcijo, prav nova namembnost. Izhajajoč iz potrebe po spoštljivi novi namembnosti za cerkev se je pristop kmalu razširil tudi na druge tipologije, predvsem na industrijsko arhitekturo.

Koncept prilagojene rabe temelji na načelu, da obnova stavbe ne obsega le njene fizične, strukturne obnove, temveč je za ohranjanje dediščinske vrednosti stavbe in njene okolice zelo pomembna tudi njena nova raba. Velik kulturološki izliv predstavlja izbira nove rabe za nekdanje cerkev. Sherban Cantacuzino pravi, da mora primerna nova raba za cerkev biti usklajena z duhom in obliko cerkve, kar pomeni, da naj bo namenjena javni rabi ali vsaj rabi za skupnost, poleg tega pa naj ima delno obredni oz. slavnostni značaj; v zvezi z obliko pa to pomeni, da se pri

1 Po odločitvi Jožefa II. so bili leta 1782 ukinjeni vsi redovi, ki niso prispevali k rasti državne blaginje; to so bili predvsem kontemplativni in pokorni redovi, npr. kartuzijani, cistercijani, benediktinci, karmeličani, med koristne pa so bili šteti tisti, ki so opravljali družbeno-koristno funkcijo s šolstvom in z nego bolnikov, npr. frančiškani, minoriti, dominikanci, kapucini, uršulinke. V desetletju od vpeljave reforme je bilo v Avstrijski monarhiji razpuščenih 738 samostanov, od teh jih je bilo na slovenskem ozemlju ukinjenih 65, 31 pa jih je ostalo (Štih et al., 2008).

2 Opredelitev kot »žalostne usode samostanov« (izvirno »i tristi destini dei conventi«) je predstavljal utemeljil dr. Salvator Žitko v svojem prispevku (v italijanščini) o koprskem glagoljaškem samostanu na simpoziju »Med samostanskimi zidovi« 17. decembra 2010 v Kopru.

npr. enoladijski cerkva ohranja enoten prostor, zato zanje predлага funkcijo gledališč ali koncertnih dvoran (Cantacuzino, 1989, 170). Cantacuzino druge primerne rabe za cerkve deli v dve večji kategoriji, in sicer za izobraževalne na eni in družbene namene na drugi strani.<sup>3</sup>

Samostani po teh načelih ponujajo precej drugačna izhodišča. Njihova struktura, sestavljena iz številnih, pogosto celično zasnovanih prostorov, predstavlja mnogo bolj fleksibilne možnosti za nove rabe, kot so uradi, šole, glasbene šole, arhivi, muzeji, konferenčni centri, družbeni centri, hoteli, restavracije, delavnice (Cantacuzino, 1989, 172–173). Samostani so torej mnogo bolj prilagodljivi novim rabam v strukturnem smislu.

Zanimivo je pogledati v same začetke projektiranja premišljenih prenov za prilagojeno rabo. Znameniti prvi veliki, socialno usmerjeni projekti urbanih prenov konec 60-ih let, kot je bil načrt za prenovo mestnega jedra Bolonne, so sprva kritizirali rabe samostanov iz 19. stoletja (vojašnice, bolnišnice, uradi) kot neprimerne (Emiliani, 1970), predvsem z vsebinskega vidika (glej naslednje poglavje). A hkrati so avtorji prenov v 60-ih letih le poudarili, da te »neprimerne« rabe večinoma niso usodno sprememnile ali uničile historičnega tkiva in so ohranile osnovno distribucijo prostorov. Primerne rabe naj bi bile le tiste, ki so povezane s kulturo in univerzitetnim izobraževanjem, saj naj bi se tako najbolj približali izvorni rabi na vsebinski ravni. Tovrstno ožje razumevanje možnih prenov je bilo preseženo že v 80-ih, v zadnjih desetletjih pa sta raznovrstnost potencialnih novih rab podkrepila še trajnostni in okoljski vidik.<sup>4</sup> Prilagojena nova raba namreč sodi med trajnostno najbolj hvaležne pristope, saj odgovarja načelu recikliranja in ohranjanja energijske vrednosti obstoječe stavbe (se torej izogiba rušenju in novi gradnji, ki po naravi pomeni onesnaženje). Prilagojena nova raba prav tako ustrezza konservatorskim načelom, saj se poskuša izogniti izgubi historičnega tkiva.

### DRUŽBENI VIDIK PRILAGOJENE NOVE RABE

Obratno od cerkva pa družbeni oz. vsebinski pomneni starih in novih rab samostanov skorajda ni izpostavljen. Če je pri cerkvah poudarjen vidik obrednosti in svečanosti, se paleta rab pri samostanih razširi – ne le v omenjenem strukturnem smislu – temveč tudi v vsebinskem. Tako v značaju samostanov prepoznamo različne vidike, ki odsevajo izvorne funkcije in ponujajo izhodišča za novo rabe: prenos znanja oz. izobraževanje – šole, knjižnice; skrb za bolne oz. nemočne – bolnišnice, umobolnice; drobne obrtne dejavnosti – delavnice in uradi; obenem razbiramo tudi vidik izoliranosti in zaprtosti oz. rekluzije – zapore; in pa strogega reda ter hierarhije – vojašnice. V tem smislu so rabe samostanov

v 19. stoletju vsebinsko in formalno sprejemljiva nadaljevanja teh nastavkov.

Tu uvajamo za potrebe pričajoče razprave začasni termin »starejša-nova raba«, ki zaznamuje novo rabo samostanov in cerkva po razpustitvi, ko so bili kompleksi vrednoteni izključno z utilitarnega vidika, predvsem v 19. stoletju in vse do izoblikovanja načel premišljene in prilagojene nove rabe od 60-ih let dalje.

»Starejše-nove rabe« samostanov predstavljajo srž pričajoče razprave. S svojo zdaj že 200-letno prisotnostjo so namreč že temeljito zaznamovale mesta. Posebej pomembne pa so prav z vidika povezave grajenega prostora s prebivalstvom, saj sooblikujejo identitete sodobnega urbanega prostora. Ta vidik je še veliko bolj pomemben prav za današnja obalna mesta Slovenije, ki so doživela velike demografske spremembe v povojušem času, po letu 1945, posebno pa po letu 1954 (Gombač, 2005), ko se je izselilo precešnje število prebivalcev (večinoma italijansko govorečih), v valovih pa so se priseliли novi prebivalci, ki so prihajali iz notranjih slovenskih in jugoslovenskih pokrajin. Po Halbwachsu je namreč prav grajeni prostor – »kraj je dobil odtis skupine, in narobe« (Halbwachs, 2001, 145) – referenca za kolektivni spomin neke skupine; v koprskem primeru govorimo torej o sedanjih prebivalcih mesta, ki so v veliki večini potomci priseljencev po 2. svetovni vojni. Halbwachs opozarja, da so četrti v mestu in hiši v teh četrtnih ena redkih družbenih formacij, ki so hkrati stabilne in jim je trajanje zagotovljeno, torej za prebivalstvo predstavljajo tisto oporno točko, na katero ti navezujejo svoj individualni in kolektivni spomin (Halbwachs, 2001, 149). Vez predstavlja tako sama podoba kot funkcija, preko katerih ljudje neko stavbo poznajo. Percepциje funkcij stavb preživijo celo po ruštvah, saj se neredko ohranijo v poimenovanjih in toponomih. Halbwachs izpostavi še en pomemben pogled: vsaka skupina, ki živi v nekem prostoru – torej ne glede na čas vstopa v skupnost – ga sooblikuje oz. »riše svojo obliko na tleh in najdeva svoje kolektivne spomine v tako opredeljenem prostorskem okviru« (Halbwachs, 2001, 175).

Halbwachsov poudarek o pluralnosti kolektivnih spominov v istem prostoru razberemo v stališčih sociologov prostora, ki kot načelo prenove v starih urbanih jedrih promovirajo »'normalen' socialni pluralizem« namesto gentrififikacije, torej vdora enega samega sloja v zapuščeni del mesta (Kos, 1995, 26). Izpostavljajo za Koper bistven problem dihotomije domače-tuje oz. avtohtonost-neavtohtonost, katere ključ do rešitve leži v prepoznavanju socialne prostorske identitete in analize »zgodovinskih usedlin« – tako preteklih kot tudi sedanjih pomenov prostora in skritih odnosov do prostora. Za ohranjanje kulturne dediščine kot javnega dobrega je pluralno vrednoteanje pomenov, in torej prepoznavanje različnih kolektivnih

3 Med primeri razširjenega spektra rab najdemo centre za informiranje lokalne skupnosti o dediščini, knjigarne, skupnostne centre, mladinske ali upokojenske centre (Cantacuzino, 1989, 172–173).

4 Pristop je bil široko sprejet tudi s strani odgovornih strokovnih in lokalnih oblasti v Avstraliji, ki ga je v zadnjem desetletju temeljito nadgradila in pristop prilagojene nove rabe umestila med ključne dediščinske in okoljske strategije (cfr. Australian Government, 2004).

spominov, bistvenega pomena. Antropologi, ki se ukvarjajo s kulturno dediščino in z ohranjanjem t. i. kulturnih ekosistemov, poudarjajo, da ohranjanje in spodbujanje raznoterih zgodovin, vrednot in odnosov v sodobni družbi zagotavlja tudi družbeno trajnost (*social sustainability*) (Low, 2005, 5).

Halbwachsova teorija o kolektivnem spominu kot tudi pristop raziskovanja socialne prostorske identitete sovpadata z nekaterimi temeljnimi načeli konservatorske stroke: že Beneška listina iz leta 1964 podčrtuje pomembnost tako ohranjanja večplastnosti pomenov stavbne dediščine, »the full richness of their authenticity« (Preamble, prvi odstavek), kot tudi bistveno vlogo skupnosti oz. prebivalstva pri smiselnem in učinkovitem ohranjanju kulturne dediščine (5. člen). Projekti prenov v zadnjih tridesetih letih so pripeljali do razširitev in dopolnitve zadnjega stališča in jasno postavili zahteve o vključevanju prebivalcev v proces načrtovanja in izvajanja prenove, torej o participativni prenovi. Leta 2008 je Svet Evrope objavil Evropsko konvencijo o pomenu dediščine za družbo oz. t. i. »Faro Convention« (Council of Europe, 2005), kjer so lokalne in/oz. dediščinske skupnosti izpostavljene kot bistveni akteri, ki zagotavlja trajnostno in smiselno ohranjanje dediščine.

Tako se v razpravi posvečamo predvsem rabi samostanov po izgubi njihove izvirne funkcije, v tem pa predvsem vprašanju, kakšen družbeni pomen lahko te nove rabe imajo za sedanje prebivalstvo.

Za celostno raziskavo o družbenih pomenih stavbne dediščine, ki naj vodi do participativne prenove, je treba na prvem mestu izvesti socioološke, antropološke in etnografske raziskave med prebivalstvom samim. Podatkovno bogat vir pa predstavljajo tudi arhitekturni in urbanistični načrti ob prenovi za spremembo (ali nadaljevanje) funkcije stavb. Pričujoči prispevek se temi posveča prav skozi raziskavo arhivskih podatkov o posegih v samostanske komplekse, ki so uvajali nove rabe, posebno po 2. svetovni vojni.

## SAMOSTANI V KOPRU

Številne samostanske skupnosti in njihovi kompleksi so bistveno zaznamovali značaj mesta Koper skozi zgodovino. Cerkveni redovi so bili v času beneške nadoblasti v Kopru med glavnimi nosilci mestnega življenja, sprva benediktinci, za njimi pa frančiškani in dominikanci (Žitko, 1992, 63). O številčni prisotnosti redov in njihovih samo-

stanov pričajo tako znameniti zemljevid Giacoma Fina iz leta 1619 kot tudi številni starejši viri, predvsem krajepis škofa Naldinija (Naldini, 2001[1701]).<sup>5</sup> V mestu je v 18. stoletju delovalo osem cerkvenih redov: dominikanci že leta 1220, frančiškani od leta 1260, klarise konec 13. stoletja, v 14. stoletju je svoje prostore dobil tudi red avguštink, serviti v začetku 15. stoletja, tretjeredniki sredi 15. stoletja, observanti reda sv. Frančiška v začetku 16. stoletja. Po kugi v 16. stoletju je bil postopoma zgrajen še kapucinski samostan, v neposredni bližini samostana klaris, minoritov in observantov.

Redovi so bili nosilci številnih funkcij družbenega življenja, kot so izobraževanje, zdravstvena oskrba, pomoč brezdomcem in revnim ipd. Svoje poslanstvo so ohranili – in stavbe z rednimi spremembami vzdrževali – vse do znanih zgodovinskih prelomnic, kot so jožefinske reforme, francoska revolucija, ukinitve v Beneški republiki. V Kopru je bila kronologija podobna: servitski red je leta 1772 ukinila Beneška republika (Pacheria in Vescia, 2003). Večino samostanskih skupnosti so ukinile francoske oblasti na osnovi dveh dekretov iz junija 1805 in maja 1806 in njihove premoženje podržavile. V Istri so podržavili 434 cerkvenih združenj (samostani, špitali, bratovščine) (Bonin, 2001, 375). Po francoskih ukinitvah so v severnoistrskih obalnih mestih ostali le še minoritski samostan v Piranu, h kateremu so med drugimi priključili tudi ukinjeni minoritski samostan v Kopru, kapucinski samostan sv. Marte v Kopru, samostan frančiškanov observantov v Kopru, ki je obstal vse do povojne dobe, ter samostan avguštink sv. Blaža, h kateremu so priključili koprski samostan klaris (Bonin, 2004, 114). Kompleksi ukinjenih samostanov so nato zamenjali številne funkcije, kar je povzročilo tudi predelave historičnega tkiva zgradb.

Pregled sledi geografskemu zaporedju od severozahoda proti vzhodu in nato proti jugu ter se zaključi s kompleksom servitskega samostana v zahodnem delu starega mesta Kopra.<sup>6</sup>

## Dominikanski samostan

Dominikanci so se v Kopru naselili v zgodnjem 13. stoletju, med letoma 1220 in 1224, na severnem in najvišjem predelu mesta, v nekdanji četrti Zubenaga, današnjem območju Muzejskega trga. Red je bil leta 1806 ukinjen, samostan pa spremenjen v vojaško bolnišnico. Leta 1822 so avstrijske oblasti nad samostanom dominikancev

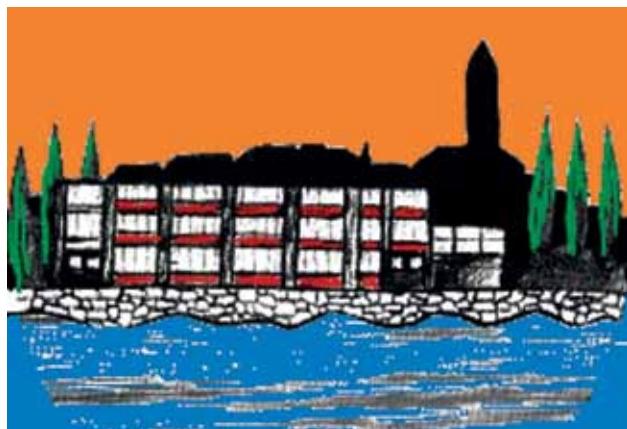
5 Zgodovina koprskih samostanov je temeljito dokumentirana v starejših italijanskih virih, ki jih povzemajo ključni sodobni raziskovalci na tem področju: Žitko (1992); Bonin (2001; 2004; 2009), ki ob obdelavi predvsem socialnih tematik povzemajo obširen korpus arhivskih dokumentov o koprskih redovih in bratovščinah; dragocen vir so umerostno-zgodovinski prispevki Vanje Prohinar (Prohinar, 2003; Prohinar, Hoyer, 2007), ki beleži spremembe stavbe do naše sodobnosti. Informativno so uporabni poljudni članki Alda Cherinija o nekaterih koprskih samostanih. Iz povojnega časa se ohranja dragocen oris zgodovine glagoljašev (Štefančić, 1956). Raziskave v zadnjem desetletju so dopolnile obstoječe historiate: izčrpana je zgodovina servitskega reda v Istri (Pacheria, Vescia, 2003), o usodi dominikanskega samostana kot kaznilnice (Beltram, 2008), kot tudi arheološke raziskave na kapucinskem vrtu (Guštin, 1989). Pregled arhitekture nekaterih koprskih samostanov najdemo v številnih konservatorskih predlogah za vpis v register dediščine in konservatorskih načrtih. Leta 2011 je izšla pregledna monografija o koprskem učiteljišču, ki je imelo sedež v minoritskem samostanu (Contestabile Rovis, Čebren, 2011).

6 V pregledu smo izpustili kapucinski samostan zaradi pomanjkljivih oz. nedosegljivih podatkov.

zgradile kaznilnico (Žitko, 1992, 74), ki je zrasla »na ostanek«<sup>7</sup> samostana ter je obsegala zaporniške celice, pisarne, še staro samostansko cerkev in dve notranji dvorišči in se je široko razprostrla na prostran vrt, ki je s severne strani obdajal samostan. Kompleks je nato doživel razširitev leta 1850 (Beltram, 2008, 7), ko je bil k prostorom kaznilnice priključen tudi nekdanji glagoljaški samostan v neposredni bližini. Mogočni kompleks trdnjavskega videza je določil novo silhueto mesta. Dominirajočo, pogosto ekspresivno poudarjeno podobo in vlogo razbiramo iz številnih podob, slik in grafik. Kompleks, kjer so se v 130 letih zvrstili zaporniki različnih nacionalnosti in političnih pripadnosti, še posebno po fašističnih priprtijih pred in med drugo svetovno vojno, je bil po koncu vojne porušen.

Odločitev za rušitev kaznilnice je bila sprejeta leta 1948, postopno in nadzorovano rušenje pa je potekalo vse do leta 1949.<sup>8</sup> Na njenem območju<sup>9</sup> so julija 1949 začeli graditi novo slovensko-italijansko šolo, imenovano *Scuola cittadina*, ki je bila šele leta 1960 preimenovana v šolo Janka Premrla Vojka (Poles, Podlesek, 1980). Izdelan je bil projekt nove stavbe, ki je sledil tlorisnim gabaritom porušenih zaporov in v obliki črke L zapiral zunanjji obod mesta proti morju.<sup>10</sup> Avtor načrta je bil arhitekt Ervino Velušček.<sup>11</sup> Uresničena stavba je pričala, da je bil ohranjeni načrt upoštevan, čeprav le delno izveden, saj krak proti morju ni bil nikoli zgrajen.<sup>12</sup> Objekt telovadnice je bil dograjen na mestu nekdanje samostanske cerkve leta 1958 (Poles, Podlesek, 1980) po načrtih arhitekta Eda Mihevca.<sup>13</sup>

Do leta 1962, ko je bila zgrajena osnovna šola Pinka Tomažiča na Bonifiki, je bila torej »OŠ JPV« edina koprská osnovna šola in obenem prva slovenska osnovna šola v mestnem jedru. Obenem pa je to bila prva novogradnja v osvobojenem Kopru in hkrati ena redkih, zgrajenih v času Svobodnega tržaškega ozemlja. Tu se je v 60 letih njenega obstoja šolalo tisoče Koprčanov (sl. 1).



*Sl. 1: Risba osnovne šole Janka Premrla Vojka na Belvederju, naslednica italijansko-slovenske osnovne šole iz časa STO leta 1948, slednja je nastala na ruševinah dominikanskega samostana. Risba je bila do rušitve objekta osnovne šole leta 2008 znak šole, ki ga je oblikovala učenka Nataša Ropotar pod vodstvom učiteljice likovne vzgoje, mentorice Ksenije Pfeifer, ob 50-letnici Osnovne šole. <http://www.o-jpv.kp.edus.si/predst.htm> (30.11.2010).*

*Fig.1: Drawing of the Janko Premrl - Vojko Elementary School in Belveder, the successor to an Italian-Slovene school from the period of the Free Territory of Trieste in 1948 that had been erected on the ruins of a Dominican monastery. Until the demolition of the building in 2008, the drawing had been the symbol of the school. It was drawn by student Nataša Ropotar under the guidance of arts teacher and tutor Ksenija Pfeifer for the occasion of the school's 50th anniversary. <http://www.o-jpv.kp.edus.si/predst.htm> (November 30, 2010).*

- 7 Opis obsega stavbe je podan v pismu posebnega komisarja ministrstvu za pravosodje iz leta 1923. Leta 1863 je sledil načrt za vgraditev vodovodnega sistema v kompleks, elektrika pa je bila vpeljana leta 1910 (Beltram, 2008, 9).
- 8 SI PAK KP 24 OLO Projekti a.e. 775/1 Cantiere Scuola Cittadina – Capodistria, Demolizione ex Carceri (12.8.1948)
- 9 Prva odločitev za izgradnjo slovensko-italijanske šole v samem jedru mesta Koper je bila sprejeta že leta 1946, a lokacija je bila drugačna od tiste, ki je bila uresničena: prvi načrt je predvideval razširitev obstoječe italijanske šole, nekoč »Anne Sauro«, ob Carpacciovem trgu, zgrajene v 30-ih letih. Leta 1948 je bil načrt spremenjen; mesto stare šole je bilo dodeljeno novemu Hotelu Triglav (danes Hotel Koper), šolo pa so se oblasti odločile postaviti na pogorišču zaporov (SI PAK KP OLO Projekti a.e. 775/2 Costruzione di un padiglione della scuola elementare di Capodistria (1. 9. 1947)).
- 10 Dvonadstropna zgradba z naklonsko streho, s horizontalnimi pasovi oken, razdeljenimi z vertikalnimi kamnitimi oblogami, uvaja modernistične elemente. V opisu je arhitekt predvidel smetanovo barvo fasade s poudarki v opečnato rdeči pod okenskimi pasovi (SI PAK KP 24 OLO Projekti a.e. 793 Descrizione tecnica dei lavori da eseguirsi per la costruzione della scuola elementare di Capodistria (s.a., datirano v 1949 na podlagi spremljajočih dokumentov)).
- 11 Tako načrt kot poročilo nista podpisana, sklepamo pa lahko, da je bil avtor arhitekt Ervino Velušček, sicer stanujec v Benetkah (SI PAK KP 23 OLO a.e. 86 Službene razmere tov. Arh. Veluščeka (23. 1. 1948)), ki je v več dokumentih omenjen kot arhitekt tega objekta. Omenja ga tudi arh. Jože Kregar v svojem »Pismu iz Kopra« (Kregar, 1952, 36), kjer tudi pojasnjuje, da sta bila dva kraka predvidena za ločena, a povezana trakta italijanskega in slovenskega oddelka.
- 12 Leta 1957 je arhitekt Miloš Hohnjec pripravil načrt za nadgradnjo in novi prečni trakt k šoli (SI PAK KP 24 OLO Projekti a.e. 844/2 Investicijski program za nadzidavo in dozidavo osnovne šole Koper (junij 1957)), a krak ni bil izveden.
- 13 O rušitvi samostanske cerkve oz. kapele kaznilnice dokumentov do sedaj nisem našla, ne v arhivu ne v časopisu. V spominih učiteljic beremo, da so v prvih letih še imeli telovadbo na nekdanjem kaznilniškem dvorišču, kjer je stal zid z grafiti (Podlesek, Poles, 1980). Podlesek in Poles (1980) navajata kot leto izgradnje telovadnice 1968, medtem ko ustni viri, sodelavci arhitekta Mihevca, izgradnjo umeščajo v leto 1958. Slednje sovpada s predlogi novogradnje Miloša Hohnjeca iz leta 1957.

Stavba je bila leta 2008 v celoti porušena. Na lokaciji so danes bila izvedena arheološka izkopavanja, ki odkrivajo starejšo zgodovino kompleksa. Usoda lokacije še ni jasna.

### Gregoritski (glagoljaški) samostan

V neposredni bližini dominikanskega samostana, na severozahodnem, zelenem pobočnem predelu mesta, nekdanji četrti Zubenaga, je stal samostan tretjerednikov. Ko je bil leta 1806 red ukinjen, so bili razstavljeni in odnešeni vsi premični deli, kompleks pa je postal državna last, leta 1818 je premoženje prešlo v verski fond. Sredi 19. stoletja je bil del glagoljaškega samostana priključen h kaznilnici in uporabljen za različne funkcije: tu je bil zapor za mladoletnike in različne delavnice, sosednji vrt pa je služil kot pralnica in sušilnica (Beltram, 2008, 7). Takrat je bila tudi zasnova poslopja delno spremenjena: primerjava iz katastrof iz let 1819 in 1874 kaže, da je bil odstranjen vzhodni zaključek cerkve in preko njenih temeljev je bila proti severu speljana nova ulica *Caletta S. Gregorio* (Prohinar, Hoyer, 2003).

Po vojni je samostan obstal za nekaj let, medtem ko je sosednji dominikanski bil porušen. V svojem popisu kulturnih spomenikov v Kopru za novi urbanistični program mesta je Emil Smole poleg historiata stavbe zabeležil, da je »samostan sicer ohranjen, a v zelo slabem stanju« (Smole, 1956, 111), kar je verjetno bil tudi pragmatični povod za končno odločitev o rušenju.<sup>14</sup> Dejansko pa predloženi načrt arhitekta Eda Mihevca ne beleži nikakršne ohranitve zgodovinske stavbe.<sup>15</sup> Samostan je bil podprt verjetno<sup>16</sup> leta 1957, čeprav o sami rušitvi še niso bili najdeni uradni dokumenti ali zapisi. Na njegovem mestu sta bili zgrajeni »Tomosova stolpnica« in soseska nizkih blokov Belveder po načrtu arhitekta Eda Mihevca.

Edini spomin na nekdanji samostan je ohranjen v imenovanju nove ulice na tem območju – Glagoljaška ulica, ki približno sovpada z ulico Caletta San Gregorio iz avstrijskega obdobja.

### Samostan avguštink

V nekdanji četrti Porta Isolana, na današnji Dellavallevi ulici, na najvišji točki otoka, je od 15. stoletja obstajal samostan avguštink s cerkvijo sv. Blaža. Kompleks samostana, ki se je razvezjano razprostiral po vrhu otoka, je ohranil svojo osnovno funkcijo tudi v 19. stoletju. Korenita sprememba se je zgodila jeseni leta 1957, ko je bil pripravljen zazidalni načrt za novo Kovinarsko-industrijsko šolo,<sup>17</sup> ki je bila delno umeščena na področje nekdanjega samostana, zahodno od cerkve sv. Blaža. Načrt je predvidel umestitev funkcionalistične, preproste kubične stavbe deloma na nepozidano območje, deloma na območje prej obstoječih stavb ob severnem obodu četrti. Novogradnja je bila nato povezana z obstoječimi starejšimi stavbami ob njej, ki so bile funkcionalno adaptirane za novo rabo. Podpisani projektant je arhitekt Rajner, okolico je oblikoval arhitekt Miloš Hohnjec.<sup>18</sup> V obstoječe stavbe so bili umeščeni prostori šole, predvsem delavnice, ki so se neposredno dotikalne cerkve, slednja še vedno služi kot skladишče. Po 50 letih delovanja je bila leta 2010 šola preseljena v novo zgradbo v Šalaro. Območje nekdanjega samostana je izpraznjeno ter čaka na novo rabo in prenovo.

### Samostan sv. Ane (observanti)

Observanti se bili v Kopru prisotni že okrog leta 1460, naselili so se na vzhodni konec otoka. Prvotna cerkev observantov iz leta 1513 je bila povečana med letoma 1620 in 1627, ko so povečali tudi samostan. Samostan je obdržal svojo funkcijo vse do konca druge svetovne vojne: do konca prve svetovne vojne je samostan pripadal frančiškanom dalmatinske province sv. Hieronima, ki je imela sedež v Zadru, leta 1920<sup>19</sup> so ga prevzeli frančiškani iz beneške province. Po drugi svetovni vojni je samostan v Kopru ponovno pripadel zadarski provinci. Spomladi 1953 sta bila koprski in pazinski samostan zamenjana, ker je bilo koprsko prebivalstvo večinoma slovensko, pazinsko

<sup>14</sup> Emil Smole je bil tudi avtor članka, ki še mnogo bolj detajlno opisuje notranjščino samostana. Članek je sicer nastal kot reakcija na predloženi novi zazidalni načrt leta 1957 za novo stanovanjsko sosesko na Belvederju. Smole omenja, da naj bi bili deli samostana vzdiani v nove zgradbe in proti temu protestira. V Slovenskem Jadranu zasledimo prispevek Emila Smoleta z naslovom »Novi Belveder in simbolična ohranitev kulturnega spomenika« (Slovenski Jadran, 1. marec 1957, 3), ki se v mehki kritiki novega urbanističnega načrta za Koper postavi v bran samostanu, poleg izčrpnega opisa stavbe in njegove zgodovine, zapiše : »Pomen glagoljašev za slovensko prebivalstvo Istre je bil tako velik, da bo treba skrbno proučiti način simbolične zaščite nekaterih še obstoječih vrednejših ambientov 'in situ'.«

<sup>15</sup> SI PAK KP 24 OLO Projekti a.e. 1033/5 Tehnično poročilo k polirskim načrtom 1:50 za blok IV na Belvederu v Kopru (28. 3. 1958).

<sup>16</sup> Leta 1956, v času Smoletovega popisa, je samostan še stal. Konec leta 1957 pa so že začeli z gradnjo nove soseske. Torej je bil samostan v vmesnem času porušen. Podatki o rušenju do sedaj niso bili najdeni ne v arhivih ne v dnevnem časopisu (pregledan Slovenski Jadran, Tržaški dnevnik).

<sup>17</sup> Prvotno je bila kovinarska šola načrtovana v Šalaru, neposredno ob tovarni Tomos (SI PAK KP 24 OLO Projekti a.e. 844/6 Investicijski program za novo industrijsko-kovinarsko šolo z delavnicami in internatom (november 1956)); tudi za ta objekt je bil avtor arhitekt Miloš Hohnjec. Postavitev šole ob tovarno je bila uresničena z novogradnjo in selitvijo šole leta 2010. Načrt je obsegal široko historično območje na stičišču kontrade Zubenaga in Porta Isolana, v neposredni bližini stolnice, krstilnice sv. Janeza Evangelista in patriarhovega stolpa.

<sup>18</sup> V odločbi je kot projektant naveden arh. Miloš Hohnjec, z asistentoma ing. Drago Aličem in statikom Dragom Raičem. Načrt je podpisal arhitekt Rajner, Hohnjec pa je podpisan kot oblikovalec okolice (SI PAK KP 24 OLO Projekti a.e. 844/2 Situacijski načrt industrijsko kovinarske šole in vajeniškega doma v Kopru (avgust 1957)).

<sup>19</sup> <http://franciskani-koper.rkc.si/?viewPage=13> (27. 7. 2011); Korošak, 2008.



**Sl. 2: Prenova samostana sv. Ane kot vsebinsko in oblikovno uspešen primer nove rabe: frančiškanski samostan, študentski dom in kulturno središče (foto: N. Čeborn Lipovec, 2012).**

**Fig. 2: The renovation of St. Anne's Friary as a conceptually and aesthetically successful example of reuse: a Franciscan monastery, a hall of residence and a cultural centre (photo: N. Čeborn Lipovec, 2012).**

pa hrvaško. Leta 1954 je ljudska oblast samostan nacionizirala in v njem uredila zapore. Bratje so se umaknili v pomožne prostore na drugi strani cerkve, ki so jo smeli še naprej uporabljati (Korošak, 2008). Arhivski dokumenti pa kažejo, da so že leta 1949 bili pripravljeni načrti za adaptacijo samostana v kazensko-poboljševalni zavod.<sup>20</sup>

Samostan je bil prenovljen med letoma 2005 in 2007, potem ko je bil leta 1997 z denacionalizacijo vrnjen frančiškanom, zaporji pa so bili preseljeni v novo zgradbo ob Ankaranski cesti. Kompleks je bil v celoti obnovljen, na vzhodnem delu je bil dodan moderen, a ugašen dozidek, delo arhitekta Matije Suhadolca. Danes kompleks poleg samostana gosti študentski dom in kulturni center Rotunda (sl. 2).

#### Samostan klaris

Pripadnice reda sv. Klare so bile v Kopru gotovo prisotne že leta 1301. Kompleks se nahaja v nekdanji četrti San Tomaso, ob nekdanji glavni povezovalni žili iz cen-

tra mesta na vzhodni del mestnega oboda, ob današnji Goriški ulici. Dvorišče samostana tvori danes samostojen trg – Kapodistriassov trg. Kompleks ima razvezjano tlorisno shemo nepravilne oblike. Izvorno naj bi ga sestavljali dve dvorišči: notranje dvorišče s trakti in z vrtom v zahodnem delu ter arkadno dvorišče s cerkvijo v vzhodnem delu, slednje je nepravilne oblike, obdano s štirimi trakti. Arkadno dvorišče klaris je edino tovrstno dvorišče, ohranjeno na Obali (Prohinar, Hoyer, 2003, 7).

Leta 1806 so francoske oblasti samostan razpustile in njegovo imetje podržavile. V zgodnjem 19. stoletju je samostan sprva služil kot skladišče, v času francoske oblasti je bila vanj umeščena vojašnica. Ta funkcija naj bi se ohranila vsaj do leta 1895, ko je mesto odkupilo vojašnico in v nekdanji samostan umestilo mestno šolo, prenova naj bi se odvila med letoma 1895 in 1897, vodil jo je mestni arhitekt Gregorio Calogiorgio.<sup>21</sup> Celoten kompleks je kot šola živel do konca druge svetovne vojne.

20 Izvedene so bile predvsem gradbene ojačitve, kot je vstavitev armiranobetonske plošče v nadstropje, in pa zazidave odprtin. Delo je izvedlo podjetje Rusjan, načrt pa je podpisal arhitekt Tullio Bertoja (SI PAK KP 23 OLO a.e. 87 Dopis (9. 9. 1949)).

21 Cherini poroča: »Era possibile risolvere il problema [dello spazio per le scuole] quando le autorità militari lasciavano libera la grande caserma di Santa Chiara, che veniva rilevata dal comune nel 1895. Il progetto di trasformazione veniva attuato in quasi due anni di lavoro dall' ingegnere comunale Gregorio Calogiorgio con una spesa di 10.709 fiorini che andavano ad aggiungersi 20.000 fiorini sborsati per l' acquisto degli edifici. Al termine dei lavori si trovavano a disposizione della scuola 2.400 m<sup>2</sup> di aule e 2.900 m<sup>2</sup> di aree scoperte (3 cortili).« (Cherini, 1991, 26) Podatke podajamo, ker so eni redkih domoznanskih podatkov, ki so dosegljivi na to temo, vendar avtor člankov ne navaja virov, zato jih uporabljam le informativno. To velja za vse Cherinijeve citate.

Po drugi svetovni vojni je samostan čakalo več usod. Leta 1957 je bil dokončno predelan za prostore Rižanskega vodovoda, po načrtu arhitekta Miloša Hohnjeca.<sup>22</sup> V luči raziskav povojskih usod samostanov pa je treba omeniti še predhodni povojni načrt, ki ni bil realiziran. Projekt iz leta 1955, ki ga je v imenu takratnega Projektivnega biroja »Gradbenik« iz Izole pripravil isti arhitekt, Miloš Hohnjec, je sprva predvideval adaptacijo kompleksa v dijaški dom za dijake Ekonomsko srednje šole, v vajenški dom in dom gospodinjske šole, ki naj bi dobila prostore v sosednjem minoritskem samostanu, sedanji gimnaziji. Velja opomniti, da je že Smole v svojem popisu spomenikov pripomnil, da bi stavba bila primerna za internat (Smole, 1956). Adaptacija je predvidela minimalne posege v historično substanco, ponekod je obsegala vgrajevanje novih predelnih sten, redkokje prebijanje sten za nove prehode, predvsem pa obnovo tlakov, okenskih in vratnih okvirjev in vzpostavitev novih povezav – stopnišč. V tehničnem poročilu kot tudi na sam načrt je arhitekt zapisal: »Kjer se bo ob priliki rušitve pokazala stara oblika stavbe /loki – oboki – obdelana kamenita konstrukcija – kamenite obrobe/ je dela takoj ustaviti in poklicati projektanta / Pravilnost izmer v načrtih je preveriti na stavbi / Vse obstoječe konstrukcije je treba kolikor mogoče ohraniti / Vse konstrukcije tlakov se bo podalo ob priliki, ko se bodo isti odprli in se bo ugotovilo obstoječe stanje.« Izraženi odnos kaže tenkočutno razumevanje historične substance, kar je za posege v Kopru v tem času, še posebno pa v zgodnjih 60-ih letih, neobičajno.

Leta 1957 je prišlo do sprememb v dodeljeni funkciji, ko je bil severozahodni trakt predviden za prostore Zavoda za pospeševanje gospodinjstva in okrajnega Rdečega križa; vzhodni trakt je bil namenjen prostorom upravnega poslopja Rižanskega vodovoda, pritličja pa njihovim skladiščem, le del bi ostal na razpolago šoli.<sup>23</sup> Pri načrtu iz leta 1957 velja opozoriti na pozornost, posvečeno izdelavi notranje opreme, predvsem okenskih in vratnih okvirjev ter pregradnih steklenih sten, ki jih zaznamuje umirjena geometrijskost modernizma. Enake elemente srečamo tudi v adaptiranem servitskem samostanu. Raziskave v sodobnem času so Hohnječev poseg ovrednotile kot »kvaliteten prispevek tedanjega oblikovanja« (Prohinar in Hoyer, 2003, 7).

Zahodni sklop samostana je bil nato temeljito predelan z dozidanimi stavbami (trakti) že v začetku 70-ih let in 80-ih let 20. stoletja za potrebe srednje šole po načrtih arhitekta Zdravka Leskovica (Prohinar in Hoyer, 2003, 7).

Leta 1986 so konservatorji MZVKND pripravili konservatorski program za prenovo samostana klaris, v katerem je bilo arkadno dvorišče kot mestni prostor umeščeno v najvišje varstvene kategorije, nekdanja glavna ulična povezava do Gramscijevega trga in južna fasada samostana cerkve pa kot prostor izjemnih ambientalnih kvalitet (Prohinar in Hoyer, 2003, 6). Od leta 1991 je v prostorih samostana sedež Pokrajinskega arhiva Koper. Izziv prenove sta leta 1989 prevzela arhitekt Vojteh Ravnikar in arhitektka Majda Planiček iz biroja »Kraški zidar« TOZD Projektiva – inženiring. Prenova je uvedla zasteklitev pritličnih arkad, dozidavo zahodnega trakta z novim vhodom; nova funkcija je prinesla novo prostorsko razporeditev, kjer se pisarne razprostirajo po celotnem nadstropju vseh krakov, pritlični prostori pa služijo kot skladišče – glavno skladišče je bilo umeščeno v samostansko cerkev s samostoječo nosilno konstrukcijo (Ravnikar in Planiček, 1989). Načrt je predvideval tudi morebitno dograditev severnega trakta; realizirana škarpa pa povzema nekdanji samostanski zid. S konservatorskega stališča je bil poseg ocenjen kot skladen, le adaptacija cerkvene dvorane ni upoštevala vseh izhodišč (Prohinar in Hoyer, 2003, 8), saj je tu danes glavno skladišče arhiva, zaradi česar ta del spomenika ni neposredno dostopen javnosti.

### Minoritski samostan

Koprski minoritski samostan sodi med najstarejše samostane v Kopru. Minoriti naj bi se v mestu naselili leta 1260.<sup>24</sup> Kompleks se nahaja v nekdanjem predelu San Tomaso, v neposredni bližini trga Brolo, in tvori enoten stavbni blok s samostanom klaris. Samostanski kompleks so izvorno sestavljeni enoladijska dvoranska cerkev na južni stranici ter dve notranji dvorišči z bivalnimi trakti.

Leta 1806 so francoske oblasti samostan razpustile in stavba je najprej služila kot vojašnica. V času prefekta Angela Calafatija je bil izveden večji poseg ob rektifikaciji današnje Cankarjeve ulice: del severnega dvorišča samostana so porušili, da so čezenj speljali novo ravno ulico. V sredini stoletja se je v stavbo vselila ljudska šola, za njene potrebe je leta 1852 kompleks doživel že manjše predelave.<sup>25</sup> Leta 1874 je bilo v Kopru ustanovljeno trojezično učiteljišče (*Istituto Magistrale*), ki je leta 1875 dobio prostore v minoritskem samostanu. Po drugi svetovni vojni je leta 1958 v kompleksu zaživilo slovensko učiteljišče, ki se je leta 1969 preoblikovalo v slovensko gimnazijo. Leta 1957 je bil dozidan novi trakt,<sup>26</sup> ki je tako nekdanji

22 SI PAK KP 24 OLO Projekti a.e. 370/1 Samostan Sv.Klare v Kopru – adaptacija za Dom srednje ekonomsko šole (16. 8. 1955).

23 SI PAK KP 24 OLO Projekti a.e. 689 Odločba o adaptaciji samostana Sv.Klare za upravne prostore in skladišče Rižanskega vodovoda – Koper (20. 4. 1957); SI PAK KP 24 OLO Projekti a.e. 689 Adaptacija sv. Klare za potrebe Rdečega križa (14.11.1957); SI PAK KP 24 OLO Projekti a.e. 689 Odločba o adaptacija samostana Sv.Klare za Zavod za pospeševanje gospodinjstva (7.12.1957).

24 V tem poglavju se naslanjam na natančen historiat razpustitve reda in kompleksa, ki ga je objavila Zdenka Bonin (2004): Pokopavanje v samostanski cerkvi manjših bratov konventualcev sv. Frančiška v Kopru med leti 1719 in 1806 ter razpustitev samostana, Arhiv, 27, 1, 109–120.

25 V tretjem nadstropju uredijo prostore za stanovanja učiteljev, v pritličju pa del gimnazije preuredijo v prostore deške šole po načrtih mestnega arhitekta Pietra Zeriula (SI PAK KP 340 Zbirka načrtov a.e. 39/1 Načrt za ureditev koprske gimnazije).

26 SI PAK KP 24 OLO Projekti a.e. 704/3 Graditev hodnika slovenske gimnazije v Kopru (1957).

samostan povezal s palačo Vissich Nardi na Brolu. V letih 1965–1966 je bila izvedena večja adaptacija notranjščine samostana pod vodstvom glavnega in odgovornega projektanta, ing. arh. Zdravka Leskovica.<sup>27</sup> Kompleks še danes gosti koprsko gimnazijo in tako nadaljuje funkcijo stavbe v zadnjem stoletju, po kateri je stavba tudi pozna na med lokalnim prebivalstvom.

Samostanska cerkev predstavlja s samostanom povezano, a vendar samosvojo zgodbo. Po razpustitvi je cerkev dobila v upravljanje občina, pod pogojem, da jo bo uporabljala v obredne namene (skladišče za cerkveno opremo, potrebe stolne cerkve), lastništvo pa bo ostalo religijskemu fondu. Leta 1857 je občina stavbo tudi odkupilila in jo uporabljala za vojašnico orožnikov, leta 1872 je bila v rabi kot hlev in skladišče, leta 1879 je bila že predvidena za šolsko telovadnico za vse mestne šole. Ob prelomu stoletja je skozi apsido potekal vhod na vrt med samostanom klaris in minoritov, ko je bila cerkev vključena kot razstavni prostor Prve istrske razstave, velike razstave leta 1910 (Simič, 2002, 215). Iz časa italijanske oblasti izhaja droben načrt, skica cerkve, imenovana *palestra*,<sup>28</sup> ki dokaže, da je bila cerkev takrat še vedno uporabljena strogo utilitarno – kot telovadnica. Med obema vojnoma naj bi dvorišče za cerkvijo uporabljalo katoliško društvo »Ludovico Muratori«.<sup>29</sup> Cerkev je športno namembnost ohranila tudi v povojnem času. Obenem dokumenti pričajo, da so se mestne oblasti dobro zavedale zgodovinske in umetniške vrednosti stavbe, a so iz funkcionalnih razlogov ohranile utilitarno funkcijo iz medvojnega časa.<sup>30</sup> V sklopu prenov samostanskih kompleksov pod vodstvom ing. arh. Leskovica je bila že v 70-ih letih predvidena nova prilagojena raba cerkve za koncertno dvorano. V 80-ih letih so strokovnjaki MZVKD pripravili dokumentacijo za prenovo in prezentacijo, ki pa ni bila upoštevana (Prohinar, Hoyer, 2003, 13). Telovadnica je bila izseljena leta 1991, tako je bila v letih 1991 in 1992 izvedena sanacija in prezentacija baročnega stropa (Prohinar, 2007). Od leta 2005 se je organizirala tudi javna iniciativa za prenovo cerkve za javno rabo za kulturne dogodke, ponovno je bila predlagana uporaba za koncertno dvorano.



*Sl. 3: Minoritski samostan kot srednja šola – 150 let tradicije (foto: N. Čebron Lipovec, 2012).*

*Fig. 3: A Minorite monastery as a secondary school – 150 years of tradition (photo: N. Čebron Lipovec, 2012).*

Tu velja opozoriti, da telovadnica gotovo ne sodi v izbor primernih rab, je pa, paradoksno, pomagala ohraniti cerkev, saj v njeno substanco ni posegala; substanco in historično vrednost pa se pospešeno uničuje, če je stavba zapuščena. Danes cerkev še vedno čaka na prenovo, v nekdanjem samostanu pa se trenutno šola 138. generacija koprskih dijakov (sl. 3).

27 V adaptacijskih delih so vse lesene stope zamenjali z železobetonskimi, odstranjeni so bili leseni podi ter kamnit tlak v atriju in pritičnih hodnikih, funkcionalno so bile predelane pregradne stene in zamenjana vsa okna in vrata. Odstranjeni sta bili tudi obe kamnitni stopnišči, od teh je bilo zahodno zelo kvalitetno, s kamnoseško obdelanim belim apnencem. Fragmenti zahodnega stopnišča so bili vgrajeni v ograjo pred današnjim dvoriščnim vhodom v novi prizidek. Glavni vhod je bil z vzhodne strani prestavljen na zahodno stran, ob nekdanji mrtvašnici. Popravili so tudi strešno konstrukcijo in atrij prekrili s prosojno modro kritino na železni konstrukciji (Prohinar, 2003).

28 SI PAK KP 340 Zbirka načrtov a.e.39 Palestra di ginnastica (s.a.).

29 Cherini poroča: »Un secondo ricreatorio cattolico intitolato a "Ludovico Muratori" aveva sede nel cortile di San Francesco e qui venivano a ricrearsi e a giocare al pallone anche gli allievi del seminario interdiocesano.« (Cherini, 1991, 45).

30 Iz zapisnikov seje Sveta za komunalne zadeve v Kopru izvemo, da je bila oktobra 1949 cerkvena streha zaradi zamakanja in strohnelih tramov popravljena. Iz poročila projektantov prenove izvemo, da so posebej pazili na ohranjanje poslikave. V zapisniku Oddelka za gradnjo IOLO Koper številka G.V.3340/49-1, predmet »Ricostruzione tetto della palestra – Capodistria« izvirno besedilo glasi: »Ove la palestra si congiunge col fabbricato dell'acquedotto, si è constata l'infiltrazione d'acqua nel muro e nei vecchi affreschi sul soffitto. Qualora tale inconveniente non venisse eliminato sussiste il pericolo di danneggiamento deli affreschi i quali hanno un'importanza storica. Inoltre sussiste il pericolo di crollo, tra breve periodo di tempo, della rispettiva parte del tetto dato che le travature di sostegno sono marcite. Onde conservare gli affreschi ed evitare il crollo del tetto come pure assicurare l'uso indisturbato della palestra e indispensabile di eseguire quanto prima i seguenti lavori /.../« Podpisani so ing. Maks Stepančič, zaposleni Oddelka za gradnje IOLO, Bricelj Leopold, zaposleni Oddelka za gradnje IOLO, in Manzat Alfonso, predstavnik gradbenega podjetja 1. maj iz Kopra (SI PAK KP 24 OLO Projekti a.e. 788/6 Ricostruzione tetto della palestra Capodistria (20. 10. 1949)).

### Servitski samostan

Serviti so se v Kopru naselili v prvi polovici 15. stoletja, prostor so dobili v nekdanjih stavbah benediktinskega reda, v četrti Bracciolo na zahodnem delu mesta, danes med Kettejevo in Santorijevo ulico. Že leta 1453 so začeli samostan prezidavati, večji poseg pa je stavba doživelva v 16. stoletju, ko so se odločili na severni strani zgraditi novo cerkev, ki je bila posvečena leta 1601. Samostan so beneške oblasti razpustile z dekretom leta 1772, redovniki pa so v njem ostali do leta 1792. Takrat je beneški senat odobril prošnjo upravitelja bolnišnice Francesca del Tacco, da bi samostan namenili mestni bolnišnici, kar pa se je zgodilo

še leta 1810. Stavba je že pred tem dekretom delovala kot vojaški lazaret, kar razberemo iz opisa stanja poslopja leta 1787. Iz leta 1797 izhaja prošnja o adaptacijskih delih za bolnišnico, vendar ni natančneje znano, katere dele kompleksa naj bi se adaptiralo. Bolnišnica se je torej dokončno vselila leta 1810. Natančnejši podatki o predelavah poročajo o spremembni namembnosti baročne cerkve, ki jo leta 1840 predelajo v skladisče vin (Badoer, 1934, 247).<sup>31</sup>

Iz medvojnega obdobja izhajajo dokumenti o predelavah v »ospedale civico«, mestno bolnišnico, ko naj bi del kompleksa preuredili za specialistično ginekološko ambulanto.<sup>32</sup> Posegi so obsegali predvsem zazidavo številnih oken in razširitev odprtin ter vpeljavo peči in dimnikov.



*Sl. 4: Servitski samostan v Kopru kot porodnišnica v 80-ih letih, rojstna hiša tisočev Primorcev (Arhiv Splošne Bolnišnice Izola, pridobljeno preko Pokrajinskega arhiva Koper).*

*Fig. 4: The Monastery of the Servite Order in Koper as a maternity hospital in the 1980s, the birthplace of thousands of inhabitants of Primorska (Archives of the Izola General Hospital, obtained through the Koper Regional Archives).*

<sup>31</sup> Stavbo sta odkupila brata Giuseppe in Giovanni Carbonajo, načrt predelave pa je naredil že omenjeni arhitekt Piero Zeriul, kot poroča S. A. Hoyyer v svojem historiatu kompleksa (2002).

<sup>32</sup> Najdeni načrti in popisi del so datirani v medvojno obdobje, a niso podpisani, vendar jih po analogiji pisave lahko umestimo k avtorju načrtov v minoritski cerkvi oz. telovadnici (SI PAK KP 340 Zbirka načrtov a.e. 38 Ospedale civico (s.a.)).

Večji posegi v historično substanco so bil izvedeni v povoju času. Sočasno s prvim načrtom za samostan klaris je bil odobren tudi načrt »Adaptacije ginekološko-porodniškega oddelka bolnice v Kopru«. Leta 1954 je bil pripravljen investicijski načrt za »zasilno sanacijo« bolnice v Kopru, ki ga je podpisal arhitekt Miloš Hohnjec s sodelavci, izveden pa med letoma 1956 in 1957. Podobno kot pri samostanu klaris, je servitski samostan doživel zmerne posege v historično strukturo glede na nove funkcijeske zahteve.<sup>33</sup> Notranjščino so oblikovno zaznamoval bele uokvirjene steklene predelne stene in nihajna vrata, slogovno izrazito sorodna tistim v prvem načrtu prenove samostana klaris. Cerkev je bila po vojni dodeljena tovarni pohištva Stil kot skladišče. Decembra 1962 (Slovenski Jadran, 3. 1. 1963; Primorski dnevnik, 27. 12. 1962) je bila zaradi požara uničena in posledično porušena. Od takrat je tam javna zelena površina, pobočje pa je bilo utrjeno s kamnitom škarpo, od leta 2010 je na njem otroško igrišče.

Do leta 1996 je v prostorih samostana delovala porodnišnica za južnoprimsko regijo (sl. 4). Z izgradnjijo porodnišnice poleg bolnišnice na Markovem hribu se je ta funkcija za širšo skupnost po 200 letih izselila iz mestnega jedra. Do leta 2003 je v pritličnih prostorih južnega trakta deloval še center za razdeljevanje metadona. Med letoma 1996 in 2003 se je v križnem hodniku odvilo več kulturnih dejavnosti: gledališke predstave Primorskega poletnega festivala, dogodki v organizaciji kulturno-umetniškega društva C3.

Od leta 2003 je kompleks zapuščen. Načrti prenove so sprva predvideli novo rabe za potrebe nastajajoče univerze: najprej za univerzitetno knjižnico (Bugarič, 2004), nato za nove prostore Fakultete za management Univerze na Primorskem. Od leta 2009 stavbo prevzema v upravljanje Univerza na Primorskem, da bi jo prenovila za potrebe mednarodnega centra Univerze. S to perspektivo so bila pozimi 2011 izvedena preliminarna arheološka izkopavanja, ki so odkrila ostanke rimske vile na južnem dvorišču (Zanier, Kavur, 2011). Nadaljnja usoda kompleksa še ni znana.

## NOVA RABA IN DRUŽBENI POMEN

Pregled spremjanja funkcij koprskih samostanov kaže, da so te zgodovinske institucije iz Kopra praktično izginile, ostala oz. vrnila se je le frančiškanska skupnost v samostan sv. Ane. Pregled kaže, da so »starejše-nove rabe« iz 19. stoletja sledile zanim principom nove rabe tega časa: bolnišnice, zapori, šole. Adaptacije po 2. svetovni vojni pa so te rabe v veliki večini tudi nadaljevale – ohranjale so javno in družbeno-koristno funkcijo stavb, vsaj v primeru servitskega, minoritskega in klariskega

samostana. Gre za pomemben vidik, saj prav obdržane javne funkcije nekdanjih samostanov predstavljajo kontinuiteto v rabi in torej vez s predvojnim časom. Ta ugotovitev je pomembna prav v luči korenitih demografskih sprememb, ki so se odvile po drugi vojni. Z odhodom večinskega prebivalstva so izginili tudi njihov kolektivni spomin in družbeni pomeni, ki so jih vezali na te prostore. Z ohranjanjem funkcije pa se je prav ta kolektivni spomin nekdanjih prebivalcev »pripele« na kolektivni spomin novih prebivalcev (dijaki v učiteljišču/gimnaziji; novorojenci v bolnišnici/porodnišnici).

Načelo o nujnosti valorizacije večplastnosti pomenov dediščine je v kontekstu sodobnega Kopra posebej pomembno. Ravno zato, ker je večina sodobnega prebivalstva slovenskih obalnih mest na to področje prišla šele po vojni in se skupna zgodovina, in z njo kolektivni spomin sedanjih prebivalcev, v tem prostoru začenja s povoju časom, so povoje namembnosti stavbne dediščine velejega pomena. Povoje nove rabe namreč predstavljajo izrazit povezovalni faktor novonastale obalne, predvsem mestne skupnosti : različne šole (klarise – srednja (ekonomsko-poslovna) šola, minoriti – gimnazija, dominikanški samostan – osnovna šola), predvsem pa porodnišnica, ki povezuje celo regijo. V njihovih prostorih sta se gradili identiteta in pripadnost po vojni priseljenega prebivalstva in njihovih potomcev, obenem z starejšim prebivalstvom iz predvojnega časa in njihovimi potomci. Samostanski kompleksi tako za sedanje prebivalstvo obenem lahko predstavljajo »očarljive zgodbe iz davnih beneških časov«, a predvsem prostore njihove skupne pripadnosti. Rabe samostanskih kompleksov po razpustitvah tako pomenijo – poleg historičnih in spomeniško zaščitenih vrednot – novo plast ali »usedlino« v zgodovini in identiteti posameznih stavb in širšega mestnega prostora, ki jo je nujno treba raziskati, ovrednotiti in valorizirati v imenu ohranjanja dediščine.

V Kopru je nedvomno simbolno najmočnejša vloga servitskega samostana oz. porodnišnice, ki je – metaforično privzeto – rojstna hiša tisočev Primorcev. Ta vidik je zato ključnega pomena pri novih konservatorskih in prenovitvenih posegih, če želimo mestni prostor in prenovo povezati s prebivalstvom. Treba ga je ovrednotiti in izpostaviti pri prezentaciji zgodovine stavbe in premišljeno integrirati v novo rabo.

## PRISPEVEK K LOKALNI ZGODOVINI

Dodatni vidik, povezan z lokalno zgodovino in pa z zgodovino konservatorske stroke na istrskem območju, predstavljajo arhivski podatki te raziskave. Skozi analizo arhivskih podatkov se je »iz teme izvila« podoba do sedaj

<sup>33</sup> Najbolj drastični posegi so obsegali vstavljanje električne napeljave, dimnikov, predvsem pa ojačitev temeljev ter vpeljavo medetaž v visokostropnih prostorih ter opečnatih predelnih sten za čim bolj učinkovito koriščenje prostorov. Gradbeni načrt je obsegal tudi ureditev in zazelenitev obeh dvorišč ter vrtu na severni strani (SI PAK KP 24 OLO Projekti a.e. 545/2 Ginekološko-porodniški oddelek bolnice Koper (1955)).

anonimnega arhitekta Miloša Hohnjeca, ki ga zdaj lahko imenujemo za mestnega arhitekta<sup>34</sup> obnov koprskih samostanov po drugi svetovni vojni, saj je bil v večini primerov glavni projektant adaptacij, v samostanu klaris in servitskem samostanu, oz. novogradjen na področju dominikanskega in avguštinskega samostana.<sup>35</sup> Prihodnje raziskave se bodo morale posvetiti natančnejši analizi življenja in dela tega arhitekta. V okviru tega prispevka opozarjam predvsem na njegov pristop, ki je – drugače kot pri sočasnih načrtih arhitekta Nika Bežka in kasnejših posegih arhitekta Eda Mihevc (Čebtron Lipovec, 2012) – izkazal zavzeto spoštovanje zgodovine in skromnost v posegih. Iz vseh posegov in zapisov lahko razberemo, da imamo opravka z arhitektom, ki je razumel pomembnost zgodovinskih stavb in pomen njihovega ohranjanja ter opozarjal na pazljivo ravnanje s kvalitetnimi deli stavb.

### ZAKLJUČEK

Raziskava o usodah koprskih samostanov po njihovih razpustitvah je pokazala, da so ti doživelji precej raznolike usode: nekateri so bili izrazito predelani že v 19. stoletju in so v povojnem času izginili (dominikanski samostan, ki

je postal kaznilnica, po vojni pa ga je nadomestila nova osnovna šola; glagoljaški samostan – porušen; avguštinski samostan, predelan za potrebe kovinarske šole), drugi pa so se s privzemom oz. nadaljevanjem družbeno-koristne funkcije, kot so šole in bolnišnica, v veliki večini ohranili. Izpostavimo pa lahko tudi tretjo skupino samostanov, ki so rabo spremenili nedavno (klarise – arhiv; Sv. Ana – kulturni center in študentski dom), ki se z novo rabo bolj približajo zahtevam po novih namembnostih za cerkveno arhitekturo in rabi na področju kulture.

Posebej osvetljujemo obdobje po vojni, za katerega so značilni drastični posegi v mestno tkivo, a sklenemo lahko, da z izjemo glagoljaškega in dominikanskega samostana ostali kompleksi preživijo brez večjih sprememb – v gabaritih, materialu, prostorski zasnovi; tudi po zaslugu neznanih, a za zgodovino tenkočutnih arhitektov. Pregled novih, povojnih rab izpostavlja dva aspekta: v številnih primerih povojna raba dejansko nadaljuje že predvojno rabo (iz italijanskega, večinoma pa celo iz avstrijskega obdobja), predvsem funkcije šol in bolnišnice. Te funkcije pa v povojni realnosti postanejo tvorni del polpretekle zgodovine in sidra kolektivnega spomina, ki morajo kot taki biti ovrednoteni tudi pri pripravi novih prenovitvenih posegov.

## FATES AND NEW USES OF THE CONVENTS IN KOPER AFTER THE DISSOLUTION OF MONASTIC ORDERS, FOCUS ON THE POST-WAR PERIOD

Neža ČEBRON LIPOVEC

University of Primorska, Science and Research Centre, Garibaldijeva 1, 6000 Koper  
e-mail: neza.cebronlipovec@zrs.upr.si

### SUMMARY

*Focusing on the case-study of Koper-Capodistria with its eight convents, the article deals with two major subjects: with the fates of the convents from the 19th century on after the dissolution of the monastic orders and with the concept of adaptive reuse. By investigating the meaning of adaptive reuses in regard to collective memory and the values of heritage, we look into the very topical issue of community participation in heritage preservation. Starting from the fact that convents have historically played a salient role in urban societies, we look into the public character of later uses of the complexes. One of the lead quests is: what are the significances that conventual complexes and their latest uses may have for the local community today? At the same time we outline the structural changes conveyed by the changed use.*

*Since Koper-Capodistria is the core case, we focus especially on the post- World War II interventions, since in that period a major social and demographic change took place, so the collective memory of the majority of the present inhabitants starts not earlier than 1945. Several of the ex-convents still have the same use as in the post-war time. Therefore we look specifically at the adaptations made in the post-war period through an analysis of archival architectural documents.*

34 Pravkar objavljeno zaključno seminarско delo Tima Mavriča dopoljuje to tezo: Miloš Hohnjec je bil namreč avtor enega od načrtov prenove »Konventa« (nekdanjega benediktinskega samostana) v Ankaranu, kjer je arhitekt ponovno postopal izjemno minimalistično in skromno (Mavrič, 2012).

35 Neznanega arhitekta ne najdemo v pregledih slovenske povojne arhitekture, omenjen je le kot član skupine arhitektov, ki so gradili Velenje (Koželj, 1984).

*The conclusions show that the ex-convents of Koper-Capodistria have had very diverse fates: some convents disappeared completely, yet on their location new buildings with a high significance for the community were raised (schools). Another group encompasses convents that partly maintained the roles inherited from the 19th century. The inherited roles are those of schools and maternity hospital which bear a high level of significance for the local identity as they are also bearers of community life. At the same time, the recent renovations brought new uses (archive, student house, cultural centre) that comply more with the theoretical requirements as to adaptive reuse, namely for cultural purposes in the case of religious buildings. Finally, the investigation shows that the several adaptations basically maintained the historic tissue and structure of the historic buildings, often thanks to almost unknown local architects.*

We highlight, however, the crucial importance of valorizing the social values of the post-war community use as the key reference for local identity. Consequently, it represents a prominent aspect to be integrated in future preservation actions.

**Key words:** Koper, convents, conservation, adaptive reuse, collective memory, postwar period

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## GLAGOLJAŠKI SAMOSTAN V KOPRU

*Salvator ŽITKO*

Univerza na Primorskem, Fakulteta za humanistične študije, Titov trg 5, 6000 Koper, Slovenija  
e-mail: salvator.zitko@gmail.com

### IZVLEČEK

*Prispevek osvetljuje pojav, razvoj in nastanitev frančiškanov tretjerednikov (glagoljašev) v beneškem Kopru (1473) ter njihovo dokončno ustalitev v samostanu sv. Gregorija (1530) v mestni četrti Zubenega, v neposredni bližini dominikanskega samostana. Napoleonski sistem je po letu 1806 z reformami na cerkvenem področju in razpustitvijo številnih redov in bratovščin že marca 1806 privadel do razpusta redu in ukinitve glagoljaškega samostana, ki je bil v obdobju avstrijske uprave po letu 1814/15 skupaj z nekdanjim dominikanskim samostanom po letu 1820 preurejen v obsežen kaznilniški kompleks. V tej funkciji je z vzdevkom »Presoneta« preživel avstrijsko in italijansko obdobje ter leta 1950 (v precej bednem stanju) zaradi svojega nekdanjega pomena za slovansko liturgijo in kulturo vzbudil zanimanje tedanjega Zgodovinskega društva za jugoslovansko cono B. Kljub svoji dragoceni zgodovinsko-dokumentarni pričevalnosti je bil, skupaj s celotnim zaporniškim kompleksom, v skladu z novim urbanističnim načrtom ing. arh. Eda Mihevcia po letu 1954 porušen.*

**Ključne besede:** glagoljaški samostan, gregoriti tretjeredniki, frančiškanska provinca, gvardjani, kaznilniški kompleks

## THE GLAGOLIAN MONASTERY IN KOPER

### ABSTRACT

*The article sheds light on the emergence, development and establishment of the Third Order of St. Francis (Glagolists) in Venetian Koper (1473), and their final settlement in the Monastery of St. Gregory (1530) in the town district of Zubenaga, in the immediate vicinity of a Dominican monastery. At the beginning of 1806, the Napoleonic system started implementing its reforms related to the Church, suppressing numerous orders and fraternities, and as early as March that same year that led to the termination of the Glagolian order and discontinuation of the operation of their monastery. The latter was in 1820, during the period of Austrian administration following the year 1814/15, transformed into a large correctional complex together with the former Dominican monastery. In this function and known under the moniker 'Presoneta' it survived the Austrian and Italian periods, and in 1950 (albeit in rather miserable conditions) excited the interest of the then Historical Society for the Yugoslav Zone B due to its former importance for the Slavic liturgy and culture. But despite its valuable historical and documentary testimony, following the new urban plan drawn by architect Edo Mihevc, which set it for demolition, the monastery was torn down after 1954 together with the entire correctional complex.*

**Key words:** Glagolian monastery, Gregorian tertiaries, Franciscan province, Father Guardians, correctional complex

## UVOD

V koprskem mestnem jedru je posebno mesto med redovi pripadalo frančiškanom tretjerednikom, in sicer zato, ker so bili po narodnosti pretežno Hrvati, po liturgičnem jeziku in pisavi pa edini glagoljaši v Kopru.

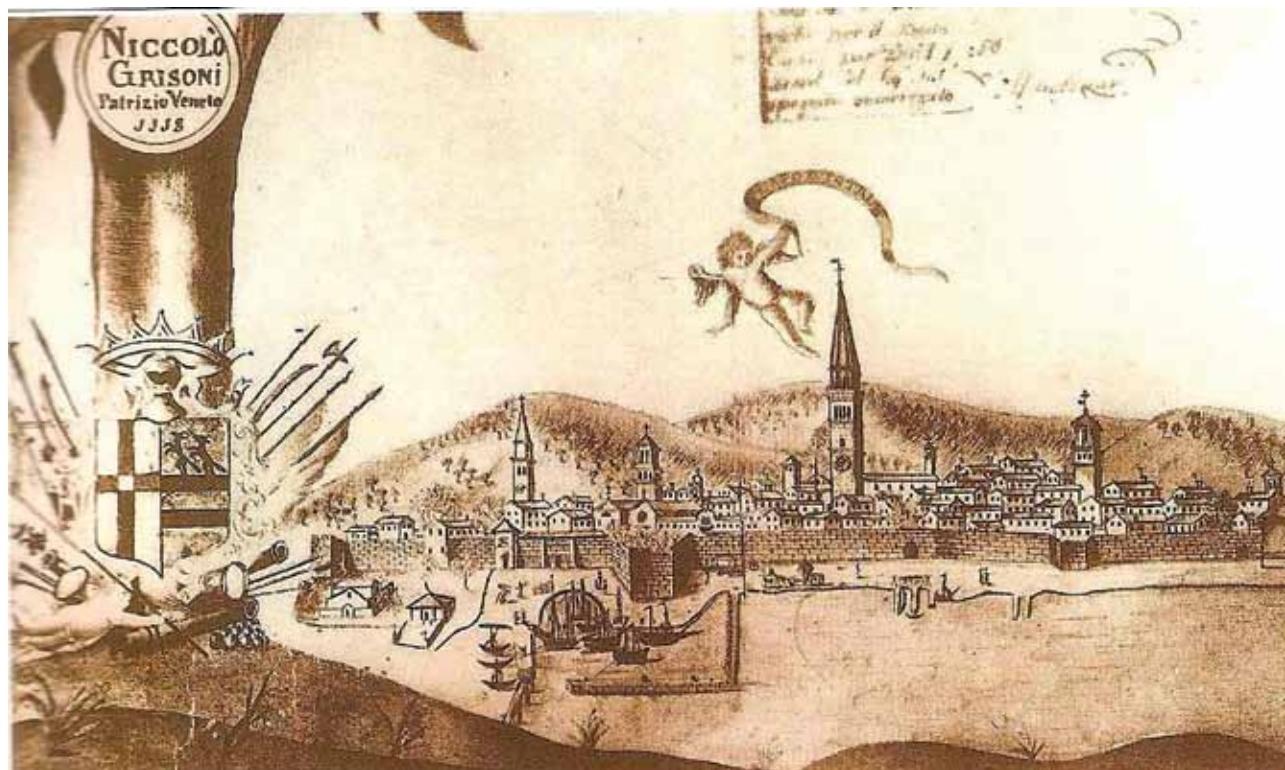
Od rimskokatoliških redov, ki so se pojavljali v naših krajih, so glagolsko bogoslužje negovali že benediktinci in pavlini, vendar le v omejenem obsegu (in sicer na območju južne Hrvaške oziroma severne Dalmacije in Istre izven romanskih mest).

Tretjeredniki so bili značilen pojav, teritorialno vezan predvsem na teritorij hrvaškega glagoljaštva in beneških posesti v Dalmaciji in Istri. Pomembno je, da so ravno tretjeredniki uspešno vzdržali pritisk beneškega »jožefinizma« v drugi polovici XVIII. stoletja, ki je ukinil mnoge samostane, kakor tudi francoske zasedbe na začetku XIX. stoletja, ki pa je koprski samostan ni preživel.

Po mnenju zgodovinarjev frančiškanskega reda se je red tretjerednikov razvil iz posameznih skupin svetih (sekulariziranih) članov tretjega reda, osnovanih leta 1221, ki so živeli puščavsko življenje v ermitažih in kasneje hospicijih. Te skupine so postopno zaživele skupno, samostansko življenje in tako izražale tendenco po formirjanju nove frančiškanske redovniške formacije, tj. reda. Ta pro-

ces se je pričel na začetku XIV. stoletja, v XV. pa je sledila že legalizacija posameznih regionalnih kongregacij: na Holandskem (1401), v Belgiji (1413), Španiji (1442), Italiji (zlasti v Lombardiji, 1447) in v Franciji okoli leta 1500. Tega leta obeležujejo tudi začetek pravega samostanskega tretjega reda (*Tertio ordo regularis S. Francisci de poenitentia*), ki je doslej užival samo nekatere papeške privilegije s pridobitvijo privilegia polaganja svečanih zaobljub tako kot drugi pravi redovniki. Njihovo glavno pravilo (*regula*) je bilo tisto, ki jim ga je predpisal papež Nikolaj IV. leta 1289, in sicer da dobivajo vizitatorje in duhovne učitelje iz I. frančiškanskega reda. Ker pa so se pričeli postopno pretvarjati v pravi samostanski red, so vse bolj težili k samostnosti oziroma neodvisnosti od minoritov konventualcev in observantov. Papeške odredbe so se glede tega vprašanja večkrat menjavale, tako da red ni bil enoten niti v organizacijskem niti v tekstualnem delu, statutu, pa tudi glede oblačil in drugih podrobnosti ne. Dokončno je samostojnost reda ustvaril šele papež Sikst V. z bulo leta 1586 s tem, da je dal tretjerednikom pravico do volitev svojih starešin, generalu minoritov pa je ostala le pravica, da so vsaka štiri leta vizitirali po samostanih tretjerednikov (Štefanić, 1956, 206).

Italijanska kongregacija se je po formirjanju leta 1447 oziroma 1467 polagoma organizirala in urejala, tako da je postala glavna kongregacija v Evropi. V Italiji se je razvilo



Sl. 1: Panorama Kopra na miniaturi družine Grisoni, 1818.

Fig. 1: Panorama di Capodistria in una miniatura della famiglia Grisoni, 1818.

13 provinc, od katerih so bile najmočnejše v Lombardiji, Toskani in Umbriji. Beneška republika je tvorila posebno provinco; dalmatinsko-istrska provinca je prišla v sestav italijanske kongregacije leta 1602.

Dalmatinsko-istrska tretjeredna provinca se je pričela spontano formirati tako kot italijanske. Začetke je treba iskati v skupinah eremitov, ki so živelni ob dalmatinski obali. Imenovali so se običajno eremiti pokore (*heremita de penitentia*), na območju Zadra že od sredine XIII. stoletja. Njihova zadarska kolonija je postala matica, okoli katere se je kasneje organizirala celotna redovna pokrajina. Na tej razvojni poti predstavlja pomemben trenutek gradnja samostana sv. Martina v Zadru leta 1439, ki so ga pomagali zgraditi bogati bosanski begunci. Eksapanziji zadarskih eremitov tretjerednikov sledimo nato v XV. stoletju ob obali navzgor, npr. na Cres, Krk in leta 1467 končno tudi v Koper. Že v tem času so se od nadzora frančiškanov minoritov toliko osamosvojili, da so leta 1473 tudi formalno osnovali svojo redovniško provinco pod imenom sv. Hieronima, in sicer na osnovi treh bul papeža Siksta IV., ki jim je dal pooblastilo, da na kapitlu izberejo svojega starešino in vizitorja ter da so podrejeni samo njemu.

V Istri so se osnovali še samostani tretjerednikov na Božjem polju pri Vižinadi (1536), kasneje pa (leta 1727) še v Novigradu (Štefanić, 1956, 208).

Odnos dalmatinsko-istrskih tretjerednikov do italijanske kongregacije kakor tudi do beneške uprave ni povsem jasen niti preciziran. Dalmatinsko-istrskim tretjerednikom vendarle vrhovni generalni minister frančiškanskega reda, ne pa general italijanske kongregacije, v letih 1500, 1506 in 1525 pošilja komisarje, in sicer same domače dalmatinske tretjerednike. No, kljub temu jih je sv. Sedež v buli papeža Pija IV. iz leta 1562 nazival »Congregationis Lombardiae in partibus Dalmatiae constitutis«. Kako je bil ta odnos vse do konca XVI. stoletja nejasen in kako so si tretjeredniki prizadevali, da bi bili vedno bolj ali manj samostojni, služi kot dokaz bula papeža Klementa VIII. iz leta 1602, s katero je dalmatinsko-istrske tretjerednike podvrgel generalnemu ministru tretjega reda v Italiji, torej italijanski kongregaciji. V tej buli navaja, da bratje tretjeredniki v dalmatinski in istrski provinci niso podložni nobenemu drugemu starešini kot samo provincialu, ki ga izberejo s tajnim glasovanjem. Torej jih je pridružil italijanskemu redu in jim dal vse pravice in dolžnosti italijanskih provinc, med katere je spadal tudi sodelovanje na generalnih kapitljih.

Toda ta povezanost z Italijani, ki so jo dalmatinski in istrski tretjeredniki leta 1601 žeeli zaradi zaščite, ni bila ugodna, in sicer zaradi razlike v jeziku in pisavi (glagolici), ki so se je posluževali v svojem celokupnem poslovanju. Konflikti so se pojavili odkar so nove italijanske konstitucije od leta 1648 od provinciala zahtevale, da preneha s triletnim obiskovanjem province ter da ga prepusti generalu reda ali njegovemu poverjeniku. Spori so se nadaljevali do leta 1735, ko so tretjeredniki na svojem kapitlu na Rabu izbrali svojega prokuratorja, in sicer fra Pavla Čačića

iz koprskega samostana, ki so ga poslali v Benetke in Padovo, da se pritoži nad novimi konstitucijami. Uspel je v toliko, da je general reda Bellomo izposloval pravico, da lahko v nasprotju z redovnimi konstitucijami – za poverjenika dalmatinsko-istrske province izbirajo redovnika iz iste province (Štefanić, 1956, 210).

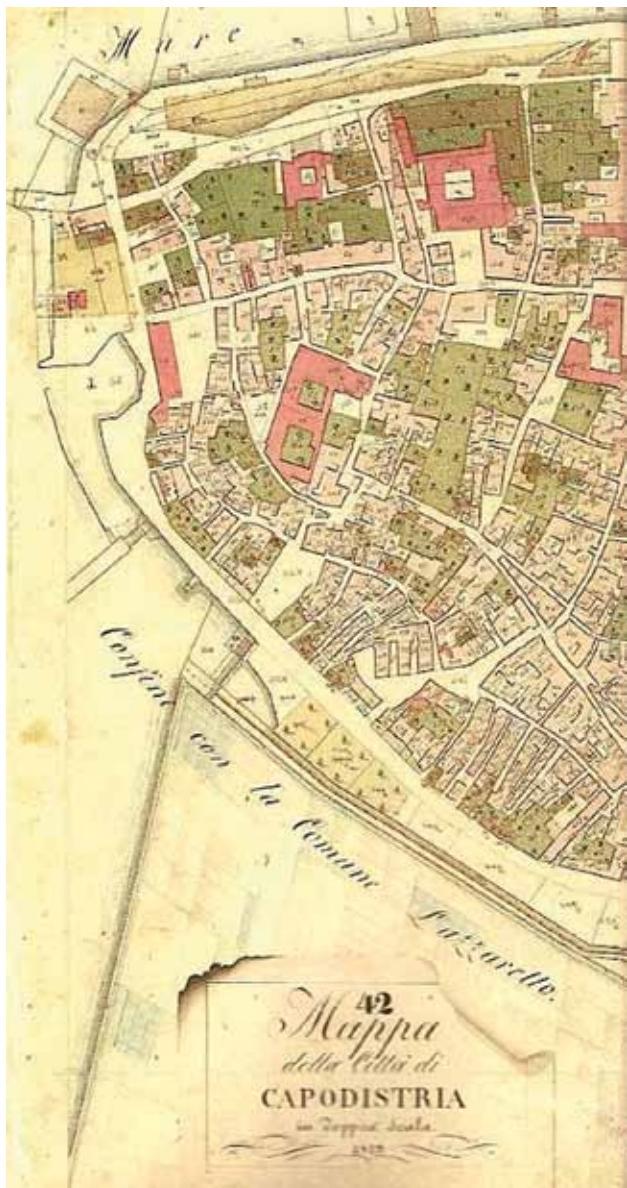
Najpomembnejše, kar je dalmatinsko-istrske tretjerednike razlikovalo od njihovih italijanskih bratov, je bila, razen oblačila, njihova domača vzgoja, ki je temeljila na tradiciji hrvaške glagolske pismenosti. Uporaba glagolske pisave in opravljanje bogoslužja v cerkvenoslovanskem jeziku sta bila tako udomačena od XV. stoletja dalje, da so se vedno smatrali za glagoljaše *par excellence*. Viri jih pogosto imenujejo z nedvoumнимi izrazi, kot npr.: *fratres de littera sclava, religiosi Illirici, religione Illirica* itd.

V Dalmaciji sta se srečali dve glagoljaški tradiciji: ena zahodna, ki je že zdavnaj likvidirala kult sv. Cirila in Me-



Sl. 2: Koprski škof Paolo Naldini (Corografia ecclesiastica, Venezia 1700).

Fig. 2: Il vescovo capodistriano Paolo Naldini, (Corografia ecclesiastica, Venezia 1700).



*Sl. 3: Območje Zubenage z vrisanim tlorisom dominikanskega in gregoritskega samostana (Pikel, 2004, 18).*  
*Fig. 3: La zona di Zubenaga con la pianta incisa del convento domenicano e gregoriano (Pikel, 2004, 18).*

toda (ker ju je rimska hierarhija proglašala za heretika), in druga vzhodna (makedonsko-humska-bosanska), ki je ta kult ohranila. To vzhodno so tretjeredniki verjetno prinesli iz Bosne.

Pri tem je treba opozoriti na nenavadno dejstvo, da so tretjeredniki naleteli pri beneških oblasteh na zaščito, in to ravno zato, ker so bili glagoljaši. Ta okoliščina je rešila njihovo provinco tudi pred samostansko reformo v drugi polovici XVIII. stoletja. Dejansko je zanimivo

opazovati ravnanje beneških oblasti do tretjerednikov v času, ko je notranja politika uspela svojo aktivnost usmeriti na reformo redovništva. Reforma si je postavila za cilj osvoboditev redovnikov izpod absolutne oblasti Rima, podreditev kontroli beneških oblasti, zmanjšanje števila redovnikov in samostanov, končno pa tudi materialno korist od mrtvega kapitala, tj. od posesti in drugega imetja, ki je bil v rokah redovnikov. Reformni ukrepi so bili od leta 1767 izvedeni v »jožefinskem duhu« in so vodili k ukinjanju redov. Najpomembnejši od ukrepov iz leta 1768 je redovnike postavil pod pristojnost svojih škofov, zato je Rim v času papeža Klementa XIII. odgovoril z ogorčenimi brevarji, v katerih pojasnjuje, da so Benetke prekoračile svoje državne funkcije, zato so od škofov in redovnikov zahtevali, da se ne pokoravajo vladnim odredbam.

Redovniki so se znašli v navskrižju interesov, toda ker je imela Beneška republika v rokah oblast, so se v največji meri podredili civilnim dekretom. Redukcija redovnikov se je tako nadaljevala in tako je bilo 179 samostanov različnih redov ukinjenih, med njimi bi ta usoda morala doleteti tudi frančiškane tretjerednike. Vendar temu ni bilo tako, saj je množica intervencij to preprečila. V Dalmaciji se iz posebnih političnih razlogov vladni dekreti niso tako strogo izvajali, nekateri pa sploh niso bili razglašeni. Posebno je bila vlada obzirna do minortske province zaradi njenega neposrednega sosedstva s turško Bosno in zaradi pastoralne funkcije njenih redovnikov.

Vsi navedeni laicistični, prosvetni in demokratični ukrepi beneških oblasti na področju redovništva so delovali tudi na tretjerednike dalmatinsko-istrske province. V obrambo reda se je takrat postavljal provincial fra Antun Juranić, ki je naglašal, da mladino poučujejo v »ilirskega« jeziku, in sicer brezplačno. So tudi edina redovniška skupnost v Dalmaciji, ki se poslužuje tega jezika v cerkvi. Odlok o usodi province tretjerednikov so oblasti dolgo odlagale, saj vsa dodatna pojasnila iz posameznih škofij glede koristnosti reda in uporabe »ilirskega« jezika še niso zadoščala. Leta 1781 je provincial Juranić podvzel novo akcijo, da bi rešil svoje samostane. Prvi njegov uspeh je bil, da je dukal Pola Renierja iz leta 1782 ohranil oba samostana na Krku v rokah tretjerednikov, še večji uspeh pa predstavlja dukal iz leta 1783, s katerim so samostan konventualcev na Krku predali v roke tretjerednikov. Končno je z dekretom Senata leta 1787 na temelju različnih not priznana koristnost tretjeredne province, zlasti zato, ker so v cerkveni liturgiji uporabljali ilirski oziroma slovanski jezik.

S tem se dejansko zaključuje zgodovina odnosov glagolske province tretjerednikov z Beneško republiko, papež Pij VI. pa je leta 1789 Juraniću podelil častni naslov eksdefinitorja zaradi večine v uporabi »ilirskega« jezika, zaradi katerega je bil zelo zasluzen za katoliško vero (Štefanić, 1956, 217).

## NASTANEK, RAZVOJ IN VLOGA SAMOSTANA GREGORITOV TRETJEREDNIKOV V KOPRU DO UKINITVE LETA 1806

Začetke samostana gregoritov tretjerednikov v Kopru lahko verjetno postavimo v leto 1467, to je v čas ekspanzije zadarskih frančiškanov v severno Dalmacijo in Istro, in sicer še pred formiranjem dalmatinske province.

Prvi sedež redovnikov je bil v hiši z vrtom v predelu mestnih vrat v Bošadragi blizu cerkve sv. Andreja, ki jo je tega leta patru Martinu Novaku Zadraninu daroval koprski plemič Francesco de Spelatis.

Fra Martin se ni takoj lotil gradnje samostanske cerkve, temveč so se tretjeredniki za obrede posluževali cerkvice sv. Andreja, medtem ko je Martin prejel v Rimu lateranski privilegij za gradnjo cerkve avgusta 1478. Zadradi gradnje je očitno prišlo do spora z observanti, ki so nekako v teh letih prišli v Koper ter se naselili v neposredni bližini gregoritov tretjerednikov, zato je postal ta mestni prostor pretesen. To je, kot navaja Paolo Naldini, škofa Bartolomea Assonico z njegovim kapitljem leta 1505 vodilo do tega, da je observantom odstopil cerkev sv. Andreja, tretjerednike pa prisilil, da so observantom prepustili vrt, ki so ga dotlej posedovali, in se vrnili v svojo cerkev sv. Marije Magdalene (Darovec, 2001, 143–144; glej tudi Luglio, 2000, 114).

Prostorska stiska in napeti odnosi z observanti so čez nekaj let privedli do tega, da so se tretjeredniki leta 1530 končno odselili v neposredno bližino cerkve sv. Gregorija na območju Zubenage, ki je bila v lasti redovnic sv. Križa iz Benetk, in od njih prevzeli v zakup to cerkveno posest. Svojo nekdanjo cerkev sv. Marije Magdalene pa so v zameno odstopili observantom sv. Marije Angelske, ki so se kasneje razširili in zgradili cerkev sv. Ane.

Selitev tretjerednikov je izvedel fra Benedikt Hrvatinić, naslednik fra Filipa.

Novi samostan gregoritov tretjerednikov je torej zrasel na območju Zubenage oziroma Musella, blizu vrat sv. Martina in tu ostal do ukinitve leta 1806.<sup>1</sup> Leta 1604 so potekala prva obnovitvena dela, ki so dala zgradbi videz samostana z dvoriščem in vodnjakom v sredini, kasneje (1649, 1700) so dobili tretjeredniki nekaj darovnic od plemiške družine Gravisi Barbabianca. V XVIII. stoletju so samostansko zgradbo ponovno popravljali in dograjevali (1720, 1723, 1728, ko so nabavili nove orgle, naslednja obnovitvena dela so stekla leta 1734/35 oziroma 1736/37). V letih 1744/45 so naročili gradnjo vrtnega zidu, leta 1751/52 pa stopnišče z železno kolonado. Kljub vsem širitvam in popravilom je bil samostanski kompleks v primerjavi z drugimi dokaj skromnih dimenzij (Štefanić, 1956, 227).

Prvi opis je podal šele škof Paolo Naldini v svojem Cerkvenem krajeisu, ko je bilo v samostanu 7 do 8 bratov. Naldini omenja, da cerkev stoji blizu obzidja ob vratih



Klaustar bivšega samostana sv. Grgura

*Sl. 4: Notranjost glagoljaškega samostana (Štefanić, 1956).*

*Fig. 4: Interno del convento glagolita (Štefanić, 1956).*

Zubenaga, obrnjenih na jug, na precej odprtem in povsem ravnem prostoru. Od vseh cerkva ubožnih redov je najmanjša, vendar ima kar 7 oltarjev, od katerih je največji postavljen v veliko kapelo na koncu ladje in okrašen z lepo podobo poveličanega papeža Gregorja med svetnikoma Hieronimom in Frančiškom. Nad glavnimi vratimi se dviga kor, postavljen po starem, kjer svete obrede, podobno kot maše, opravljajo v »ilirskem« jeziku. V poslopju blizu cerkve so zatem uredili samostan, ki so ga z dodajanjem stavb v neposredni bližini razširili, tako da je obsegal majhno starinsko samostansko dvorišče z dormitorijem, delavnicami in vrtovi, kar je bilo dovolj za potrebe srednje velike samostanske družine (Naldini, 2001, 143).

Samostansko družino so običajno odrejali na provincialni skupščini, ob tej priložnosti so postavljali tudi

<sup>1</sup> Gregoritski in dominikanski samostan na območju Zubenage sta označena na mestnem načrtu Giacoma Fina iz leta 1619. Podrobnejše o tem Žitko, 1989, 41.



*Sl. 5: Ostanki glagoljaškega samostana v petdesetih letih 20. stoletja (fotodokumentacija PMK).*

*Fig. 5: Resti del convento glagolita negli anni Cinquanta del XX secolo (documentazione fotografica PMK).*

starešino (gvardjana in njegovega namestnika, vikarja). Iz arhivskega gradiva je razviden seznam gvardjanov od prvega Martina Novaka Zadranina, Stjepana Rabljanina, Antuna Šibenčana, Petra Zadranina, Benedikta Hrvatinića Zadranina do Marka Ružića (1789), Gabrijela Valentića (1792), Luja Moschinija (1793) do Gabrijela Valentića (1806). Skupaj je bilo 40 gvardjanov, ki so prihajali sprva iz Zadra in severne Dalmacije, kasneje pa s Kvarnerskimi otokov in končno severozahodne Istre.

V ekonomskem pogledu so živelii od nepremičnin v okolici Kopra, ki so jih deloma nasledili, zamenjevali, kupovali in podobno ali pa dajali v stalni oziroma občasni zakup.

Po jeziku so bili večinoma Hrvati iz severne Dalmacije, Kvarnerskih otokov in Istre. O njih je mnogo pričevan in virov – iz škofovskih vizitacij, zlasti pa v Naldinijevem Cerkvenem krajepisu. Leta 1768 škof Carlo Camuzio izjavlja:

Tretjeredniki se poslužujejo ilirskega jezika, spovedujejo slovansko prebivalstvo, ki se je v mesto naselilo iz podeželja, zlasti pa mornarje oziroma vojake, ki se poslužujejo ilirskega jezika.

Podbobno izjavo je dal tudi koprski podestat Matteo Dandolo leta 1788:

[S]poštovani očetje III. reda, na splošno imenovani glagoljaši (gregoriti), koristno skrbijo za duhovno nego prebivalstva staroslovanskega jezika, ki ga tudi sami uporabljajo.« Jacopo Manzini in Inocenzo Gavardo, koprski sodna odpolana, sta istega leta v poročilu zapisala, »da P.P.O.O. III. reda sv. Frančiška, imenovani glagoljaši (gregoriti), zavzeto skrbijo za duhovno službo hrvaškega življa kot tudi za kmečko vojsko [...] pa tudi za kaznjence in bolne v zaporih, zato so potrebni in koristni zaradi poznavanja slovanskega jezika in obredov v starocerkvenem slovenskem jeziku.« Sami redovniki v poročilu iz leta 1768 navajajo, da vršijo službo božjo v ilirskem jeziku; širje med njimi so zagotovo stalno zaposleni kot spovedniki vojakov v černidah, pa tudi dveh ali treh kompanij galeotov, kot spovedniki v zaporih, bolnišnicah, med obsojenci pa tudi med drugim prebivalstvom ilirskega porekla, ki živijo v mestu ali na podeželju ...

Leta 1754 so se koprski tretjeredniki celo obrnili na beneško vlado za pomoč z obrazložitvijo, da se v bogoslužju poslužujejo ilirskega jezika ter da je njihov red osnovan po zaslugu Serenissime in da se je prikupil mestu ... za potrebe njegovega ilirskega prebivalstva in vojske (Štefanić, 1956, 234).

Zaradi njihovega hrvaškega jezika so jih torej mestne oblasti imele za koristne, zato so jih tudi škofje pošiljali na podeželje za spovedovanje in maševanje v starocerkvenem jeziku, saj druga duhovščina zaradi nepoznavanja slovanskega jezika tega ni bila sposobna. Škof Naldini je v svojih poročilih sv. Sedežu to tudi večkrat poudarjal.

Že iz doslej citiranih virov je razvidno, da so tretjeredniki v svoji koprski samostanski cerkvi peljali maše v glagolici. V inventarju samostana iz leta 1750 se omenjajo hrvaški veliki in mali misali, od katerih sta se ohranila glagolski misal iz leta 1706 in glagolski brevijar iz leta 1688, kot poroča Vj. Štefanić v svojem delu.

Glagolice pa se tretjeredniki niso posluževali zgolj v cerkvi, temveč tudi v vsakdanjem življenju, pri pisanku knjig, poučevanju in pri administraciji. Kljub temu pa ne razpolagamo s podatki, iz katerih bi bila razvidna kakšna bolj živahna kulturna aktivnost in eksponiranost koprskih glagoljašev. Verjetno je bila ta aktivnost v skromnih okvirih, omejena v glavnem na samostansko askezo in pastoralno dejavnost med nižjimi socialnimi sloji, zato ni kotirala v višjih socialnih slojih oziroma kulturnih manifestacijah samega mesta.

Zanimivo, da se koprski škofje XVI. in XVII. stoletja, ki so večkrat nastopali in ukrepali proti glagoljaštvu v svoji škofiji, niso nikoli spotikali ob glagoljanju koprskih tretjerednikov. Razlog vidimo predvsem v tem, da tretjeredniki niso spadali pod jurisdikcijo kopranske škofije, temveč dalmatinske province, zato niso imeli nad seboj škofijske jurisdikcije.

Z novo beneško zakonodajo v drugi polovici XVIII. stoletja, ki je s cerkvenega prešla tudi na samostansko življenje in pričela s postopno sekularizacijo tistih samostanov, kjer so se redovniki posvečali zgolj kontemplaciji, in se je s tem v celotni dalmatinski provinci število glagoljaških samostanov skrčilo na 15, je vpliv gregoritskega samostana v Kopru znatno upadel, tako da je v zadnjih letih svojega obstoja štel le še 3 člane (Maračić, 1992, 52).

Korenite spremembe na cerkvenem in socialnem področju je prineslo šele napoleonsko obdobje, ki ga v Istri zaznamuje najprej obdobje Italijanskega kraljestva (1806–1809) in zatem Ilirskih provinc (1809–1813).

Z dekretom o organizaciji svetne duhovščine in redovništva so oblasti radikalno posegle tudi na cerkveno področje. 25. aprila 1806 so bili s kraljevim dekretom v



Pogled na koprskie zapore z mestnega stolpa.  
Veduta sulle carceri di Capodistria dal torre civica.

*Sl. 6: Koprski zapori (fotodokumentacija PMK).*

*Fig. 6: Le carceri di Capodistria (documentazione fotografica PMK).*

Kopru ukinjeni samostani dominikancev, minoritov, klaris, avguštink in gregoritov tretjerednikov.<sup>2</sup> Ob samostanih je odredba 26. maja 1808 predvidela tudi razpust vseh bratovščin razen bratovščine sv. Zakramenta. Razpust samostanov in bratovščin ter razlastitev njihovega imetja je bil eden prvih ukrepov, ki je preobrnil tradicionalno tkivo istrske družbe in neposredno prizadel avtonomno upravljanje z lokalnimi materialnimi viri za socialno podporo in karitativno dejavnost. Njihov razpust je povzročil negodovanje in nezadovoljstvo tudi zato, ker so jo izvajali departmajske uradi, ki jih je vodil funkcionar z očitnimi framazonskimi nagnjenji – Francesco Gallo –, ki se ni oziral na specifičen položaj v pokrajini (Apolonio, 1998, 215).

Marca 1806 so morali svoj samostan in cerkev izprazniti tudi koprski tretjeredniki. V cerkvi so demontirali vso opremo: orgle, oltarje, slike, spovednice, iz zakristije pa vse predmete za bogoslužje. Gvardjan Gabrijel Valentić se je z ostalimi člani z delom inventarja preselil v hospicij sv. Nazarija, druge stvari pa so shranili v hiši Giacoma Mainardija blizu cerkve sv. Gregorja ter v neko skladisče grofa Borisija.

Ni znano, kako dolgo so se fratri še zadrževali v Kopru oziroma kam so odšli. O njihovem imetju je vodila skrb likvidacijska komisija, njeno nalož je po padcu napoleonskega režima prevzela podobna avstrijska komisija. Leta 1818 je imetje, tako kot pri drugih ukinjenih samostanah in bratovščinah, prešlo v verski fond, cerkev in samostanska zgradba pa v državno last.

<sup>2</sup> Leta 1806 je prišlo do likvidacije treh tretjerednih samostanov v Istri, in sicer v Novigradu, Vižinadi in Kopru, v Dalmaciji pa so se samostani tretjerednikov ohranili po zaslugu guvernerja Vincenza Dandola, le samostan v Zadru je bil preurejen v kasarno, patri pa so dobili drugo cerkev. Podrobnejše o tem glej Vrandečić, 2006, 141–142.

## FUNKCIJA IN USODA NEKDANJEGA GLAGOLJAŠKEGA SAMOSTANSKEGA KOMPLEKSA V 19. IN 20. STOLETJU

Avtirska uprava je po letu 1815 stremela po tem, da bi v nekdajih beneških provincah popravila versko škodo, ki so jo prizadele francoske oblasti. Toda v senci hitrega ekonomskega razvoja Trsta so istrska mesta, Koper, pa tudi Piran, Umag, Novigrad in Poreč, izgubljala nekdanji pomen. Zlasti Koper je kot nekdanje upravno in politično središče beneške Istre najbolj občutil posledice velikih upravnih in političnih sprememb, ki jih je uvajala Avstrija. Leta 1818 je bilo iz mesta izseljeno škofovsko semenišče z licejem, čeprav je imelo v Kopru že dolgo tradicijo. Samostan sv. Klare, ki je bil zaprt že leta 1811, so leta 1830 preuredili v osnovno šolo, samostan sv. Franciška spremenili v cesarsko-kraljevo kasarno, dominikansko cerkev pa preuredili v molilnico za zapornike iz bližnje kaznilnice, ki je leta 1822 zrasla na temeljih nekdanjega dominikanskega samostana. Tudi nekdanji glagoljaški samostan je najprej služil za vojaške potrebe, pozneje pa je bil spremenjen v pralnico velike, novozgrajene koprsko kaznilnico.<sup>3</sup> Ta je zrasla, kot omenjeno, na kompleksu dveh ukinjenih samostanov – večjega dominikanskega in manjšega glagoljaškega, oba pa je ločevala ulica. Ob njej je bilo nekaj manjših zgradb, kjer so spali mladoletni zaporniki in so bile različne delavnice, na bližnjem dvorišču pa so prali in sušili perilo. Oba samostana so nekoliko predelali in dogradili za nove potrebe (Beltram, 2008, 9).

Nekdanjega samostana sv. Gregorija se je zaradi tega oprijel vzdevek »Presoneta«, ker je bil pač sestavni del zaporniškega kompleksa in je po njem (*Preson*) prejel to poimenovanje, pač v skladu s svojimi skromnimi dimenzijami.

To je bil, kot navaja Lauro Decarli v svojem delu »*Caterina del buso / Capodistria attraverso i soprannomi – necroscopia di una città*« (Trieste, 2003),

il primo edificio a venir demolito dai Drusi che oggi si mordicchiano le mani avendo apreso che sotto la Serenissima ivi veniva celebrata la messa »oltre che in latino, anche in slavo per comodo della numerosa truppa dalmatina qui di guarnigione per la manovra delle fuste adibite alla custodia del nostro mare« (Decarli, 2003, 606).

Glagoljaški samostan je dejansko postal v povojnem času, točneje ob koncu leta 1950, predmet zanimanja in proučevanja tedanjega Zgodovinskega društva cone B STO. V samostanu naj bi bile namreč še vedno ohranjene nekatere glagolske knjige. Tako je že 21. novembra 1950 slovenska sekcijska Zgodovinskega društva opravila ogled samostana v prisotnosti dr. Romana Savnika, tedanjega vodje Zbirnega centra knjižnic v Portorožu, ki je glede na

pomembnost tega objekta predlagal, da bi se »navedeno območje proglašilo za zgodovinsko-kulturno ozemlje Slovencev v Kopru« ter da se samostan, ki se je ohranil, zaščiti in morda tudi za silo obnovi. V samostanu bi lahko priredili razstavo slovanske kulture koprskega ozemlja v preteklosti (PAK, 6).

Člani slovenske sekcijske na čelu s Srečkom Vilharjem, kasnejšim dolgoletnim ravnateljem Študijske knjižnice v Kopru, so bili hkrati mišljena, da je območje samostana neprimereno za graditev manjših stanovanjskih objektov, saj bi ga bilo treba temeljito raziskati, sam teren pa naj bi bil zelo pripraven za gradnjo velikih objektov. To se je žal v kasnejših letih tudi uresničilo, ko je na tem območju obnovi stanovanjski četrti na Belvederju zrasel masiven in visok Tomosov blok.

Leta 1953 je avtor dela o glagoljaškem samostanu v Kopru, Vjekoslav Štefanić, samostanski kompleks še videl, čeprav je bil v slabem stanju in preurejen v privatna stanovanja (Štefanić, 1956, 227).

## ZAKLJUČEK

Če je po eni strani povsem razumljivo, da smo do leta 1954 v samem Kopru in okolici na različne načine dokazovali kontinuirano prisotnost slovanskega elementa, zlasti z veliko razstavo »Slovenci ob Jadranu« in raziskovalnim delom nekaterih ljubljanskih študijskih skupin etnologov in arheologov v zalednih vaseh in samem mestu, je nerazumljivo, da smo po tem letu med drugim zlahkoto porušili ravno ta samostanski objekt, ki je imel ne le umetnostno, ampak izjemno pomembno historično izpovedno vrednost, saj je bil to vsekakor edini sakralni objekt v samem mestu, ki je vse do povojnega časa dokazoval, da je bilo slovanstvo v Kopru prisotno ves čas beneške oblasti in je ta samostanski objekt za čuda preživel tudi fašistično obdobje.

Manj sporno je vprašanje koprskih zaporov, ki so tu začeli na temeljih nekdanjega dominikanskega samostana, kot že rečeno, rasti po letu 1820 in so vseskozi kazili mestno veduto s svojo predimenzionirano podobo, obenem pa mestu dajali negativen pečat. Ob vlogi, ki ga je velikansko poslopje kaznilnice igralo med obema vojnama oziroma pod fašizmom, je razumljivo, da tak objekt v osvobojenem mestu po letu 1954 ni imel več nobenega smisla. Da je izginilo vse, kar je spominjalo nanj, ni bilo ravno nujno, saj smo danes v zadregi, ko je treba spregovoriti o zgodovini protifašističnega boja v samem mestu, in nimamo nobene vizualne predstave o objektu, ki je bil simbol trpljenja primorskoga ljudstva ter bi ga lahko ohranili vsaj v drobnem detajlu.

O odstranjevanju omenjenih objektov ni pravzaprav nobene dokumentacije, ki bi bila zaradi historične pomembnosti le-teh nujno potrebna. Opravljeni niso

<sup>3</sup> Za razliko od Kopra naj bi v prvi polovici 19. stoletja ali pa že prej tretjeredniki delovali tudi v Piranu, vendar o tem ni zanesljivih dokumentov. Ti se pojavišči že za drugo polovico 19. stoletja, ko naj bi fra Bernardin Polotti leta 1865 red obnovil. Podrobneje o tem Kordić, 2001, 397–407.

bile ne arheološke ne druge raziskave terena, sakralnih objektov, poslikav (fresk). Ničesar tudi ne vemo o usodi cerkvenega inventarja, zlasti kamnite opreme izjemne kvalitete (pleteninasta ornamentika iz zgod. srednjega veka), v muzejskem lapidariju se je ohranil le portal opuščenega samostana gregoritov tretjerednikov (Žitko, 1983, 25).

Kritično in strokovno oceno o teh posegih, vendar le z urbanističnega vidika, je že leta 1968 podal Stane Bernik, tedanji urednik revije Sinteza, v svojem delu *Organizem slovenskih obmorskih mest Koper-Izola-Piran*, ko pravi: »Sodobni urbanistični posegi v samem Kopru so odprli s spomeniškovanstvenega vidika števila kritična vprašanja. Pri tem je treba izhajati iz resnice, da je bilo že samo mesto, ki je ohranilo izvirno in neponarejeno srednjeveško strukturo in značilen organizem, ki so ga oblikovale prvine različnih slogovnih dob, sklenjen in dragocen spomenik. To je terjalo take posege, ki bi povsem upoštevali obstoječe spomeniške vrednote. Namesto tega pa smo imeli dostikrat opraviti s posegi, ki ne le da niso izhajali iz poznavanja in razumevanja konkretnega urbanskega

prostora, torej ustvarjalnega naslanjanja, temveč so le-tega večkrat celo negirali in vsilili mestu take prvine, ki sedaj postavlja problem prispevka sodobnega časa na glavo.« (Bernik, 1968, 94)

Morda lahko dandanes skozi dalše zgodovinsko obdobje, ki smo ga prehodili, lažje ocenujemo globlje vzroke, ki so priveli do radikalnih posegov v koprsko mesto jedro in so v določenih odtenkih prisotni še danes. Predvsem se pri obravnavi koprskega historičnega jedra oziroma vseh deviacij, ki so nastajale v povoju času, srečujemo z vprašanjem zgodovinske kontinuitete in vizualnega stika z nacionalno preteklostjo tega območja, hkrati pa tudi z vprašanjem, ali smo bili sposobni Koper sploh obravnavati kot sestavni del svoje mediteranske zgodovine. Odnos do arhitekturne dediščine, ki je viden tudi dandanes, ne daje ravno spodbudnega odgovora, to pa vedno znova potrjuje spoznanje, da so žal za pozitivne premike in celostno revitalizacijo mestnega jedra potrebna dalšja obdobja, pa tudi več odgovornosti, kot bi si utegnili misliti.

## CONVENTO DEI GLAGOLITI A CAPODISTRIA

Salvator ŽITKO

Università del Litorale, Facoltà di Studi Umanistici, Piazza Tito 5, 6000 Capodistria, Slovenia  
e-mail: salvator.zitko@gmail.com

### RIASSUNTO

*Secondo gli storici francescani, l'ordine dei Terziari si sviluppò a partire da singoli gruppi di membri secolarizzati del Terzo Ordine, fondato nel 1221, che vivevano in solitudine da eremiti e, successivamente, nei loro ospizi. Questi gruppi cominciarono progressivamente a condividere una vita esclusivamente monastica e ad esprimere in tal modo la tendenza per la formazione del nuovo ordine monastico. Se possiamo seguire tale processo già a partire dall'inizio del XIV secolo, una legalizzazione delle singole congregazioni provinciali si attesta solo in quello XV.*

*La provincia dalmato-istriana dei Terziari si formò spontaneamente, più o meno come quelle italiane. I primi nuclei di eremiti, soprattutto nell'area di Zara, sono comparsi lungo la costa dalmata con l'usuale denominazione di »heremitæ de penitentia«. La loro colonia zaratina diventò una specie di matrice attorno alla quale successivamente prese forma tutta la provincia. È possibile seguire, a partire dal XV secolo, l'espansione degli eremiti zaratinì lungo la costa dalmata verso nord, come ad esempio sulle isole di Cherso e Veglia e, finalmente nel 1467, a Capodistria.*

*La caratteristica più evidente che distingueva i Terziari della provincia dalmato-istriana dai loro fratelli della penisola italica è stata, oltre all'abito, principalmente la loro educazione spirituale, basata sulla tradizionale scrittura glagolitica croata. L'uso della scrittura glagolitica, nonché la liturgia paleoslava, furono adoperate già dal XV secolo in poi, così che i frati del Terzo Ordine erano considerati come i glagoliti »par excellence«; spesso nelle fonti archivistiche sono indicati con termini inequivocaboli, come: »fratres de littera sclava«, »religiosi Illirici«, »religione Illirica«, ecc.*

*Nella metà del XV secolo, dunque, a Capodistria oltre ai Domenicani, ai Minori Conventuali, ai Serviti ed altri, troviamo anche i Terziari, un ordine monacale che si ispirava alla regola francescana e operava mediante la preghiera, il lavoro e la fraternità.*

*Grazie al vescovo Paolo Naldini possediamo una descrizione precisa a proposito delle chiese ubicate nei due rioni comprendenti Porta S. Martino e Porta Zubenaga. A queste si aggiungeva quella di S. Gregorio, costruita già nella metà del XI secolo, e poi destinata a ospitare i Terziari che fino allora occupavano il piccolo cenobio con la chiesetta della Maria Maddalena all'estremità dell'isola, cioè a Bossedraga.*

*Con l'avvento dei Terziari, o come venivano chiamati, i Gregoriani, l'intero complesso venne ristrutturato. La loro chiesa aveva ben sette altari, sopra quello maggiore spiccava una pala di ottima fattura dov'era raffigurato il loro titolare: papa*

*Gregorio Magno con ai lati i santi Girolamo e Francesco. Il piccolo cenobio dei Terziari fu più volte rinnovato, per la prima volta nel 1604, quando acquisì l'aspetto di un vero e proprio convento con cortile e verrà da pozzo. Più tardi, cioè nel 1649 e nel 1700, i Terziari godettero di alcuni benefici da parte della famiglia nobile capodistriana Gravisi-Barbabianca.*

*Poiché i frati, per la maggior parte provenienti dalla Dalmazia, svolgevano le funzioni religiose e la cura delle anime usando la loro parlata, di conseguenza quella chiesa era molto frequentata dai fedeli che conoscevano i dialetti illirici, sia da quelli che abitavano a Capodistria o provenivano dal contado, oppure dai marinai dalmati imbarcati sui navigli che ancoravano nell'isola.*

*La Serenissima, seguendo le riforme giuseppine del XVIII secolo, con un decreto del 1787 ridusse il numero dei conventi e degli ospizi. Per fortuna tali disposizioni non riguardarono il convento dei Terziari, ma il numero dei loro frati venne ridotto a solo tre unità, che svolsero la loro attività liturgica e spirituale fino alla soppressione del convento nel 1806.*

*Nel mese di marzo del 1806, con un decreto del Regno d'Italia, vennero chiusi e soppressi tutti i conventi dei Frati Minori in Istria, incluso il cenobio dei Terziari a Capodistria.*

*I loro beni furono curati da una commissione di liquidazione, i cui impegni e doveri dopo il crollo del regime napoleonico vennero trasmessi ad una simile commissione austriaca. Nel 1818 i beni del convento, similmente ad altri conventi e confraternite, furono trasportati nel fondo ecclesiastico, mentre la chiesa e il convento divennero proprietà dello stato e vennero requisiti dalle autorità militari. Sopra le fondamenta dell'ex convento domenicano fu eretto un enorme edificio carcerario che racchiudeva dei cortili interni, sull'area dell'ex convento glagolita sorgevano invece alcuni edifici minori che ospitavano i detenuti minorenni, diverse officine, mentre il cortile adiacente fungeva da lavanderia e asciugatoio.*

*Nel 1919, le autorità italiane provvidero alla riapertura dello stabilimento principale del penitenziario per scopi detentivi; furono invece abbandonati i vani dell'ex convento glagolita. Negli anni 1920/21 fu demolita gran parte del maggiore dei suoi edifici, mentre il resto del complesso fu destinato alle esigenze dell'11º Reggimento di fanteria.*

*Il cenobio glagolitico nel periodo postbellico diventò tema di studio e oggetto del vasto interesse dell'allora Società storica della zona B del TIT, che rispetto alla sua importanza storico-culturale proponeva di tutelarlo e di restaurare le sue strutture instabili. Nell'ambito del convento essa suggeriva inoltre di allestire una mostra permanente sulla cultura slava del territorio capodistriano nel passato.*

*Verso la fine degli anni Cinquanta, in seguito ad alcuni interventi urbanistici questo pregevole monumento storico venne purtroppo distrutto. Oltre ad attestarsi per il suo valore storico-artistico e l'eccezionale valore storico-documentario esso fu l'unico edificio sacro a rappresentare nel centro storico di Capodistria una prova materiale della presenza slava per tutto il periodo veneto ed anche nei tempi successivi.*

**Parole chiave:** convento dei Glagoliti, gregoriani Terziari, provincia francescana, guardiani, complesso penitenziario

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## RENOVATION AND POST-INTERVENTION MANAGEMENT

*Stefano DELLA TORRE*

Politecnico di Milano, Department Building & Environment Science & Technology, Via Bonardi 5, 20133 Milano, Italy  
e-mail: stefano.dellatorre@polimi.it

### ABSTRACT

*The paper deals with the impact of long-term vision, required by the step from restoration/event to conservation/process. A consequence is the increasing importance of the program as the framework where the targets and the tools of the renovation are defined, previewing the costs of the restoration as well as the costs and income of the post-intervention management. For this purposes the business plan methodology can be used. Long-term vision has many impacts also on the intervention choices, this point being shortly discussed referring to some example from Italy. Most examples show that convent buildings have been very much transformed in the past, changing many times their functions. That's why their significance is often complex and has to be managed as one of the most influential factors in the renovation process. The best management produces an evolving significance, and advanced technologies become relevant part in the presentation of a site.*

**Key words:** conservation, business plan, long-term vision, significance, multidisciplinarity

## RISTRUTTURAZIONE E GESTIONE DOPO L'INTERVENTO

### SINTESI

*L'articolo tratta dell'impatto della visione di lungo periodo richiesta dal passaggio dal restauro/evento alla conservazione/processo. Una prima conseguenza è la crescente importanza della programmazione come cornice entro la quale sono definiti gli obiettivi e gli strumenti dell'operazione di recupero, prevedendo i costi del restauro come anche i costi e gli introiti della gestione post-intervento. Per questo si può adottare la metodologia del business plan. Una visione di lungo periodo ha molti impatti anche sulle scelte di intervento, e questo viene brevemente discusso con riferimento ad alcuni esempi nel panorama italiano. La maggior parte dei casi mostrano che gli edifici convenzionali sono stati già molto trasformati in passato, cambiando molte volte la loro funzione. Per questa ragione il loro messaggio è spesso complesso e deve essere gestito come uno dei più decisivi fattori del processo di recupero. La miglior gestione produce un significato dinamico, e le tecnologie avanzate vengono ad assumere una parte rilevante nella presentazione di un monumento.*

**Parole chiave:** conservazione, business plan, visione a lungo termine, importanza, multidisciplinarietà

## THE STEP FROM RESTORATION/EVENT TO CONSERVATION/PROCESS

Post-renovation management is a relevant issue when designing the restoration of a monument. This statement makes sense, no doubt, but it is always felt as a misleading requirement in the field of historical preservation, where a historical building ought to be restored just because of its cultural values. Some authors seem to discard any worry about the use in the future, as if the use itself were a necessary evil, not a condition for the existence of a building as an architectural construct. In other words, the discussion about future management goes back to some very basic questions concerning the methods used for a restoration project, such as: should we restore the monument, then study an adaptive reuse; or should we take all the problems into account at once in order to find out optimal solutions? Likewise, it questions the perception of architecture itself: by its appearance or in terms of its use? Some authors think of architecture within the cognitive frame of visual arts while others think that architecture is made to be used, passed through, inhabited, perchance even observed – but never simply looked at. Of course these different approaches come from different visions of what in historical architecture counts and what constitutes an optimal solution: a beautiful and comfortable picture, or a minimum intervention, respecting even hidden and not recognized values? The debate is obviously open, but I want to quote Mezzanotte (1998) and Bellini (1998) as examples of slightly different positions at a turning point of my own research.

The problem of use and management is naturally not new. Athens Conference, 1931, recommended "that the occupation of buildings, which ensures the continuity of their life, should be maintained; but that they should be used for a purpose which respects their historic or artistic character." Venice Charter, 1964, art. 5, says: "The conservation of monuments is always facilitated by making use of them for some socially useful purpose. Such use is therefore desirable but it must not change the layout or decoration of the building."

The problem seems to be clear, at least in general; but what about complex buildings modified in the past, like convents transformed in hospitals, mills, military, stores, dwellings...? What constitutes the historic or artistic character that is to be respected? Which layout will be kept unchanged? General guidelines risk failure when applied on these difficult cases implying that perhaps there is some reason to deal with the problem of renovation and post-intervention management, even if simply taking into account the example of the "type" of convents and monasteries. In my treatment of the topic I will make reference to Italian examples assuming them to hold as examples of the general. This is justified because there have been certain historical factors which

spread all over Europe (and beyond) networks of religious communities that in turn built settings according to some recurring features: the church, the cloister... Furthermore, the process of suppression of Orders and convents had similar features in different countries, so that the historical background and the problems are the same everywhere even today for renovation. On the other hand, I suppose that in an international meeting I am expected to showcase Italian experiences.

If Athens and Venice Charters seem to point out a reasonable way of treating the problem of usage, in accordance with the reality of the last decades it is possible to tougher ways of practicing renovation, as well as more sensitive remarks. At a certain stage in Italy, re-use took command in a well-identified frame of urban renovation policy, then integrated conservation turned into integral conservation.

A symbolic step has been the plan for Bologna, 1969, when the historical city was tackled as a whole monument. Here, monastic buildings (what remained of monastic buildings, of course) were classified as "complex specialist nodal buildings" (being derived by composition of different simple specialist nodal buildings with cloisters, courtyards, gardens and parks) in the category of big "containers", where the planner can locate social functions. These buildings were supposed to be wide enough and decayed enough to host any use required by the design of urban services. The core of the Bologna program was social housing, but the renovation process was definitely systematic also for the "containers" (Scannavini, 2001; Butina Watson, Bentley, 2007; Bravo, 2009). As an example we can quote the Jesuit church of Santa Lucia; it had been transformed in a gym, before being restored as the aula magna of Bologna university.

Bologna is just one case, perhaps only the most renowned, sometimes explicitly imitated in 1970s and 1980s Italy, as it focuses on the idea of cultural and social functions as appropriate uses for conventional buildings. Actually, there are plenty of studies telling the story of successful reuse of monastic complexes for this kind of use.

From the very beginning, soon after the suppression of monastic life, the best destiny for a convent had been to be turned into a museum or an academy of beaux-arts: this is the origin of the Accademia di Brera in the Jesuit College of Milan. Under Napoleon, the Venetian Accademia moved into the former convent of Santa Maria della Carità. The Museum of French monuments itself managed by Alexandre Lenoir was hosted in the convent of Petits-Augustins (Lenoir, 1799; Regazzoni, 2007).

A recurrent function is also the use for archives, perhaps as a legacy of becoming state property after the suppressions. The State Archive in Venice is located in the Frari complex; in Pavia, it is located in the former Cistercian monastery of St. Maiolo's; in Naples, in the

former Benedictine monastery of Santi Severino e Sossio; in Milan in the Collegio Elvetico; in Mantua, in the Jesuit convent of St. Vincent's. Here the church had been transformed in a military store; now it stores documents with a special care for keeping the best microclimate for paper conservation.

The reuse of convents to locate universities has famous examples in the reuse of St. Ambrogio Bramante-sque cloisters in Milan, by Giovanni Muzio (see Pezzola, 1990; Irace, 1994), as well as in different interventions studied by Giancarlo De Carlo in Urbino (Guccione, Vittorini, 2005), in Bologna, in Florence... More recently, in Brescia (Volta, 2006; Berlucchi, Brandolisio, 2010) the location of the university faculties and facilities in conventional buildings has implemented an explicit strategy to rescue urban sectors.

Such "cultural" uses seem to be appropriate or "compatible" because of "intangible" reasons: there is some ideal continuity between history, art and studies... Cultural uses entail openness to public attendance so that historic convents may also act as assets for cultural tourism (Moretti, 2000). But this "ideal compatibility" criterion does not consider the impacts on the building itself. It is worthwhile to observe that convent buildings (if we agree that it is possible to speak of them as a "type") have some typological and structural characteristics, which did not support any use, and the modern requirements (loadings, safety stairs, accessibility, comfort...):

Perhaps the main feature of the monastic "type" is the cloister around which most rooms are organized. It has been noticed (Zucchi, 1989, 49–58) that the architectural significance of the courtyard became so relevant and autonomous that in many cases the arcades have been completed even if one or two wings remain without rooms behind: see for example the plan of St. Sebastian's convent in Mantua, for decades a military quarter, currently empty and looking for a new use. Nowadays these buildings are a bit difficult to reuse because such long arcades and galleries look like wasted space in modern arrangements. Furthermore, cloisters are made up with thin columns which worry structural engineers, like wings having strange sections with walls leaning on the center of the vaults below (for example in Padova. Santa Giustina, or in Brescia, San Faustino: see Giuriani, 1997). Cloisters are open, sometimes also at upper level; these represent the connection between different rooms. Nowadays it is difficult to accept that people go from one room to another via an outdoor path. Additionally, vertical connections are often missing, making problems for accessibility, safety in case of fire, architectural barriers...

Naturally, it is possible to comply with these requirements by means of a strong renovation, taking advantage of the parts already modified by previous reuses, maybe discovering by the way some hidden values. The problem also arises if historical transformations can

be recognized as significant layers. As it is well known, some years ago the Italian approach to conservation turned into a radical criticism against selective restoration, introducing the idea that any existing element has to be understood and preserved (Bellini, 1996; Guarisco, 2008).

I will emphasise that this is only one of the tendencies; many interventions proceed according to different methods and targets. Nevertheless this is the position which forwarded the debate: the next step consisted in acknowledging that conservation cannot be a special kind of restoration, as it has different philosophical foundations (Della Torre, 1999), and it is the output of a non-linear process of investigation, prevention, maintenance, and restoration just when needed. Integrated conservation, defined by the Council of Europe Charter, Amsterdam 1975, finds a new sense in the perspective of sustainability (see Della Torre, 2006; 2009). That's why management became part of our way of thinking preservation. A reference is given by the protection of sites inscribed in Unesco World Heritage List: they now require a Management Plan, following meaningful guidelines (Feilden, Jokilheto, 1993).

## PROJECT AND PROGRAM: DEFINING THE TARGETS AND THE TOOLS

The point is to disseminate this long-term vision, as most practitioners still think in terms of restoration or of a "value-free" adaptive renovation. In everyday practice, the first required change seems to be a new attitude to frame restoration projects into wider programs able to shape and to control the long-term process. In Italy, regulations of public works have shaped a mandatory document, the "Documento preliminare alla progettazione" which is on the way to becoming obligatory for practitioners, and to be exploited as a useful step towards a more efficient process (Catalano, Pracchi, 2009).

In other words, post-intervention management starts well before renovation works. Before (and while?) going to the architectural project (survey, diagnostics, archaeological investigation, layout of uses...) a programming activity is needed to check and to improve the feasibility of restoration as well as of post-intervention management. I say "while" because feasibility cannot be evaluated "a priori" disregarding the building itself, its significance, its hidden values, the opportunity given by the restoration process. The managerial plan cannot be written on a desk by a manager but rather has to be built up by an interdisciplinary team since a lot of multidisciplinary knowledge has to be gathered.

The existence of a written and certified program enables also the validation of the project's quality, which is a measure of capability to fulfill requirements, provided they have been clarified.

## THE BUSINESS PLAN METHODOLOGY: LONG-TERM VISION AND INTERVENTION CHOICES

To evaluate the feasibility, a method derived from the business sector can be adopted (Dubini, 2004). A business plan encompasses both qualitative and quantitative contents; therefore it is usually split into two parts. The first encompasses qualitative contents: market analysis and placement, supply system, organization of the business unit, fund-raising strategies, network of possible alliances. These are understood both as local networks giving scale economy in activity organization, as well as in terms of extended networks – that is, alliances necessary for raising scientific standards and internationalization. The second part includes quantitative contents: the preview of economic, financial and cash flow (costs, income, supports), the break-even point, the various monitoring indicators.

Even more than introducing fund-raising and management techniques, it is for our purposes an urgent requirement to understand how a long-term vision modifies the approach to intervention, as this is the point at which different disciplines meet and new benefits can be produced.

I will try to list some key-words.

- Responsibility: the check-point for a restoration is not today but tomorrow, not the cut of the ribbon, but the durability of treatments and the possibility of adapting the system to changing conditions (Della Torre, 2002);
- Feasibility: cost-efficiency can be better controlled within the framework of a program where targets and tools are explicit and clear to every stakeholder;
- Sustainability: currently the term may be so fashionable that it loses all meaning; nevertheless, as a matter of fact, what of importance is to integrate historical preservation with social, economic and environmental issues. I refer to examples such as energy efficiency in historic buildings and the use of chemicals in stone treatments;
- Networking: that is, strengthening relationships as opportunities for local development. Under this perspective, convents are a powerful metaphor for networking, as Religious Orders built networks throughout Europe, the convents being tangible relics of this factor of a common European culture. As an example, it's easy to recall Jesuits and their function in spreading culture and science throughout the world.
- Making explicit the benefits: that is, the benefits given by preservation to the local economy (tou-

rism, but also identity, social cohesion, attitude to innovation...).

## MANAGING SIGNIFICANCE

The management of a historical property also includes its enhancement by means of promotion. There are plenty of studies about communication techniques and it is quite obvious that a renovation process can give side-benefits because of archaeological or artistic discoveries or even because of the architect's fame. Nevertheless, a historic site should not become a theme park, but rather has to be understood as the part of an interacting system, such as a city or a region. On this point, therefore, I deem it important to stress that the significance of a historic site must not be frozen in the "brand" of the site, as significance is not given at once as the "true" scientific outcome of our investigation, to be popularized and trivialized by touristic guides.

The significance of a site is the output of investigation; that is, a never-ending process, open to many interpretations at the same time: different views can clash, but dialogue is the only way to peace and progress. Therefore significance must not be static: it must evolve. An evolving significance means that investigation is a live process, cultivated people are at work, innovation is being produced through conservation.

A very productive benefit of a modern approach to restoration is the multidisciplinary cooperation which takes place on the building sites: as just a couple of examples, between infinite others, let me quote the restoration of the monastic church of Santa Maria Maddalena in Camuzzago (Moioli et al., 2010) and the restoration of the Serviti convent of Santa Maria del Lavello near Lecco, presented by Elisabetta Rosina in this publication. On the other hand, the involvement of universities in the renovation process of buildings foreseen as their seats gives the opportunity for advanced studies useful to strengthen research groups: I am glad to quote the studies on the plasters of St. Abondio's cloister in Como (Bugini et al., 2006).

The implementation of advanced technologies, for preliminary investigation as well as for monitoring and maintaining the property, becomes a relevant part of the significance of a site. As a conclusion, in the management of a property a good awareness of what a conservation process entails can confer a strong competitive advantage, allowing the setting up of multiple strategies and the diversification of tools for implementation.

## PRENOVA IN UPRAVLJANJE PO POSEGU

Stefano DELLA TORRE

Politecnico v Milanu, Oddelek za gradbene in okoljske znanosti in tehnologije, Via Bonardi 5, 20133 Milano, Italija  
e-mail: stefano.dellatorre@polimi.it

## POVZETEK

Avtor v prispevku obravnava učinke dolgoročne vizije na prenovo in ponovno uporabo stavb, ki so bile zgrajene kot samostani. Ideal dolgoročne vizije narekuje prehod z restavriranja/dogodka na konservatorstvo/proces: v članku je na kratko predstavljen ta ključni razvojni korak v teoriji konzervatorstva. Ena od očitnih posledic tega razvoja je vse večji pomen programskega okvirja, ki opredeljuje cilje in instrumente prenove ter kriterije, po katerih se predvidijo stroški obnavljanja, kot tudi stroški in prihodki od upravljanja objekta po posegu. V ta namen se lahko uporabi metodologijo poslovnega načrta.

Dolgoročna vizija ima številne vplive tudi na izbiro posega: tudi ta vidik je na kratko predstavljen v prispevku na nekaj referenčnih primerih iz Italije. Iz večine primerov je razvidno, da so samostanski objekti v preteklosti doživeli veliko preoblikovanj in so večkrat spreminali svojo namembnost. Zato je njihov pomen pogosto kompleksen in ga je treba upoštevati kot enega najbolj vplivnih dejavnikov v procesu prenavljanja. Avtor zagovarja tezo, da se pomen zgodovinskega spomenika ne razkrije takoj kakor »prav« znanstveni rezultat raziskave, ki bi ga nato lahko popularizirali in trivializirali turistični vodniki. Pomen spomenika ni njena »blagovna znamka«, saj spomenik ni tematski park, temveč del interaktivnega sistema, v tem primeru mesta. Raziskovanje je tako brezkončen proces, odprt za več različnih interpretacij hkrati: različna stališča so si lahko med seboj nasprotujejoča, toda v dialogu najdemo pot, ki vodi v mir in k napredku. Najboljše prakse upravljanja so tiste, ki razvijajo in gradijo pomen, pri katerih je raziskovanje živ proces, kjer so na delu izobraženi ljudje, kjer konzervatorstvo poraja izboljšave in novosti in kjer v pomembnosti nekega spomenika igra vplivno vlogo tudi napredna tehnologija.

Iz tega lahko zaključimo, da lahko pri upravljanju neke lastnine zavedanje o tem, kaj prinaša konservatorski proces, pomeni veliko konkurenčno prednost, ki omogoča načrtovanje mnogovrstnih strategij in večjo raznolikost med instrumenti za njihovo izvajanje.

**Ključne besede:** konzervatorstvo, poslovni načrt, dolgoročna vizija, pomen, multidisciplinarnost

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## NON-DESTRUCTIVE INVESTIGATIONS: A CASE STUDY OF A CONVENT IN LOMBARDY (ITALY)

*Elisabetta ROSINA*

Politecnico di Milano, Building Environment Science and Technology, via Bonardi 5, 20133 Milan, Italy  
e-mail: elisabetta.rosina@polimi.it

### ABSTRACT

*The use of investigation is a fundamental support to the knowledge of historical buildings, and a mandatory phase of planning any intervention. The investigations serve to ascertain the causes of damage, and to assess the residual performances of the elements/system of the buildings. Moreover, diagnostic allows to identify, locate and quantify the possible risks for the conservation of materials and features, and to set the necessary early actions to prevent further damages. The study case of Lavello complex is an example of the application of diagnostics at the beginning of the project, during the design of the definitive project, after the yard to monitor the executed intervention and set the conservation plan and maintenance activities. The paper reports the application of Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) to locate ruins of previous buildings in the soil, underneath the church floor, IR Thermography to map the texture of the existing masonry underneath the finishing and the monitoring of moisture diffusion in the restored masonry.*

**Key words:** archaeology, planned conservation, restoration, Serviti Fathers, Lavello convent, IR Thermography, GPR, Laser scanning

## INDAGINI NON-DISTRUTTIVE: IL CASO DI STUDIO DI UN CONVENTO IN LOMBARDIA (ITALY)

### SINTESI

*La fase di accertamenti diagnostici e conoscitivi è un supporto fondamentale per la conoscenza degli edifici storici e una fase necessaria per la pianificazione e progettazione di ogni intervento. Le indagini consentono di accettare le cause di degrado e di riconoscere le prestazioni residue degli elementi/sistemi costruttivi degli edifici di antica formazione. Inoltre, la diagnostica consente di identificare, localizzare e quantificare i possibili rischi per la conservazione dei materiali e delle caratteristiche che connotano il manufatto, e per stabilire le azioni necessarie per prevenire ulteriori degradi. Il caso di studio del complesso monastico del Lavello è un esempio di applicazione di accertamenti diagnostici preliminari al progetto, durante la stesura del progetto definitivo, dopo la chiusura del cantiere con la finalità di monitorare gli interventi eseguiti e stabilire il piano di conservazione e le attività manutentive. L'articolo riporta le applicazioni di Georadar (GPR), utilizzato per localizzare i resti di precedenti edifici sotto il pavimento della chiesa, e di Termografia IR (IRT) per visualizzare la tessitura della muratura sotto gli intonaci e per monitorare la presenza e diffusione di umidità nelle murature dopo il restauro.*

**Parole chiave:** archeologia, conservazione pianificata, restauro, Serviti Fathers, convento di Lavello, Termografia IR, GPR, Laser scanning

## INTRODUCTION

The use of investigations, especially non-destructive investigations, is a fundamental support for obtaining knowledge of a building and a mandatory phase in the planning of any intervention.

Early detection is the first step towards the assessment of a building in the documentation process: both location and identification of the major damage areas allow further diagnostic steps to be addressed and economic issues required to support subsequent phases of the intervention project to be quantified.

The investigations serve to ascertain the causes of damage and to assess the residual performances of the elements / system of the buildings. Moreover, diagnostics allow the identification, location and quantification of possible risks for the conservation of materials and features and the setting of necessary early actions to prevent further damage (Della Torre, 2006; Rosina, 2007; 2008). The use of NDT in the preliminary phase of study is extremely helpful for obtaining a first assessment of the potential of a building for a new use and for addressing the choice of the new function according to both the potential and the limits due to the reduction of some performance metrics (Della Torre, 2006).

In the arena of NDT applied to Cultural Heritage, the investigation techniques (that are based on the analysis of images) have a prominent role, especially during the preliminary phase of the assessment.

The requirements of early detection obtain a correspondence with the characteristics of such tests: producing images does not require contact with the surface; the process is rapid and provides results in real time; a single sample can be repeated for further comparison and a time-based control; extensive surfaces can be scanned without much extra time; the images of an object, obtained using different spectra, supply different information, which can be collected in a unique informative system, as already shown in the recent scientific literature regarding this subject (Binda, 2001; 2002).

Moreover, due to the non-destructive nature of the tests, they can be applied periodically over the course of the monitoring activity, with the aim of studying the evolution of the damage phenomena and defining the materials and features thresholds which should not be exceeded in order to preserve the building.

During the initial multidisciplinary study phase of the documentation of buildings, early diagnostics is extremely advantageous for discovering, locating and connec-

ting those details concerning the building that testify to the changes that have occurred over time. The archival documentation and stratigraphic survey carried out on the buildings comprise the milestone of the established methods for documenting the evolution of buildings: in addition, diagnostics provide a significant improvement for the historical analysis because it is helpful to be able to locate the transformations and to confirm their typologies and extensions (Binda, 2001; Rosina, 2006; 2009). The application of NDT techniques to historical buildings follows established techniques and procedures to investigate materials and building techniques and assess the state of conservation. Nevertheless, it is a complex area and reliable techniques available for testing ancient masonry are not numerous because of the non-homogeneity of the structures and materials employed.

The case study of Lavello Convent is a good example for demonstrating the application of recently established diagnostics (innovative at the time of their first application in 1998), which were used prior to the beginning of the project for the preliminary assessment, as advanced diagnostics during the design of the definitive project, and after the restoration for monitoring the executed intervention and establishing the conservation plan and maintenance activities.

This paper refers mainly to two non-destructive investigations, which were extensively applied especially to the church building at different stages of the project to develop and restore the building: the Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) and Infrared Thermography (IRT).

In addition, the paper demonstrates the use of the laser scanner technique for surveying the archaeological remains: in Lavello church it served to obtain the measured drawings of the ruins, which were found in the soil on the basis of the historical research and the GPR application. The accurate documentation of the existing findings allowed the necessary information to be obtained in order to project the intervention for the optimized preservation and display of the ruins that remained hidden underneath the pavement and to design the supporting structure of the floor.

## THE CASE STUDY

The monastery and abbey of Lavello in Calolziocorte (Northern Italy) has been the object of a conscious and coordinated restoration over the course of the last decade that restored the complex to the community life of the village and Lecco area.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Spira firm (prof. G. Cruciani Fabozzi, Eng.L. Marrani, Florence) designed the restoration project and management, with the collaboration of arch. E. Maggi, S. Pozzi, G. De Michele; prof. D.M. Fontana, A. Breschi, C. Blasi (Comes firm) developed the structure and plants project. The project involved the local authorities (County of Lecco, Municipality of Calolziocorte, Parish of Foppenico, Valley of Saint Martin, Region Lombardy), and it was partially supported by the EU as Interreg III B Italy-Switzerland, and as RECITE II NCE (Network Culture Economy) project on three monasteries: the Kloster in Buch (Germany), Güssing Monaster (Austria) and Lavello Convent in Calolziocorte. The restoration started in 2002 and finished in 2007, and the final cost is approximatively 3,5 milion of euro. A report of the project and intervention is published in (Cruciani Fabozzi, 2004)

The new use includes the location of tourism and cultural activities at a European level; among these are included education, exhibitions and concerts in the monastery rooms and the use of the church for religious ceremonies and cultural events.

The aims of the restoration have been the elimination of the modifications due to inappropriate uses in the past and shoddy strengthening interventions; moreover, a non-secondary purpose has been to reform the monastic scale of the buildings and the functional pattern of the complex.

The documentation gathered for the restoration (Cruciani Fabozzi, 2004; 2008) and the conducting of the works on the building site has contributed to an enlargement of the knowledge of the history of the convent and the community life in the Lecco area between the 15th and 19th centuries.

## GATHERING HISTORICAL DATA

### Archival documentation

The team of designers of the restoration collected and analysed a considerable amount of archival and historical documentation (Cruciani Fabozzi 2008; 2011): the present paragraph briefly summarizes the available information. The abbey and convent of Lavello have represented a reference point for the territory since the early Middle Ages. The location on which the monastery was built has formed a strategic location since Roman times: the place is between Como Lake, the San Martino Valley and the River Adda, along the Roman military road connecting Como and Bergamo, very close to Olginate bridge (Aldeggi, 2005). It has thus comprised a border to various areas under different systems of political control. The earliest historical documents (dating back to 1014) refer to a castle and a chapel inside it, named after Saint Mary (Fumagalli, 1997). The available historical data (Borghi, 2002) report the reconstruction of the present church in 1480 after the destruction of the previous Medieval chapel, which occurred in 1380, due to Bernabò Visconti's struggles to strengthen his lordship over the territory of Milan. In 1480, the hermit Jacopino discovered the remains of the church and the miraculous source of water, where some extraordinary facts occurred. He constructed a small building on the ruins and the spring and in a short time the renown of the place had become so widespread that the number

of pilgrims surged. In 1486 the Fathers of the Order of the Servants of Mary (from Saint Gottard branch) settled in the area. In 1510 they rebuilt the convent and 80 years later they reconstructed the church with a different orientation – only the northern side of the original remained due to its incorporation as perimeter wall of the new building. Between 1582 and 1585 the church was enlarged and in 1590 the skilled personnel (who came from Ticino Region, Switzerland) accomplished also the decoration of the two apses and the final refurbishment of the building. Minor modifications took place over the course of the next century as well as the transformation of the church and the convent into a hospital, between 1629 and 1638, which entailed the total whitewashing of the frescoes and decoration and the further enlargement of the cloisters. In 1772 the convent was suppressed and since that time the buildings suffered neglect and lack of maintenance until the time of the recent restoration.

The survey, assessment and preliminary analysis of the features and technical details of the monastery and church showed some evidences and traces of the transformations occurring between 1480 and the beginning of 17th century, which was a time of wider enlargement and changes. Nevertheless, many questions remained open, especially before the beginning of the building site and therefore the demolition of recent, shoddy additions, dangerous for the stability of the loggias, porches and several parts of the church and monastery.

The investigations provided the necessary data to be able to project the most suitable and compatible rehabilitation of the complex and allowed the display of the findings remaining in the soil under the church pavement to be designed.

### ... and Not Destructive Testing

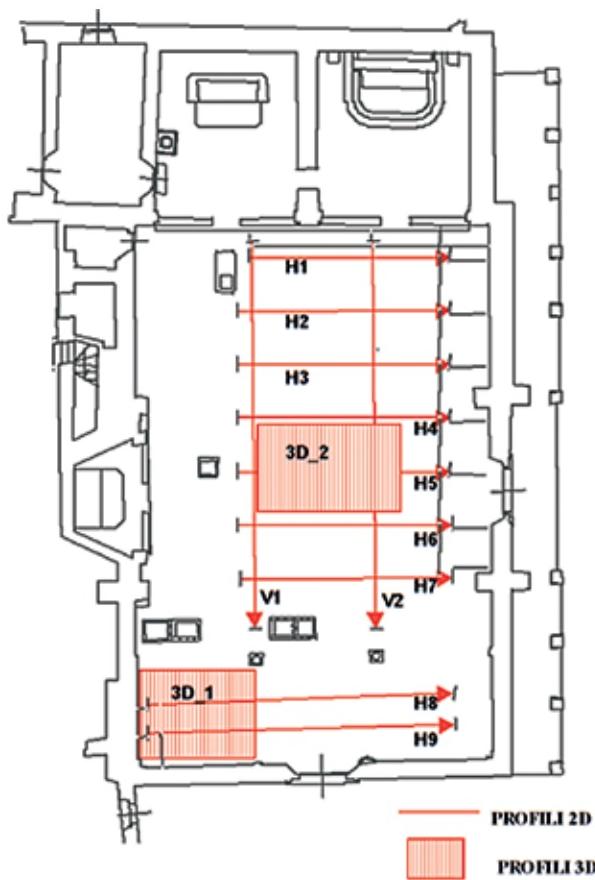
Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR)<sup>2</sup> detection located the remains of tombs and the southern walls of the previous churches underneath the present pavement (Valle, 2004).

A preliminary set of measurements was performed both inside and outside the church in 1999, resulting in the location of the tombs and some longitudinal structures in the nave.

In 2002 the team of Politecnico di Milano and ISMES-CESI Inc. realized a further set of GPR 2D profiles inside the church, allowing the integration of previous measu-

<sup>2</sup> Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) is a non-destructive technique based on the use of electromagnetic waves to investigate the underground or internal structures of objects. It has been successfully used in investigating the non homogeneities, characteristics and damage of masonry and to inspect the soil for finding buried structures and objects (Marienjofer, 2001; Saisi, 2001; Leckebusch, 2003; Ranalli, 2004). The most common applications in the field of rehabilitation are the localization of large voids, inclusions of different materials (like steel, wood, etc.), and the survey of the section of stone or brick multi-leaf walls. Both applications are focused on the identification of the condition or damage of structures, presence and level of humidity and the monitoring or control of the effectiveness of repair by injection techniques.

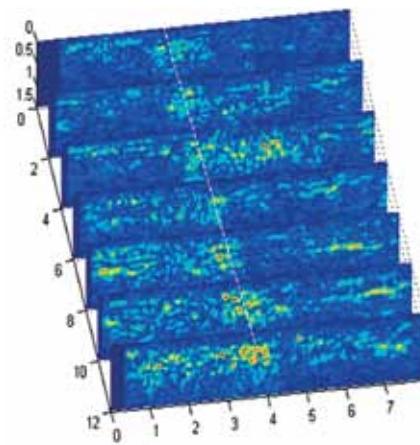
Moreover, the recent code for the seismic rehabilitation of ancient buildings indicates the GPR investigation among the suggested tests, with the integration of destructive tests with the double flat jack and the stress measurements. The analysis of radar signal anomalies



**Fig. 1: Map of GPR profiles (2D and 3D) and the tombs underneath the pavement of Santa Maria del Lavello; the tombs location is the result of the investigation performed in 1998 (Courtesy of S. Valle, L. Zanzi, G. Lenzi).**

**SI. 1: Karta georadarskih (2D in 3D) profilov in grobov pod tlakom cerkve sv. Marije v Lavellu; lokacije grobov so rezultat preiskave, izvedene leta 1998 (Z dovoljenjem S. Valleja, L. Zanzija in G. Lenzija).**

ments: the whole floor underwent investigation. On the basis of the results, the researchers developed a 3D investigation on two zones, where the 2D profiles indicated the presence of structures in the soil under the pavement. The innovative processing data in the 3D images provides a better signal-to-noise ratio and images that become more suitable and clearly supportive of the end-users' requirements. The improvement was due to the



**Fig. 2: Church of Santa Maria del Lavello. GPR Profiles H1,H2,H3,H4,H5,H6,H7 after the innovative post processing phase (Courtesy of Valle, L. Zanzi, G. Lenzi).  
SI. 1: Cerkev sv. Marije v Lavellu. Georadarški profili H1, H2, H3, H4, H5, H6, H7 po inovativni zaključni obdelavi podatkov (Z dovoljenjem S. Valleja, L. Zanzija in G. Lenzija).**

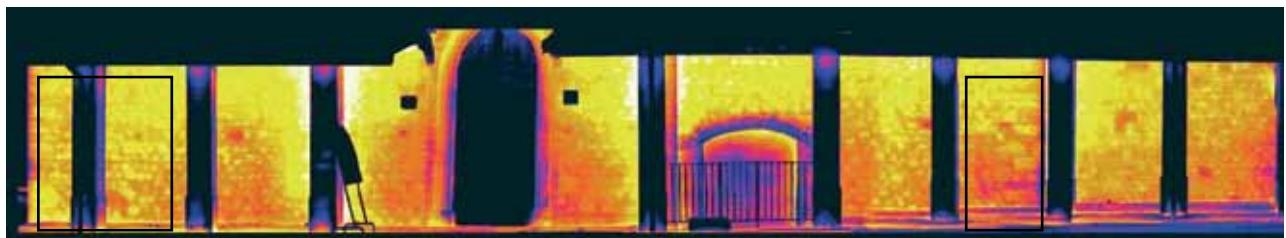


**Fig. 3: Santa Maria del Lavello, southern side, exterior.  
SI. 3: Sv. Marija v Lavellu, južna stran, zunanjost.**

use of an algorithm based on time-space migration and the fundamentals of data pre-processing, allowing the researchers to achieve a good location and identification of the buried ruin.

Particularly, a longitudinal structure is clearly detected in all the 2D profiles across the nave, at 4 metres from the starting point of the profiles (white dotted line in Fig. 2). The structure is 50 cm in magnitude.

informs the interpretation of data and this part of the data processing seldom obtains a result on first reading. Therefore the data report must include the detailed reading key for the interpretation of the processed data. In addition, the movements of the radar antennae could be a critical issue. The application requires the contact between the antennae and the object under investigation and sometimes the location, dimension and damage of the surface under investigation can preclude any contact. In the case of Lavello Abbey, the results of GPR application allowed the location of tombs and the main remains of the early churches of Santa Maria. Therefore the performed analysis allowed the archaeologists to organize the priority of the excavation and to manage the long time taking activities for documenting with the activities of building site in course. In December 1999, Giuseppe Lenzi (ISMES-CESI inc.) performed a detailed set of measurement by GPR, and the further data processing of Prof. Zanzi (DIS Dept., Politecnico di Milano) permitted the representation of the wall in the church plan, parallel to the southern side



**Fig. 4: Santa Maria del Lavello, composite of thermograms, southern side, exterior. Range of Temperatures: 15.5–19.5°C; ambient temperature: 11.5°C.** The figure displays the shape of the masonry texture, according to the differences of the surface temperature during the cooling phase. The black squares contour the part of the masonry composed by squared ashlers, which differ from the more common cobbles spread in the rest of the structure. Sl. 4: Sv. Marija v Lavellu, Sestavljanka iz termogramov, južna stran, zunanjost. Razpon temperatur: 15,5–19,5 °C; temperatura okolja: 11,5 °C. Slika prikazuje teksturo zidovja glede na razlike v površinski temperaturi, zaznane v fazi ohlajanja. Črna kvadratka orisujeta del zidovja, ki je sestavljen iz klesancev, za razliko od preostalega dela konstrukcije, kjer najdemo bolj razširjene okrogle tlakovce.

The further excavations, based on the GPR information, showed an archaeological area extremely rich in findings: the remains of the sacred basins and the pipeline conducting from the miraculous spring to the exterior rooms and basin were also found.

The finding of the previous church bases and the tombs since the early settlement, allowed the establishment of the date of the foundation of the buildings; nevertheless, dating the elevations was much more uncertain, also because of some misleading details, such as the

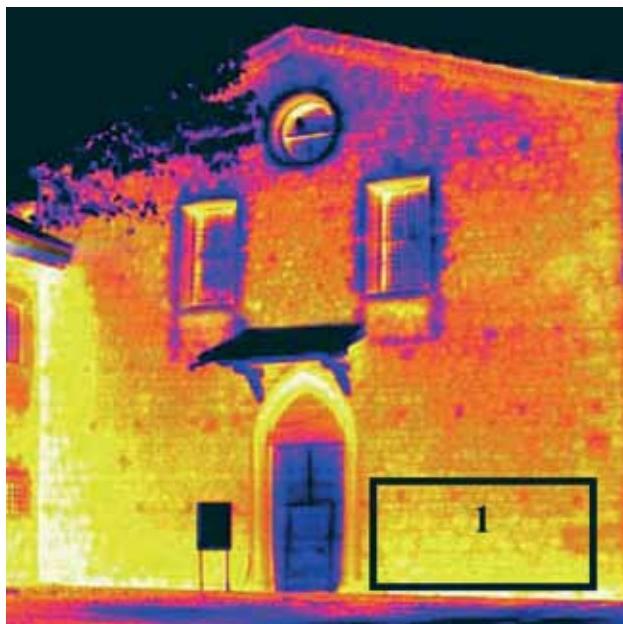
shape of the nave and the confusing dates written on the southern portal and inside the altar arch.

Infrared Thermography (IRT)<sup>3</sup> helped to detect the many details in the elevated masonry; the following paragraph presents the main results.

On the southern exterior side, IRT allowed the corner stones within the present masonry to be distinguished, revealing the edge of the first enlargement of the church (see Fig. 3, 4).

The surface temperatures differ depending on the thermal characteristics of the materials under such envi-

- 3 Infrared Thermography is a non-destructive, non-contact method to detect, gather and evaluate information about historic building conditions (Grinzato, 2001; Rosina, 2004; Avdelidis, 2004; Spodek, 2009). Using IRT, information can be obtained about the building elements, their location, shape material characteristics and state of decay that may not be noticeable from visual examination. IRT investigation is based on the principle that heat flowing in a material is altered by the presence of anomalies. The change in heat flow causes localized differences in the surface temperature. By mapping the surface temperature and understanding the conditions of heat flow, a map of inner anomalies in the material can be obtained. The non-contact nature of IRT is advantageous for the investigation of delicate or sensitive surfaces. As long as a direct line of sight is available, data can be collected from a distance, eliminating the need for lifts or scaffolding. IRT can be repeatedly applied over time to monitor conditions, evaluate effects of treatments over time and observe anomalies over time and changing conditions. The objectives of an IRT investigation are the detection and evaluation of thermal anomalies corresponding to discontinuities because of decay and / or hidden elements of a building. Its primary application to historic buildings concerns the investigation of inner layers and structural elements a few centimetres underneath plaster or stucco and in masonry construction. Although it has been shown that it is theoretically possible to overcome the depth limitation of a few centimetres beneath the outer surface, practically, obstacles remain to the extensive application of IRT for the detection of layers that are deep inside the wall during field-testing. The difficulty is primarily due to the application of a proper thermal solicitation of the surface in order to obtain a return signal from the surface that can be detected by the thermocamera and which could be unequivocally related to the researched defect instead of any surface anomaly. Determination of the correct time and duration for performing testing is critical because buildings are subjected to slow and varying boundary conditions and different heat fluxes may interact with each other causing detrimental or additive effects which significantly compromise the thermal signal. Solar heating is a powerful heating source that can cause heat flux through the structure. In order to obtain uniform heating of a vertical surface it is optimal to start irradiation at the same time for the entire surface, or at least for a large part of it. Therefore, the building's orientation and relationship to adjacent structures, trees or building elements that may cast shadows, are crucial factors to be taken into account in the investigation plan. For detection of structural elements beneath plaster, cut stone or bricks joined by lime mortar, the pattern is characteristic of the age and the placement on the building. The texture of the masonry depends on the size and thickness of the element. The best IRT results are achieved in case of stone coated with lime mortar. In the case of Lavello, IRT was successfully used in the preliminary phase of obtaining knowledge about the Abbey and the main results had been the localization of rising damp, water leakages from the roof and thermal unbalance in a part of the frescoes, which are the main factor of risk for the conservation of the finishing. In the advanced stage of the project, IRT helped to create a mapping of the different masonry textures in the complex and therefore to integrate the historical research with the project of rehabilitation of the structures and decoration. During the building site, the integration of IRT and microclimate monitoring served to reduce the risk of damage of the finishing during some work requiring the change of RH balance inside the church, and to lead a gradual optimization of the microclimatic conditions after the turning on the new heating plant (Rosina, 2007). At the conclusion of the restoration, IRT integrated by gravimetric tests, allowed the intervention to eliminate rising damp and water infiltrations to be monitored and tested.

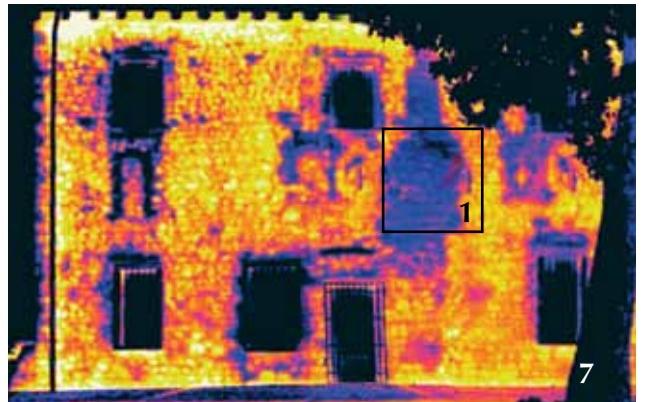


**Fig. 5: Santa Maria del Lavello, composite of thermograms, the façade of the church.** At thermal Infrared, the pattern of the masonry appears clearly: note in square 1 the regular size of the squared ashlar, the same in the right corner. The small dark spots, regularly disposed in the structure, are the scaffolding anchorages, which were infilled after having built the façade. The dark rectangles below the windows at the first floor are the signs of the previous opening, partially closed in 1706 because of the interior modification of the church. Range of Temperatures: 12-17.2°C; ambient temperature: 11.5°C.

**Sl. 5: Sv. Marija v Lavellu, Sestavljanka iz termogramov, cerkvena fasada.** V infrardeči termografiji je vzorec zidovja jasno viden: v kvadratu 1 je opazna enakomerna velikost klesancev, enako v desnem kotu. Manjša temnejša mesta, enakomerno razporejena po konstrukciji, so sidirišča za gradbeni oder, ki so bila zapolnjena po izgradnji fasade. Temna pravokotnika pod oknoma v prvem nadstropju nakazujeta, do kod sta okenski odprtini segali prej, preden sta bili leta 1706 med prenovo notranjščine cerkve delno zaprti. Razpon temperatur: 12–17,2 °C; temperatura okolja: 11,5 °C.



**Fig. 6: Santa Maria del Lavello, the southern side of the monastery, left part.**  
**Sl. 6: Sv. Marija v Lavellu, južna stran samostana, levi del.**



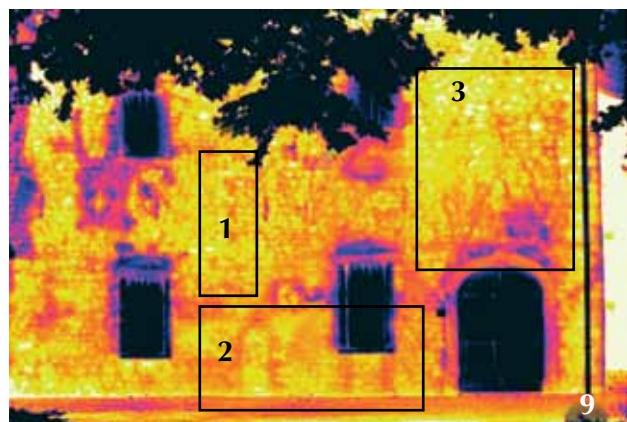
**Fig. 7: Santa Maria del Lavello, composite of thermograms of the southern side of the monastery, left part.** IRT allows an extensive stucco patch having a higher thickness than the rest of the elevation to be located. The increase of thickness of the stucco changes its water absorption capability. In addition the close trees prevent any direct sun irradiation of that zone for many hours a day, despite of the orientation. Therefore the result is the damage of the restoration stucco, because of the almost permanent retention of water in such a porous material. Range of Temperatures: 14.3 -17.3°C; ambient temperature: 11.2°C.

**Sl. 7: Sv. Marija v Lavellu, sestavljanka iz termogramov, južna stran samostana, levi del.**  
Infrardeča termografija je omogočila odkritje obsežne zaplate štuka z večjo gostoto, kot je v preostalem delu zidu. Zaradi povečane debeline štuka je sposobnost absorbiranja vode na tem mestu spremenjena. Poleg tega bližnja drevesa preprečujejo neposreden padec sončnih žarkov na to mesto po več ur dnevno, kljub legi cerkeve. Končna posledica je škoda na restavracijskem štuku zaradi skoraj nenehnega zadrževanja vode v tako poroznem materialu. Razpon temperatur: 14,3–17,3 °C; temperatura okolja: 11,2 °C.



**Fig. 8: Santa Maria del Lavello, the southern side of the monastery, right part.**

**Sl. 8: Sv. Marija v Lavellu, južna stran samostana, desni del.**



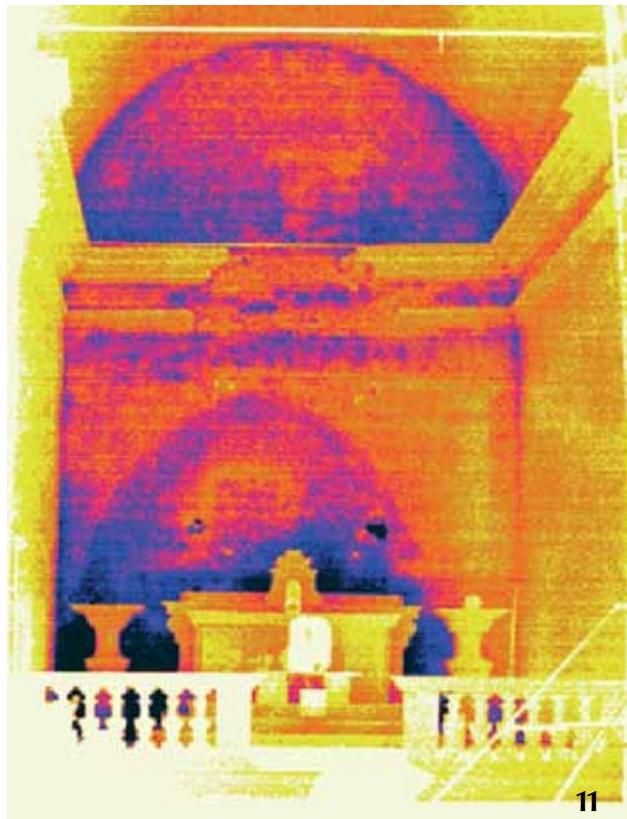
**Fig. 9: Santa Maria del Lavello, composite of thermograms on the southern side of the convent on the right hand side. Range of Temperatures: 12-13.5°C; ambient temperature: 11.7°C.**

**Sl. 9: Sv. Marija v Lavellu, sestavljanica iz termogramov, južna stran samostana, desni del. Razpon temperatur : 12–13,5 °C; temperatura okolja: 11,7 °C.**



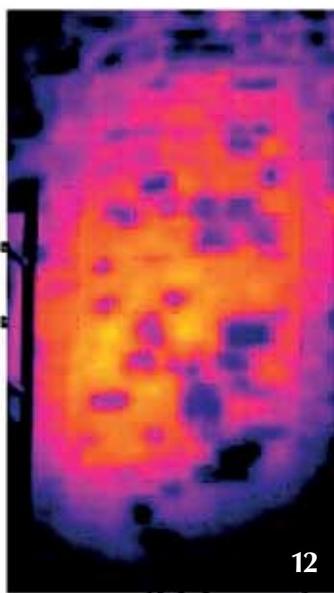
**Fig. 10: Santa Maria del Lavello, the interior towards the apses (Courtesy of G. Cruciani Fabozzi).**

**Sl. 10: Sv. Marija v Lavellu, notranjost cerkve proti apsidam (Z dovoljenjem G. CrucianijaFabozzija).**

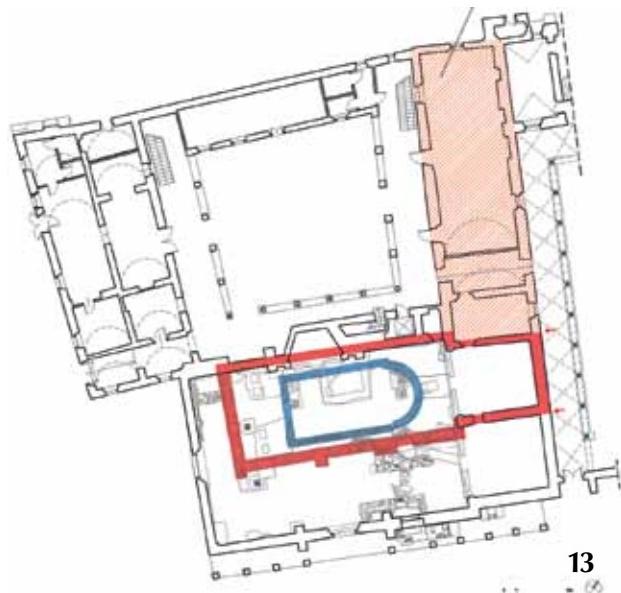


**Fig. 11: Santa Maria del Lavello, composite of thermograms of the eastern side of the right apse. Range of Temperatures: 10.8-12.5°C; ambient temperature: 14.6°C.**

**Sl. 11: Sv. Marija v Lavellu, sestavljanica iz termogramov, vzhodna stran desne apside. Razpon temperatur: 10,8–12,5 °C; temperatura okolja: 14,6 °C.**



**Fig. 12: Santa Maria del Lavello, composite of thermograms of the northern side of the right apse. Range of Temperatures: 19-22.3°C; ambient temperature: 12°C, the recapture has been obtained by active approach after a heating of 45 minutes by two halogen lamps.**  
**Sl. 12: Sv. Marija v Lavellu, sestavljanka iz termogramov, severna stran desne apside. Razpon temperatur: 19-22,3 °C; temperatura okolja 12 °C. Posnetek smo pridobili z aktivnim pristopom po 45-minutnem ogrevanju z dvema halogenskima svetilkama.**



**Fig. 13: Santa Maria del Lavello, plan of the monastery and Abbey, display of the three overlapped churches and the original settlement of the middle age castle, on the base of the tests, archaeological excavation, findings during the restoration (Courtesy of G. Cruciani Fabozzi).**

**Sl. 13: Sv. Marija v Lavellu, načrt samostana in samostanske cerkve, prikaz treh prekrivajočih se cerkva in izvirne naselbine srednjoveškega gradu, izdelan na podlagi preiskav, arheoloških izkopavanj in ugotovitev med restavriranjem (Z dovoljenjem G. Crucianija Fabozzija).**



**Fig. 14: Santa Maria del Lavello, the excavation of the archaeological remains and the location of the target of the topographical survey (Courtesy of G. Cruciani Fabozzi).**

**Sl. 14: Sv. Marija v Lavellu, izkopavanje arheoloških ostankov in lokacija cilja topografske raziskave (Z dovoljenjem G. Crucianija Fabozzija).**

ronmental conditions. Considering a masonry composed by stones and lime mortar, the thermal behaviour of the two materials is different during the heating exchange with the ambient, therefore the temperature of the surfaces is lower or higher according to the speed of cooling of materials having different density (Ludwig, 1997; Grinzato, 2001; Rosina, 2002; Ludwig, 2005).

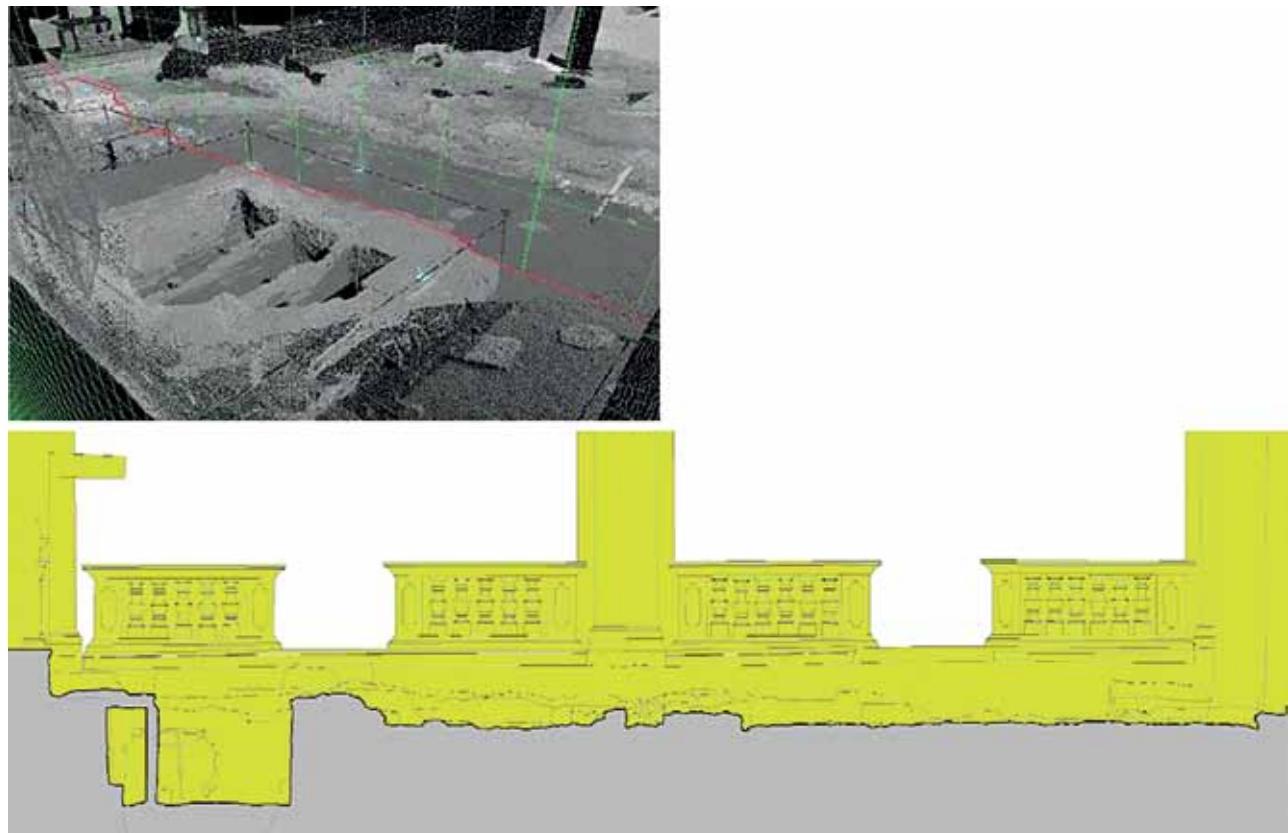
IRT allows the map of surface temperature under investigation to be visualised and the areas of non-homogeneous distribution to be localised. In case of good adhesivity of the finishing to the substrate, the pattern of temperature distribution displays the location of different materials underneath the plaster.

Analysing Fig. 4, the shape of the corned stones appears very clearly: the left edge coincides with the corner with the façade, where it was expected to be located; while, on the opposite side, the right edge concludes the nave, not the apse, thus confirming that the apses were added after the completion of the main building.

The thermography of the façade shows the same corner ashlar (right side), confirming the important structural function of the squared stones as "framing" the cobble-stone masonry (Fig. 5); in addition a reduction of the size of the windows results from the thermal imaging, due to the insertion of an interior balcony in 1706.

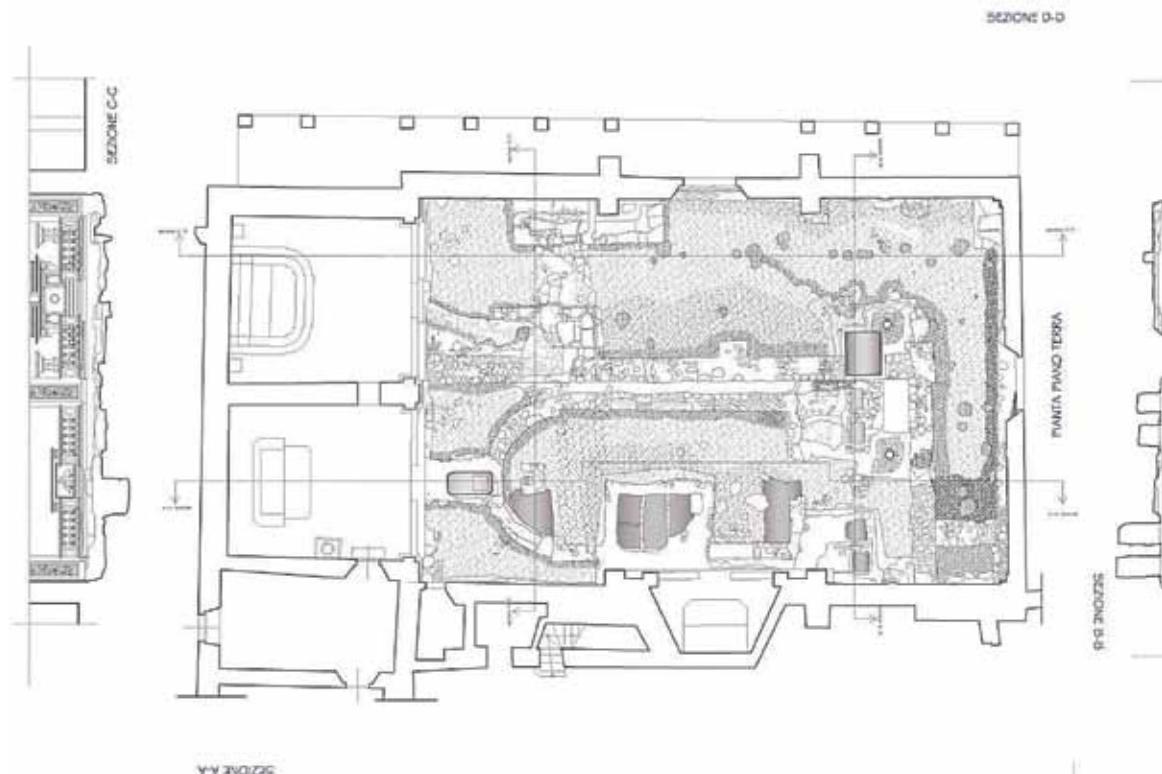
On the southern side of the monastery, IRT demonstrated the numerous changes that occurred in that wing of the complex. Historical documentation reported only that in 1706 that side, used as storehouse until that date, underwent a complete refurbishment. The new use was as a hostel and required large vaulted rooms to be built, partially using the exterior walls of the existing buildings. Because of the poor condition of the buildings and the minimal importance of their use, neither description was kept in the archive files.

Infrared Thermography allowed many interesting details of this masonry to be discovered. Figs. 7 and 8 show the results.



**Fig. 15: Santa Maria del Lavello, cutting of the cloud of points along the sections alignment provide the profile of soil and remains. Bi-dimensional drawings are extracted from "slices" of the points cloud model (Courtesy of G. Tucci).**

**Sl.15: Sv. Marija v Lavellu, prerez točkovnega oblaka po poravnavi odsekov prikaže profil prsti in ostalin. Dvodimensionalne slike so pridobljene iz »rezin« točkovnega oblaka (z dovoljenjem G. Tucci).**



**Fig. 16: Santa Maria del Lavello, materials and state of conservation of the archaeological remains, underground level (Courtesy of G. Tucci).**

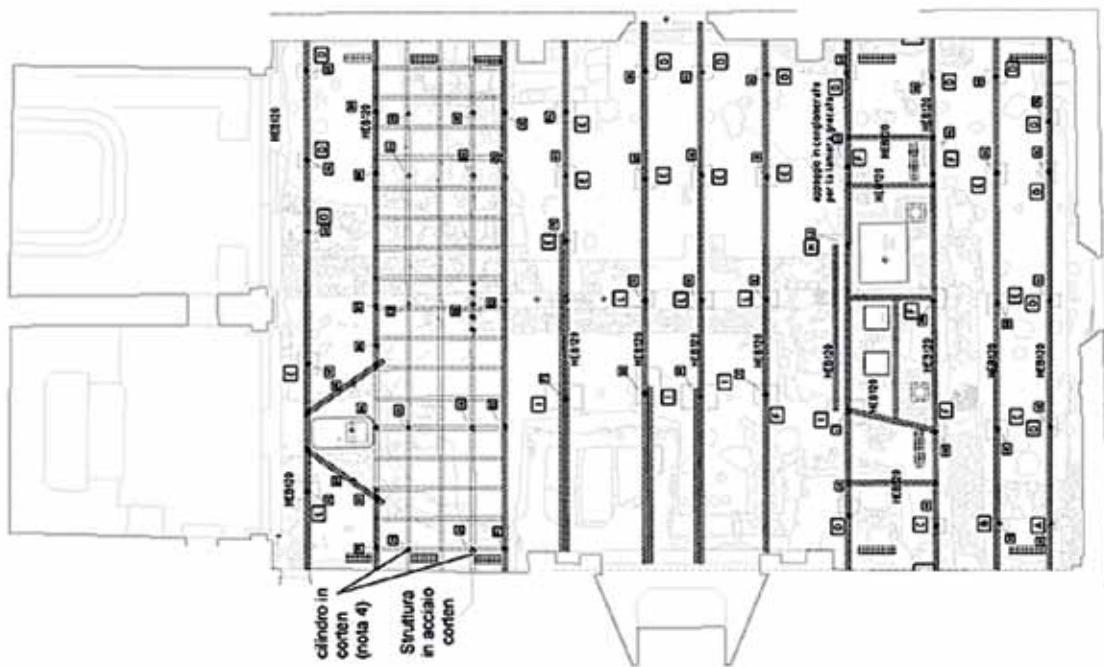
**Sl. 16: Sv. Marija v Lavellu, materiali in stanje ohranjenosti arheoloških ostankov, podzemni nivo (Z dovoljenjem G. Tucci).**



**Fig. 17: Santa Maria del Lavello, the foundation of the pillars in the opaque part of the pavement (Courtesy of G. Suardi).**

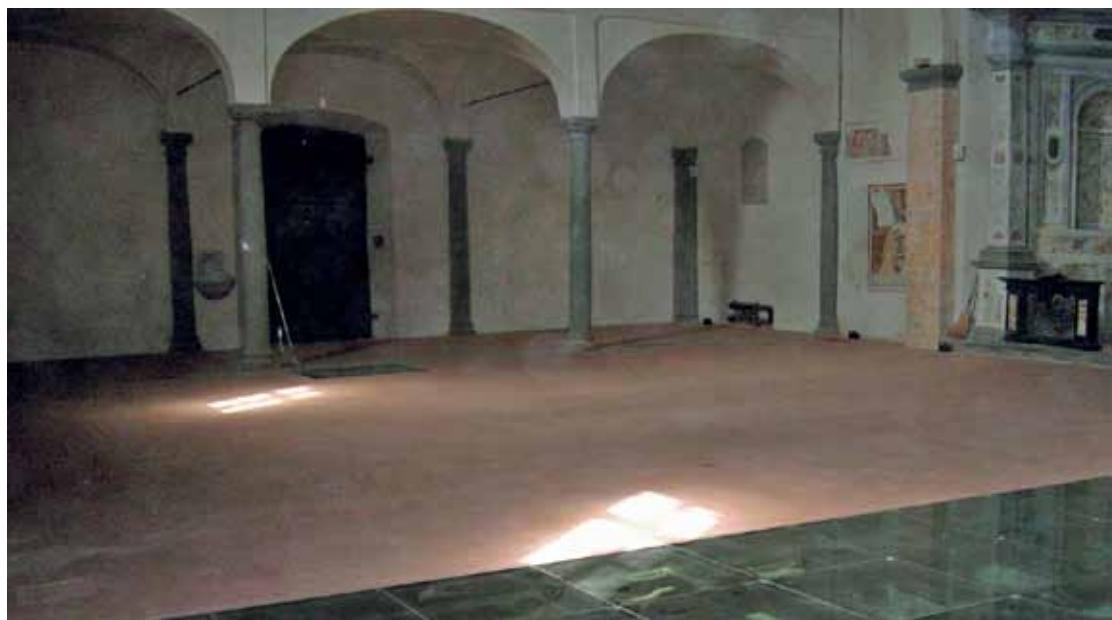
**Sl. 17: Sv. Marija v Lavellu, temelji stebrov v neprozornem delu tlaka (Z dovoljenjem G. Suardi).**

First of all, it is possible to locate the corners of two original buildings, thanks to the squared corner ashlars vertically lined in square 1, Fig. 9. That alignment marks the left edge of a building which had many modifications after the placement side by side of the second building (at the left), especially at the ground floor: see the original arched doors and window (square 2, Fig. 9), infilled at the time of the connection between the two buildings. The size and height of the opening does not fit with the use of the building in the 18<sup>th</sup> century as facility. Also the distance of the original arched windows at the first floor (both in Fig. 7 and 9) allows to hypothesise a shorter height of the rooms in the original structure: probably the first use of the two buildings was as bedrooms, and later, with the enlargement of the wings in the main cloister, the building became a storehouse. Furthermore, the thermal analysis allows also information regarding the structural behaviour of the masonry to be gathered. In Fig. 9, square 3, it is possible to detect many vertical and oblique cracks over the portal, which were infilled during the restoration. Nevertheless the location of the several cracks and their size, allows the opening the large portal that contributed to weakening the masonry over it to be considered.



*Fig. 18: Santa Maria del Lavello, the plan of the supporting structure of the pavement (Courtesy of G. Cruciani Fabozzi).*

*Sl. 18: Sv. Marija v Lavellu, načrt za podporno konstrukcijo tlaka (Z dovoljenjem G. Crucianija Fabozzija).*



*Fig. 19: Santa Maria del Lavello, the new pavement, partially opaque and partially realized with supporting glass tiles (Courtesy of G. Cruciani Fabozzi).*

*Sl. 19: Sv. Marija v Lavellu, novi tlak, delno neprozoren, delno pa izdelan iz podprtih steklenih plošč (Z dovoljenjem G. Crucianija Fabozzija).*

Also, internal IRT permits the location of modifications that were not reported in the archive documentation.

In Fig. 11 the composite of thermograms shows an arched structure of the masonry in both the apses, as it was a structural texture for a better distribution of the stress. Another hypothesis is that the arched structures existed at the time of the refurbishment, and this second hypothesis could make more sense, according to other details that IRT shows. The temperature of the masonry that is located inside the arch is lower than the temperature of the surrounding wall: the cause could be a greater thickness of the plaster coating the structure inside the arch, than elsewhere on the wall. Therefore, the masonry is not planar inside and outside the arch as it was built at two different times.

Again, concerning the wall that separates the two apses, Infrared shows an infilled large window (Fig. 12). The decoration is not interrupted; therefore the window could be a part of a structure built before the refurbishment of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. During the restoration building site, at the first floor of the western side in the main cloister (the adjacent building to the apses), the dismantlement of recent ceilings allows the project managers to discover the traces of middle ages frescoes. All these facts allow the hypothesis that the apses of the church were built on the remains of the original castle walls, mentioned in the first historical document (dating back to 1014). Therefore their masonry is not homogeneous and underneath the last frescoes traces of previous apertures / structures remain.

Laser scan survey<sup>4</sup> was extremely successful in documenting the archaeological excavation, both in terms of the remains and the morphology of the surrounding land itself (Bonora, 2006; Bonora 2008). As shown in Fig. 14, the

remains and the soil had very irregular geometry and profiles. The project purpose was to keep the remains available for further studies also after the reconstruction of the pavement. The new structure creates a crawling space for the ventilation between the bottom of the excavation and the floor structure. This solution is a “floating floor”, inspired by the constructive concept of the ancient hypocausts. It also takes into account both the needs to insert radiant heating panels and the customer’s request that a significant portion of the archaeological findings remain visible. The floating floor is supported by pillars, whose foundation, size and location were designed to take into account the presence of the remains in order to not put the old structures in contact with the new ones and prevent any possible damage. A part of the new pavement was realized with supporting glass tiles, to allow the view of the ruins. The aim of the survey was to provide the most reliable geometric information to design the foundation of the supporting structure inside the free spaces, where the archaeological findings were not located. The researchers obtained useful measured drawings of the sections of the underground level by “cutting” the cloud of thousands points measured by the laser scan survey (Fig. 15). The final result was a complete documentation of all the findings, their materials and state of conservation (Fig. 16) that allowed the planning of the intervention necessary to restore them and to ensure their optimal conservation in the future. In addition, the documentation was used to support the required information to design the new floor. The floating floor included also the heating plant, a warm water system, and its activation allows the microclimate in the church and underground space to be optimally maintained for the conservation of frescoes, ruins and masonry.

<sup>4</sup> Laser scanning technique uses various scanning technologies to provide a 3-D record of a surface. In a nutshell, a low-powered laser is used to measure the position of a point on an object in 3-dimensions. As time progresses, many measurements are taken, building up a complex and highly accurate 3-dimensional map of the surface of the object.

Applications in archaeology and architecture have recently become common for the documentation both of the excavation site (and its stratigraphic layers) and the structures and object findings (Tucci, 2003; Musso, 2004; Doenus, 2005; Brizzi, 2006; Getty Conservation Institute, 2007).

Surveys are carried out to document the findings while the excavation proceeds. The removal of the upper layers of material in order to bring to light the underlying ones – requires a common reference system for the measurements taken in the different phases of the excavation to be considered. According to (Tucci, 2008, 276) “It is therefore important to identify and appropriately materialize a large number of reference points in areas that will not be affected by the excavation procedures; these reference points, both natural and artificial, constitute the local reference system onto which later acquisitions and / or acquisitions obtained using different techniques can be superimposed and thereby made directly comparable. The graphic representation obtained from the metric survey, like the other documents pertaining to the building, is then arranged chronologically thereby facilitating a diachronic interpretation”.

This method of survey is accurate and reliable and is generally considered to be the first diagnostic step in historical buildings, especially for detecting the geometric irregularities that belong to a pathological state, such as leaning / rotation / deformation of structural elements, spalling of finishing, cracks, non planar surfaces, etc. Three dimensional laser scanning helps the project of conservation also as a tool for monitoring decay and supporting conservation decisions. In the archaeological areas, laser scan surveying has the additional advantage of realising the data regarding both the findings and their surroundings.

In the case of Lavello, it played a fundamental role in acquiring the necessary measurements for the project of the new supporting structure of the floors, joining the aim to design the foundation without touching the remains, with the aim to protect and display the ruins remaining under the new floor by realizing a part of the floor with glass. Moreover, the laser scan survey was a source of rich and accurate visual material to illustrate areas of the site which remained under the opaque floor, therefore no more visible after the restoration, thereby to enhance the visitors experience.

## CONCLUSIONS

The presented diagnostic techniques for the analysis of archaeological findings and historical buildings are a valid support to the knowledge of the transformation of architectures in time; as shown in the study case, the process of knowledge starts with the “archaeological” survey of the buildings themselves, as well as findings in the soil.

The integration of experimental techniques and traditional methods for the survey of findings allows a tremendous improvement in the amount and quality of the information to be obtained and the provision of a complete documentation to be used to effectively project the rehabilitation of the historical building with the aim of preserving as much as possible of the materials and features of the remains. In fact, the knowledge of the technical issues related to the conservation of the materials of the building and findings informs the restoration project, especially in terms of the project choices regarding the

new use and the necessary least transformation of the existing building. Matching historical research and technical testing / survey allows an overall view to be attained, consisting of a synergic and holistic comprehension of both the historical and materials characteristics of the buildings since the beginning of the project. Therefore it is possible to choose the most compatible use and intervention from the first steps of the decision-making process. The documentation phase has a prominent role in the conservation process, which has the goal to protect the Cultural Heritage over the entire lifespan: hence, the implementation of tools and methods, the widespread communication of results and their exploitation by means of a multidisciplinary approach, the updating of filling methods, contributing to a facilitation of the collaboration between the historians, technicians, scientists along with the designers and planners, this being the most desired requirement for obtaining the most effective preservation of the cultural heritage itself.

## NEDESTRUKTIVNE PREISKAVE, ŠTUDIJA PRIMERA SAMOSTANA V LOMBARDIJI (ITALIJA)

*Elisabetta ROSINA*

Politecnico Milano, Oddelek za znanost in tehnologijo grajenega okolja, ul. Bonardi 5, 20133 Milan, Italija  
e-mail: elisabetta.rosina@polimi.it

## POVZETEK

*Uporaba preiskav, zlasti nedestruktivnih, predstavlja temeljno podporo pri spoznavanju stavb in obvezno fazo v načrtovanju kakršnegakoli posega na njih.*

Namen preiskav je ugotoviti vzroke za poškodbe in oceniti stanje preostalih elementov/sistema stavbe. Poleg tega diagnostika omogoča opredelitev, lociranje in količinsko določitev možnih tveganj za ohranjanje materialov in značilnosti ter določanje potrebnih zgodnjih ukrepov za preprečevanje nadaljnje škode. Uporaba nedestruktivnega testiranja (NDT) v predhodni fazi preučevanja je izjemno koristna za pridobitev predhodne ocene potenciala stavbe za novo obliko uporabe in izbiro nove funkcije tako glede na potencial, kot glede na omejitve zaradi zmanjšanja določenih metrik učinkovitosti.

Na primeru samostana Lavello je učinkovito prikazana uporaba pripravljalne diagnostike, ki je zelo koristna za zbiranje podatkov o obstoječih težavah v stavbi pred začetkom projekta; napredne diagnostike, ki se uporablja na kritičnih mestih med oblikovanjem končnega projekta; in nadzorne diagnostike, ki služi preverjanju izvedenega posega ter določanju konservatorskega načrta in vzdrževalnih ukrepov.

Avtorica v prispevku še posebej podrobno poroča o uporabi georadarja (GPR) in infrardeče termografije (IRT), pojasni metode njune uporabe in pridobljene rezultate pri lociranju arheoloških ostalin v zemlji pred izkopavanjem ter ocenjevanju razvojnih faz kompleksa. Ključna rezultata sta bila lociranje ostalin zgodnje poselitve v zemlji s pomočjo georadarja in odkritje različnih vzorcev zidave zaradi prizidkov/preoblikovanj, ki so bili izvedeni na obstoječih stavbah, z metodo infrardeče termografije. Informacije smo pridobili brez vzorčenja konstrukcije ali strganja zaključnih površin: preiskavi z georadarjem in infrardečo termografijo sta nedestruktivni in z njuno uporabo je moč pridobiti podatke o notranjih plasteh neke strukture, pod njeno površino. Prispevek poleg tega obravnava nadzorovanje naraščajoče vlage v samostanu po posegu ter posledično določitev vzrokov in smernic za konservatorski načrt. Nedestruktivno testiranje igra pomembno vlogo v vseh fazah projekta in posega, saj je z njim mogoče ponavljati teste v različnih okoljskih pogojih ter pridobivati podatke in oceno o konstrukcijah sproti (torej v realnem času) in brez uničevalnega vzorčenja. Uporaba diagnostike je tako razkrila informacije, ki so temeljnega pomena za prizadevanja, da bi zagotovili dolgotrajne učinke restavriranja. Zahvaljujoč njej lahko pozornost posvetimo ranljivosti stavbe in vzpostaviti ukrepov pregledovanja in nadzorovanja, da bi preprečili nadaljnje širjenje škode in zagotovili zgodnje odkrivanje dejavnikov tveganja pri ohranjanju gradbenih materialov in značilnosti.

**Ključne besede:** arheologija, preventivno konservatorstvo, restavriranje, servitski redovniki, samostan Lavello, infrardeča termografija (IRT), georadar (GPR), lasersko skeniranje

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## SREDNJEVEŠKA STAVBNA DEDIŠČINA BENEDIKTINCEV, DOMINIKANCEV, MANJŠIH BRATOV SV. FRANČIŠKA IN KLARIS V SLOVENSKI ISTRI

*Maja OTER GORENČIČ*

Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, Umetnostnozgodovinski inštitut Franceta Steleta,  
Novi trg 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija  
e-mail: moter@zrc-sazu.si

### *IZVLEČEK*

*V prispevku je prikazan celosten pregled stavbne dediščine benediktincev, dominikancev, manjših bratov sv. Frančiška in klaris do leta 1500 v slovenski Istri. Obravnavani sta poznana srednjeveška stavbna zasnova njihovih samostanskih cerkva in ohranjena stavbna plastika. Oboje je postavljeno v širši, zlasti beneški umetnostni kontekst.*

**Ključne besede:** srednji vek, Primorska, Obala, slovenska Istra, arhitektura, stavbna plastika, samostani, benediktinci, dominikanci, manjši bratje sv. Frančiška, minoriti, klarise, cerkev sv. Dominika, cerkev sv. Frančiška, cerkev sv. Klare, Ankaran, Koper, Piran

## PATRIMONIO ARCHITETTONICO MEDIEVALE DEI BENEDETTINI, DOMENICANI, MINORI E DELLE CLARISSE NELL'ISTRIA SLOVENA

### *SINTESI*

*Il contributo fornisce uno sguardo completo sul patrimonio architettonico dei Benedettini, Domenicani, Frati Minori Francescani e delle Clarisse fino all'anno 1500 nell'Istria slovena. Si prendono in esame il noto design architettonico medievale delle loro chiese abbaziali e la decorazione scultorea conservata. Entrambi sono collocati in un contesto più ampio, specificatamente in quello dell'arte veneziana.*

**Parole chiave:** medioevo, Primorska, Litorale, Istria slovena, architettura, decorazione scultorea, monasteri e conventi, Benedettini, Domenicani, Frati Minori Francescani, Clarisse, chiesa di San Domenico, chiesa di San Francesco, chiesa di Santa Chiara, Ancarano, Capodistria, Pirano

## UVOD

Monasticon slovenske Istre še ni napisan. Metod Benedik vzroke za pomanjkljivo raziskanost redovništva v Primorju pripisuje različni zgodovinski cerkveno-politični pripadnosti tega ozemlja, a hkrati poudarja, da je redovništvo kljub zunanjim spremembam živilo in ves čas imelo pomemben vpliv na versko in kulturno življenje ljudi te pokrajine (Benedik, 2005, 134–135). Kljub nepopolnemu poznavanju srednjeveške monastične zgodovine je obalni del Primorske v okviru celotne današnje Slovenije topogledno izjemnega pomena. Ravno v Kopru je namreč izpričan najstarejši poznani samostan na ozemlju znotraj sedanjih državnih meja (gl. Parentin, 1981–1982; Štih, 2005). Gre za ženski samostan, omenjen v listini, ki jo je 24. aprila 908 v Brescii izstavil kralj (Italije) Berengar I. (ok. 850/853–924). Z listino je v svojo zaščito sprejel opatinjo Adlegido<sup>1</sup> in njen ženski samostan v Kopru, ki mu je načelovala, ter njemu pripadajoče pritikline skupaj z nesvobodnim agrarnim prebivalstvom (gl. Štih 2005, 43, 45 in nasl.). Samostan, katerega okoliščin in leta ustavitev ter nadaljnjega razvoja ne poznamo, prav tako ne vemo, kje je stal,<sup>2</sup> je pripadal ženskemu redu benediktink ali kanonik.<sup>3</sup>

Eden najpomembnejših virov o umetnostni podobi primorskih samostanov je nedvomno delo Pavla Naldinija (Naldini, 1700), ki je od 2001 dostopno v slovenskem prevodu (Naldini, 2001). Drugi stari zapisi ali opisi Istre, vključno z delom Nikolaja Manzuolija iz 1611 (Manzuoli, 1611), samostane v slovenski Istri zgolj omenjajo ali jim posvečajo le kratke opise (gl. npr. Darovec, 1999, 31, 32, 118, 132, 144, 157, 269, 270). Nekaj več besed, čeprav še vedno manj, kot bi si že zeleli, jim je namenil Giacomo Filippo Tommasini, čigar delo, prav tako iz 17. stoletja, imamo tudi v slovenskem prevodu (Tommasini, 1993).<sup>4</sup> Zlasti z vidika samostanske opreme je nepogrešljiv vizitacijski zapisnik Agostina Valiera (Lavrič, 1986; Parentin, 1997). Iz začetnega obdobja sistematičnega raziskovanja primorske (tudi

samostanske) stavbne dediščine so dragocena predvsem dela Giuseppeja Caprina (Caprin 1905–07), Antonija Alisia (zlasti Alisi, 1955; 1997 z dopolnitvami Marie Walcher, Cigui, 2007 – objava Alisijevega rokopisa iz 1943), Francesca Semija (zlasti Semi, 1930; 1935b; 1937; 1975), Cornelia Budinisa (Bvdinis, 1928) in Domenica Venturinija (Venturini, 1906), od mlajših publikacij pa še najboljši vpogled omogočata kataloga Dioecesis Justinopolitanus (Štefanac et al., 2000) in Istria. Città maggiori (Pavanello, Walcher, 2001); osnovne podatke o samostanih ponuja tudi delo Daria Albera Istria. Storia, arte, cultura (Alberi, 2001). Pregledne študije o primorski srednjeveški samostanski stavbni dediščini ni; tudi France Stele se v svoji monografiji o umetnosti v Primorju, kjer sicer daje poudarek slikarstvu, a obravnava tudi arhitekturo in kiparstvo, (srednjeveški) samostanski arhitekturi ali stavbni plastiki ne posveča.<sup>5</sup> Samostojno knjigo ima od primorskih samostanov, ki imajo ohranjen vsaj še del svoje srednjeveške zasnove, le piranski minoritski (Granić, 1887; Dolinar, Vogrin, 2001; za stavbno zgodovino samostana je pomembna tudi študija Vuk, 1983, za kroniko pa še Šamperl, 1995; 1998; 2001a; 2002a), omeniti pa velja tudi knjižice Gianfilippa Squinziani in Francesca Semija o nekdanji benediktinski postojanki v Valdoltri (Squinziani, 1882; Semi, 1935a) ter Antonija Alisia o koprskih samostanih sv. Dominika (Alisi, 1937) ter sv. Ane (Alisi, 2006 – original izšel 1910; za samostan observantov gl. tudi Manara, 1910; Prohinar, 2005) in raziskave koprskih samostanov manjših bratov sv. Frančiška (Guček, 1995; Guček, Štefanac, 1995; tudi Bonin, 2004), klaris (Bonin, 2001; 2002; 2003; Cunja, 2001; 2006) in servitov (Cherini, 1995; Hoyer, 2002; Pachera, Vescia, 2005, 37–78); za raziskavo samostanske stavbne dediščine je uporabna tudi monografija Staneta Bernika (Bernik, 1968); del ohranjene stavbne plastike pa v svojih študijah obravnava Predrag Marković (Marković 1995; 2000). Dragocena so tudi objavljena poročila o opravljenih konservatorskih posegih in gradivo, dostopno na piranski enoti Zavoda za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije, ki je nastalo ob raz-

1 Opatinja je morda spadala v sorodstveno-svaščeni krog Unruochingov in Supponidov in morda celo v krog najvišjega plemstva Italije z začetka 10. stoletja, o tem gl. Štih, 2005, 55–58.

2 Parentin (1981–1982, 60–61) je menil, da bi ga morda lahko poistovetili s koprskim samostanom Marijinega oznanjenja, ki ga je tržaški škof Bernard leta 1152 podaril beneškemu samostanu sv. Jurija Velikega (gl. Kos, 1915, št. 303; Kandler, 1986, I, 277–278), Štih (2005, 52) pa je opozoril, da za to ni nobenega pravega argumenta in da je leta 1152 podarjeni samostan moral biti moška ustanova. Kot piše Ostojić (1965, 89) v darovnici škofa Bernarda ni govor o cerkvi v mestu Koper, marveč o cerkvi (in samostanu) v Šmarju nad Koprom; prim. Naldini, 1700, 346 (Naldini, 2001, 252); Kandler (1855, 22) ima na tej strani dva vpisa: prvi pravi, da sta bila samostan in cerkev sv. Marije v Šmarju podarjena samostanu sv. Jurija v Benetkah, drugi vpis pa, da sta bila samostan in cerkev Marijinega oznanjenja, zunaj koprskega zidu, darovana ankaranskemu samostanu sv. Nikolaja; v povzetku listine Kandler (1986, I, 277–278) piše, da je 1152 tržaški škof Bernard podaril beneškemu samostanu sv. Jurija koprsko cerkev in samostan Marijinega oznanjenja. Cigui (2007, 413; Alisi 1943) ima pri lokaciji samostana na Šmarje zapisan vprašaj, hkrati pa na str. 414 piše, da je ankaranski samostan 1152 dobil samostan in cerkev Marijinega oznanjenja, ki sta stala sprva zunaj, nato pa znotraj mestnega obzidja; gl. tudi Moroni, 1858, 469; Schiavuzzi, 1889, 390; Tamaro, 1892, 80–81.

3 Štih 2005, 51–52; pregled starejših objav listine na str. 43–44, op. 3–10. Parentin (1981–1982, 60) je imel samostan za benediktinski; prim. Parentin, 1982, 72. Šašel (1989, 12) piše, da je ta ekonomsko močan ženski samostan, za katerega naj bi bili bližnji paraleli Monastero in Štivan, obstajal že 9. stoletju in imel posestva raztresena po širokem celinskem zaledju. Alberi (2001, 438) navaja, da je benediktinski red v Koper prišel leta 908.

4 Gre za nekoliko skrajšano verzijo besedila L'archeografo 1837.

5 Omenja le cerkev sv. Bernardina pri Portorožu, o kateri pa pove le, da je iz 14. stoletja ter da ima križast obok in zvonik beneškega tipa (Steles, 1960, 41, 59).

ličnih stavbnih raziskavah in projektih prenove primorskih samostanov. Od slikovnih virov sta se v pričujoči raziskavi kot najbolj uporabna izkazala tloris Kopra Giacoma Fina iz 1619 in franciscejski kataster za Koper iz 1819.

Namen pričujočega prispevka je analiza ohranjene srednjeveške arhitekture in stavbne plastike benediktincev, dominikancev, manjših bratov sv. Frančiška in klaris na Obali. V eni od prihodnjih številki revije bo z analizo stavbne dediščine avguštink, observantov, tretjerednikov in servitov članek postal del celostne predstavitve arhitekture in stavbne plastike samostanskih redov<sup>6</sup> do leta 1500 v slovenski Istri.

### BENEDIKTINCI

Kje so bili v slovenski Istri v srednjem veku naseljeni benediktinci, ki jih štejemo za najstarejši meniški red v zahodni Evropi, v literaturi ni enotnih podatkov<sup>7</sup> Med razlogi je na prvem mestu treba omeniti pomanjkljive vire, ki ne omogočajo niti določitve natančnega statusa benediktinskih redovnih skupnosti, ki se omenjajo na Primorskem. Tako za več lokacij ne vemo zagotovo, ali je bil tam samostojen benediktinski samostan ali pa »le« postojanka nekega benediktinskega samostana s sedežem drugje.<sup>8</sup> Povzamemo lahko, da so benediktinci delovali v Kopru, Valdoltri, Izoli, Piranu, Portorožu, Strunjanu, Šmarju nad Koprom, na Serminu in Krogu nad Sečovljami, vendar pa

so podatki o okoliščinah ustanovitve oziroma o delovanju in ukinitvi posamezne postojanke večinoma skopi in mestoma tudi neenotni.<sup>9</sup> Na naštetih lokacijah je iz časa do 1500 ohranjen le kamnit sarkofag, ki stoji pred južno fasado nekdanje benediktinske postojanke v Ankaranu (sl. 1).<sup>10</sup>

V Ankaranu je od okoli leta 900, ko se je kraj imenoval Gasello (gl. Squinziani, 1882, 37, 40; Semi, 1935a, 7), stala cerkev sv. Apolinarija, ki jo je 1072 tržaški škof in upravitelj koprsko Cerkve Adalger skupaj z vinogradi, oljkami, njivami, dohodki in izdatki podaril opatu Zenu iz beneškega benediktinskega samostana sv. Nikolaja na Lidu in njegovi cerkvi (gl. Naldini, 1700, 215–217; Darovec, 2001, 156–157; Kandler, 1855, 20; Squinziani, 1882, 40, 68–69; Kos, 1911, št. 267; Kandler, 1986, I, 222). Prejete pošesti so beneški benediktinci, ki so se naselili v Ankaranu, v nadaljevanju povečali (Squinziani, 1882, 41; Semi, 1935a, 8). Cerkev sv. Apolinarija je po beneškem samostanu prevezla patrocinij sv. Nikolaja, imenu pa je ljudstvo dodalo pridevek d'Oltra, in sicer zaradi lege nasproti Kopra ali pa kot razlikovanje od istoimenske koprsko cerkve (gl. Naldini, 1700, 217; Darovec, 2001, 157; gl. tudi Kandler, 1855, 20; Squinziani, 1882, 36; Kandler, 1986, I: 298, II: 367, 386; Ostojić, 1965, 83; Alberi, 2001, 371–372).<sup>11</sup> Po naselitvi so benediktinci poskrbeli za izgradnjo potrebnih stavb, na mestu stare cerkve pa postavili novo, večjo.<sup>12</sup> Leta 1426 sta Marino della Rocca in njegova mati Eleonora s pri-

6 Korarji ali redovni kanoniki oziroma zborni kapitlji (gl. Mlinarič, 1993, 27; gl. tudi Oter Gorenčič, 2009, 27, op. 88) niso privzeti v obravnavo.

7 Naldini (1700, 208, 346; Darovec, 2001, 151, 252), omenja benediktince v Valdoltri in Izoli; Kandler (1855, 191) našteva ankaranskega in dva v Piranu (prim. Kandler, 1879, 23); De Franceschi (1879, 485) prav tako omenja ankaranski samostan in dva piranska; Squinziani (1882, 64, op. 1) poleg ankaranske postojanke navaja še dve v Kopru ter po eno na Serminu, v Izoli in Piranu; Schiavuzzi (1889, 390) za 12. stoletje našteva Šmarje, Ankaran in hospic v Izoli, enako Tamaro (1892, 80–81). Ostojić (1965, 81–93) našteva benediktinske postojanke v Valdoltri, na Serminu, Šmarju, po dve v Kopru in Izoli ter tri v/pri Piranu. Košir (1974) benediktincev na današnjem slovenskem Primorskem ne omenja. Enako Mlinarič (1982, 29–32, 34–35), ki pa v poznejši objavi (Mlinarič, 1991, 78) omeni Valdoltro. V isti knjigi Metod Benedik (1991, 433) med benediktinskim samostani ne našteva nobenega v Primorju, v poznejši objavi (Benedik, 2005, 136–137) pa, sklicujoč se na Naldiniju, omenja priorat v Valdoltri in benediktinski hospic v Izoli. O več postojankah piše Pangerl (1984, 40): »Čisto oglejskega izvora pa je vrsta benediktinskih ustanov v naših obalnih mestih Kopru, Piranu, Izoli ter v njihovi okolici v tem času.« Corbanese (1987, 438–439) med kraji z benediktinskim samostani, ustanovljenimi med 6. in 11. stoletjem, omenja Koper in Piran. Parentin (1988, 81) benediktinske priorate konkretno omenja le v Ankaranu in Kopru. Semi (1991, 47) med moškimi benediktinskim samostani izpostavlja Krog in Ankaran; Dolinar (1993) benediktincev v slovenski Istri na zemljevidu in v tekstu nima, medtem ko Mlinarič (1993, 24) v isti knjigi omenja postojanko v Valdoltri. Nobenega benediktinskega samostana na Primorskem v svojem enciklopedičnem geslu o redovništву ne omenja France Martin Dolinar (1996, 135), medtem ko je pod istim geslom objavljena pregledna karta (Dolinar, Rajšp, Ivanič, 1996), na kateri so označeni trije benediktinski samostani: Valdoltra, Izola, Piran. Dolinar (2000, 273) omenja le Valdoltro; Žitko (2000, 22) pa benediktincev našteva v Ankaranu, Portorožu, Strunjanu in na Krogu. Alberi (2001, 371–374, 438, 532–533, 543, 552–553, 583, 588–589) benediktincev našteva v Kopru, Valdoltri, Izoli, Portorožu, Strunjanu in na Krogu; Pucer (2005, 62–64, 194, 216) pa v Bernardinu, Ankaranu in na Krogu. Pachera in Vescia (2005, 45, op. 87) navajata, da je bil 1445 v Kopru ustanovljen benediktinski priorat Marijinega oznanjenja (prim. op. 13). Cigui (2007, 412–414, 420–422, 434–436; Alisi 1943) benediktinske postojanke našteva v Šmarju, Kopru, Ankaranu, Piranu, Portorožu, na Serminu, pri Kopru in dve v Izoli; Cerk, Vidmar, Radovanovič (2008, 43–46, 299–302, 353–358) pa v Ankaranu, Portorožu in Strunjanu itd. Odprto ostaja vprašanje, kateremu redu sta pripadala piranska samostana sv. Petra ob pristanišču, ki se omenja 1272 (gl. Alisi, 1955, 30; gl. tudi Naldini, 1700, 293–94; Darovec, 2011, 213–214; Lavrič, 1986, 175, op. 107), in sv. Janeza (S. Giovanni del Poggio), katerega cerkev se omenja leta 1347 (Morteani, 1984, 141; gl. tudi Lavrič, 1986, 175, op. 113).

8 Ostojić (1965, 81) piše, da so koprski škofiji nikoli ni bila samostojna niti ena benediktinska postojanka, saj naj bi bile vse priorati italijanskih opatij.

9 Gl. op. 7.

10 Različni obdelani kamni, ki so »z dvomljivim estetskim uspehom razmetani po gredici pred glavno fasado«, kakor tudi gotska zvonova iz let 1490 in 1508, nekdaj v kršnem hodniku pri vhodu na parapetnem zidu (oboje omenja Zadnikar, 1960, 250), na opisanem mestu niso ohranjeni.

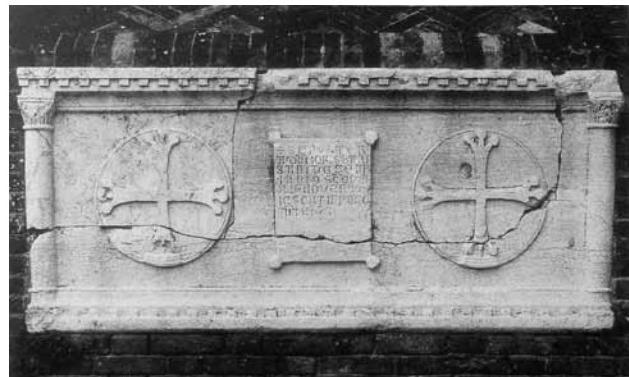
11 Morgan (2004, 23) piše, da so samostan po sv. Nikolaju poimenovali šele 1584.

12 Žitko (1993, 121; 2000, 22) piše, da so beneški opati samostan zgradili okoli 1100. Alberi (2001, 372) pa dodaja, da so ga postavili za svoje stare in bolne brate.



*Sl. 1: Ankaran, nekdanji benediktinski priorat, srednjeveški sarkofag (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

*Fig. 1: Ankaran, former Benedictine Priory, mediaeval sarcophagus (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*



*Sl. 2: Benetke, sarkofag Giovannija Barisana ob cerkvi Ss. Giovanni e Paolo (Pattitucci Uggeri, 1989).*

*Fig. 2: Venice, sarcophagus of Giovanni Barisano at the side of the Basilica of St. John and St. Paul (Pattitucci Uggeri, 1989).*

volitvijo škofa Martina de' Bernardinija benediktincem podarila cerkev Marijinega oznanjenja v Kopru, ki je stala pri Petrorijevih vratih (Squinziani 1882, 41, 42).<sup>13</sup> Leta 1445 jo je v imenu beneškega opata prevzel valdolrski prior. V pogodbi je zapisano, naj bo sestavni del povečanega priorata tudi hospic Marijinega oznanjenja, in sicer vse dokler bo prvi združen z beneškim samostanom (gl. Naldini, 1700, 169, 209, 218; Darovec, 2001, 123, 151, 158; Kandler, 1855, 50; gl. tudi Parentin, 1988, 81). Njune beneficije je ankarska benediktinska postojanka, ki je tekom stoletij postala dom številnim umetninam (gl. npr. Naldini, 1700, 218–219; Darovec, 2001, 158–159; Semi, 1935a; Zadnikar, 1960, 249; Alisi, 1997, 141; Alberi, 2001, 373), v celoti uživala še v Naldinijevem času (Naldini, 1700, 209, 218; Darovec, 2001, 151, 158).

Tlorisna zasnova in podoba cerkve iz časa do 1500 nista znani. Bolje poznamo novoveško stavbno zgodovalino. Leta 1572 je bil zgrajen zvonik, ki stoji ob cerkveni apsidi (Squinziani, 1882, 42; Semi, 1935a, 8; Alisi, 1997, 141; Alberi, 2001, 372, 373). Po epidemiji kuge, ki je po Istri pustošila leta 1573 (Squinziani, 1882, 60; Semi, 1935a, 8),<sup>14</sup> so benediktinci postojanko spremenili v poletno rezidenco (L'archeografo 1837, 350; Tommasini, 1993, 197; Semi, 1935a, 9; gl. tudi Squinziani, 1882, 57). Leta 1576 je bil kompleks prezidan, cerkev na novo zgrajena (prim.

Alberi, 2001, 372; Curk, Vidmar, Radovanovič, 2008, 43).<sup>15</sup> Ponovna epidemija kuge v letih 1630/31 je bila razlog za dokončno prekinitev življenja meniške skupnosti v Ankaranu (prim. Squinziani, 1882, 60; Žitko, 1993, 121; Alberi, 2001, 373). Iz zapisa Giacoma Filippa Tommasinija izvemo, da sta tedaj v stavbah prebivala le en ali dva meniha (L'archeografo, 1837, 350; Tommasini, 1993, 197), ki sta skrbela za upravljanje in vodenje njihovih posesti (Semi, 1935a, 9). Fasada stavbnega kompleksa je bila na novo izdelana 1686 (Semi, 1935a, 8; Alisi, 1997, 141; Alberi, 2001, 373);<sup>16</sup> v 17. stoletju je bilo izvedenih še nekaj posegov (gl. Alisi, 1997, 141; Alberi, 2001, 372), gradbene predelave pa so potekale tudi v 18., 19. in 20. stoletju (gl. Semi, 1935a, 10–11; Zadnikar, 1960; Curk, Vidmar, Radovanovič, 2008, 43–45; Občina Ankaran, 2011). V Naldinijevem času je imel v prioratu svoj sedež upravitelj, ki je nadzoroval tudi druge istrske posesti v lasti opatije na Lidu, od koder so tedaj predvsem v poletnih mesecih na oddih v Ankaranu še vedno prihajali beneški redovniki; pred tem so včasih na oddih prihajali tudi škopje (Naldini, 1700, 219; Darovec, 2001, 159; gl. tudi Squinziani, 1882, 57). Leta 1770 je Sere-nissima samostan na Lidu razpustila in posledično je prenehala delovati tudi njegova postojanka v Ankaranu, ki jo je 1774 odkupila koprska plemiška družina Madonizza in jo spremenila v svojo poletno rezidenco (gl. Squinziani,

13 Venturini (1906, 82) piše, da so benediktinci cerkev dobili leta 1420. O cerkvi Marijinega oznanjenja je Naldini (1700, 218; Darovec, 2001, 158), zapisal, da jo je po letu 1400 zgradil Antonio della Rocca in da ni posebno velika. Lavrič (1986, 173, op. 85) piše, da cerkev ne služi več svojemu namenu; Žitko (2002, 88) pa, da je porušena. Squinziani (1882, 41–42) je cerkev istovetil s cerkvijo, ki se omenja 1152 (gl. op. 2).

14 Žitko (2000, 22) piše, da je do opustitve samostana prišlo po kugi v letih 1554–1555.

15 Zadnikar (1960, 249) o tem letu piše: »Najstarejša ohranjena letnica, ki se verjetno nanaša na zidanje cerkve, je iz leta 1576, medtem ko naj bi bila obstoječa fasada dograjena leta 1686 in predelana proti koncu 18. stoletja.« Letnice 1576 drugi ne omenjajo, Squinziani (1882, 44) pa piše, da je bila na vzhodni strani zvonika vzidana marmorna tabla z letnico 1572.

16 Curk, Vidmar in Radovanovič (2008, 43) pišejo, da je bila 1686 dokončana fasada cerkve; prim. Zadnikar 1960, 249 (gl. op. 15).

1882, 63; Semi, 1935a, 10–11; Parentin, 1987, 32; Alisi, 1997, 141; Cerk, Vidmar, Radovanovič, 2008, 43–45).<sup>17</sup> Nekdanji benediktinski kompleks na južni strani Miljskega polotoka danes stoji v turističnem kompleksu in je od 1958/1959 (Zadnikar, 1960) preurejen v hotel.

Edini poznani ohranjeni srednjeveški kamniti kos je že omenjeni sarkofag. Ta naj bi pripadal malteškemu vitezu (gl. Squinziani, 1882, 43), čigar posmrtni ostanki so bili po izročilu preneseni v Francijo (Semi, 1935a, 8). Benediktinci v Ankaranu so imeli z malteškimi vitezi, ki so imeli v okolici v lasti več posesti, pogoste in prijateljske stike in tudi del zemlje, na katerem je stal priorat, je prvotno pripadal njim (Squinziani, 1882, 43; Semi, 1935a, 8; gl. Morgan, 2004, 23). Tudi Antonio Alisi, ki je napačno zapisal, da sta na sarkofagu dva križa (v resnici sta dva na sprednji strani in skupno dva na stranicah) in da sta oktagonalna, je sarkofag imenoval »malteški« (Alisi, 1997, 141). Toda križi niso oktagonalni (oktagonalni so malteški), zato po mojem mnenju pripisovanje sarkofaga malteškemu vitezu na podlagi križev ni upravičeno. Alisi je še dodal, da so sarkofagi z oktagonalnimi križi in – tako kot koprski – brez napisov, v trečentu zelo pogosti.<sup>18</sup> Kot primer je navedel sarkofage ob beneški cerkvi SS. Giovanni e Paolo in ob cerkvi S. Lorenzo v Vicenzi (Alisi, 1997, 141).

Najbližjo primerjavo ankaranskemu predstavlja skupina tipološko enotnih sarkofagov ob zunanjščini beneške cerkve SS. Giovanni e Paolo, za katere sta tipična v krogu izklesana enakokraka križa, med katerima nastopa različen centralni motiv (npr. grb, napisna plošča). Enaka križa sta izklesana tudi na obeh ožjih stranicah sarkofagov. Križi se na treh krakih deteljičasto (tridelno), na spodnji strani pa dvodelno zaključujejo; med kraki je lahko izklesan vegetabilni ornament. Po zgornjem in spodnjem robu sarkofaga poteka praviloma vsaj en nazobčan zidec, sprednjo stran sarkofaga pa lahko ob levem in desnem robu zaključuje po en stebriček. Stella Patitucci Uggeri sarkophage pri omenjeni cerkvi deli v štiri tipe (Patitucci Uggeri, 1989, 462 in nasl.); ankaranski ustreza najpogostejšemu, to je tretjemu tipu, za katerega so značilni napisna plošča s križem levo in desno od nje, stebrička s korintizirajočima kapiteloma in nazobčan zidec ob zgornjem in spodnjem robu (sl. 2–3). Vogali napisne plošče se praviloma zaključujejo kroglečasto, ankaranska plošča ima namesto takšnih zaključkov lilio, napis ali reliefna podoba pa v nasprotju z beneškimi primeri v Ankaranu nista ohranjena. Takšen tip kvalitetno izklesanih sarkofagov se pojavlja od druge četrtrine 14. pa vse do vključno 15. stoletja, njegova priljubljenost pri uglednih in premožnih naročnikih pa je bila zlasti rezultat čiste, simetrične kompozicije. V



*Sl. 3: Benetke, sarkofag Marina Contarinija ob cerkvi Ss. Giovanni e Paolo (Patitucci Uggeri, 1989).*

*Fig. 3: Venice, sarcophagus of Marino Contarini at the side of the Basilica of St. John and St. Paul (Patitucci Uggeri, 1989).*

omenjeni čas lahko postavimo tudi ankaranski primerek, katerega kamnosek je moral biti dobro seznanjen z beneškim načinom klesanja tovrstnih sarkofagov. Glede na tesno povezanost ankaranske benediktinske postojanke z Benetkami, je sarkofag najbrž delo beneškega mojstra ali beneški import.

## DOMINIKANCI

Reformni redovi, ustanovljeni v 11. in 12. stoletju (na slovenskem ozemlju so si svoje samostane postavili cistercijani in kartuzijani), se v slovenski Istri niso naselili, prav tako na tem območju ni dokazane postojanke viteških redov.<sup>19</sup> Nasprotno pa je bilo na Primorskem več samostanov t. i. uboštvenih redov. Njihova naselitev, zlasti reda manjših bratov, je bila tudi v primorskih mestih odločilna pri uveljavitvi gotskega načina gradnje (gl. Štefanac, 2000a, 100; 2000b, 28; prim. Dellwing, 1988, 556). Koprsko cerkev sv. Frančiška je, čeprav deloma prezidana v poznejših stoletjih, celo najstarejši ohranjeni spomenik gotske arhitekture v koprski škofiji (Štefanac, 2000a, 100; 2000b, 28).

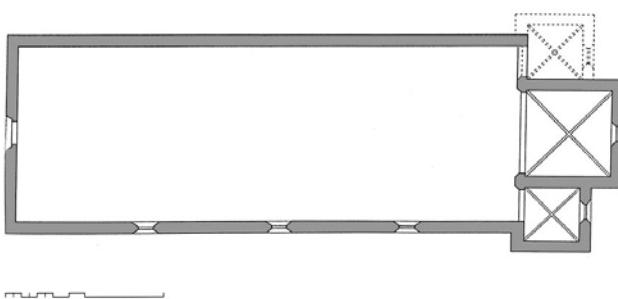
Naldini navaja, da se je med prvimi v Kopru naselil dominikanski red, in sicer »ali 17 let po letu 1200 /.../ ali kasnejšega leta 1220« (Naldini, 1700, 169–170; Darovec, 2001, 124–125; gl. tudi Venturini, 1906, 54; Alisi, 1937, 3; Semi, 1975, 227, op. 55). Okoli 1390 je bil samostan, »ko je mesto presestila genovska vojska /.../, skoraj uničen in je domala izumrl« (Naldini, 1700, 172; Darovec, 2001, 126).<sup>20</sup> Po zaslugi zavzetih ljudi je bila na njegovih temeljih postavljena nova cerkev, ki je bila končana pred letom

17 Alberi (2001, 373) piše, da je Beneška republika premoženje samostana v Valdoltri dala naprodaj leta 1774, družina Madonizza pa je samostan kupila štiri leta zatem. Morgan (2004, 23) kot leto nakupa navaja 1775.

18 Squinziani (1882, 43) piše, da je odsotnost napisa rezultat vandalizma, kar je precej verjetno.

19 Kar nekaj postojank viteških redov je bilo v sosednji Istri in Furlaniji. Največ so jih imeli ivanovci, katerih hiša sv. Klementa v Miljah je vključevala tudi posest v Kopru in okolici, gl. Kosi 2005, 308 in nasl.

20 Žitko (1989, 41; 2000, 21) piše, da so samostan Genovežani porušili 1380; prim. Alisi, 1937, 3.

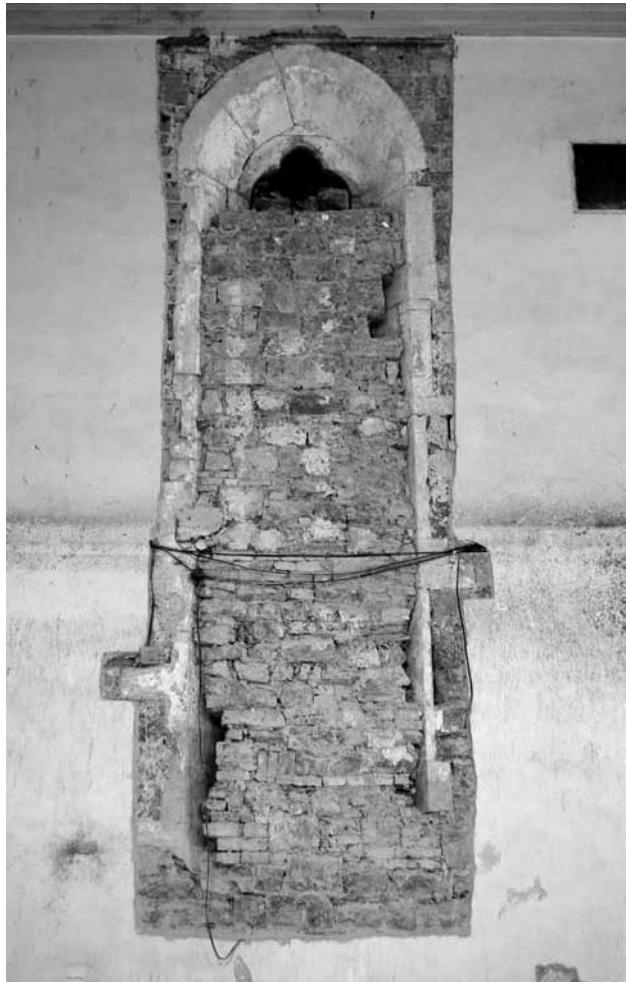


*Sl. 4: Koper, cerkev sv. Frančiška, tloris (Guček, 2000).  
Fig. 4: Koper, Church of St. Francis, ground plan (Guček, 2000).*



*Sl. 5: Koper, cerkev sv. Frančiška, vzhodne kapele (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).  
Fig. 5: Koper, Church of St. Francis, east chapels (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

1400 in je postala med cerkvami v mestu »če že ne edinstvena po svoji velikosti, veličastnosti in blišču, pa vsaj ena večjih« (Naldini, 1700, 173–174; Darovec, 2001, 126–127; gl. tudi Alisi, 1937, 3; Semi, 1975, 227, op. 55).<sup>21</sup> Ker je bil 1658 koprski samostan ukinjen, je mesto še istega leta v Benetke poslalo pridigarja Rajmonda Finija in Santija Grisonia, da bi prek vplivnih uradov izprosila vrnitev redovnikov, kar se je tudi zgodilo. Ponovno zgrajeno dominikansko cerkev so polepšali, porušeni samostan pa obnovili (Naldini, 1700, 173 in nasl.; Darovec, 2001, 126 in nasl.; prim. Alisi, 1937, 4, 5, 6). Predelave so bile izpeljane tudi v 18. stoletju (Alisi, 1937, 6). Samostan, ki je stal na severozahodnem delu mesta v mestni četrti Zubenaga, je bil razpuščen 1806 (Alisi, 1937, 6; Žitko, 1989, 41; 1992b, 93; Kontestabile



*Sl. 6: Koper, cerkev sv. Frančiška, gotsko okno v severni ladijski steni (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).  
Fig. 6: Koper, Church of St. Francis, Gothic window in the north wall of the nave (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

Rovis, 2001, 18).<sup>22</sup> Leta 1822 je bila severna polovica samostana podrta in na tem prostoru zgrajena kaznilnica (gl. Caprin, 1905–07, I, 34, op. 2; Venturini, 1906, 54; Alisi, 1937, 7; Semi, 1975, 202; Žitko, 1992a, 63; Lazar, 2008, 11–12; 2009, 80), ki je bila v letih 1957–1958 v celoti porušena (Žitko, 1992b, 93; prim. Žitko, 1989, 41; gl. tudi Lazar, 2009, 81). Na mestu samostana in cerkve je bila zgrajena ploščad (Bernik, 1968, 76) in več stavb različne namembnosti (gl. Lazar, 2008, 6, 11, 12; prim. Prohinar, 2003, 29–30; Cerk, Vidmar, Radovanovič, 2008, 111–112; Lazar, 2009), v letu 2009 pa so se na tem območju pričele arheološke raziskave (o tem gl. Lazar, 2009; Predan, 2010).

<sup>21</sup> Caprin (1905–07, I, 276, op. 1, in II, 149, op. 2) piše, da je bila cerkev ponovno zgrajena 1398, samostan pa obnovljen 1522, enako Lavrič (1986, 173, op. 86). L'archeografo (1837, 331; Tommasini 1993, 187) piše, da je bil samostan obnovljen 1522 (prim. Manzuoli, 1611, 73); enako Žitko (1992b, 93; 1989, 41). V poznejši objavi Žitko (2000, 21) navaja letnico 1398.

<sup>22</sup> Marušič (1989, 59) navaja letnico 1805.



**Sl. 7: Koper, cerkev sv. Frančiška, južna ladijska stena (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

**Fig. 7: Koper, Church of St. Francis, south wall of the nave (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

Naldini (Naldini, 1700, 174–175; Darovec, 2001, 127–128; prim. Alisi, 1937, 3–4) cerkev, ki je v mestu uživala velik ugled (prim. Semi, 1975, 202), opisuje kot enoladijsko, »primerno visoko, dolgo in široko, s tremi urejenimi kapelami, od katerih največja služi za dnevni kor, dve stranski pa kot kapeli /.../. Celo zunanjost cerkve je ugledna, saj ima blizu glavnih vrat v marmorju izklesan napis o svoji slovesni posvetitvi, ki jo je leta 1401 opravil Janez Loredano. Tako pravi: *Anno Domini 1401. die prima Mensis Maij. / Consecrata fuit hæc Ecclesiæ cum omnibus / suis Alta-ribus, / Coemeterio, Claustro & Capitulo, / Tempore Prioratus / Fr: Dominici Lippi de Firma Ordinis / Prædicat.*<sup>23</sup>

Čeprav koprská dominikánska cerkev ni ohranjena, jo je v našem kontekstu vredno obravnavati zaradi njenega prvotnega tlorisa, ki ga omenja Naldini, ko pravi, da so se po njem zgledovali pri zasnovi koprské cerkve sv. Frančiška (Naldini, 1700, 190; Darovec, 2001, 138).<sup>24</sup> Ubo-

štveni redovi so se tipa enoladijskih cerkv s trikapelnim vzhodnim zaključkom v beneškem prostoru posluževali od druge četrtega 13. stoletja dalje (Dellwing, 1988, 547 in nasl.; gl. npr. tudi Lordan, 1997, 27; prim. Schenkluhn, 2000, 64 in nasl.). V 13. stoletju je sicer dominikanski red razvil presenetljivo natančna pravila glede arhitekture in stavbe in dekoracije svojih cerkv. Določila, ki se nanašajo na kiparstvo, slikarstvo in tlakovanje, so bila sorodna cistercijskim, dominikanske konstitucije o arhitekturi pa so bile v primerjavi s cistercijskimi (gl. Norton, 1986) veliko bolj detajlne in tako primerljive s konstitucijami reda sv. Frančiška, priznanimi v letu 1260 (Sundt, 1987, 394–395).<sup>25</sup> Dominikanski ideal, ki mu lahko sledimo od 1220, so bile čim skromnejše, enostavnejše in preproste stavbe, za katere bi porabili čim manj sredstev (gl. Sundt, 1987, 396–397). Ker pa so zaradi velikega števila menihov dominikanske cerkve postajale vedno večje, je red med 1228 in 1235

23 Ob vizitaciji Agostina Valiera je imela cerkev devet oltarjev, Lavrič 1986, 73; Parentin 1997, 287.

24 Na franciscejskem katastru iz 1819 ima cerkev na vzhodu polkrožno apsido s pravokotnim izzidkom (kapelo?) ob njeni južni strani, gl. npr. Lazar, 2008, 11. Polkrožna apsida je bila potrjena tudi ob nedavnih arheoloških izkopavanjih (gl. Zvkds Nova odkritja, 2011) in je očitno rezultat novoveških prezidav.

25 Za frančiškanske konstitucije gl. Cenci, Mailleux 2007–2010; o dominikanski arhitekturi gl. tudi Meersseman 1946; Montagnes, 1974; Voltti, 2006. Prim. Villette, 2003, 19–30.



**Sl. 8: Koper, cerkev sv. Frančiška, slavolok v južni lajdijski steni (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

**Fig. 8: Koper, Church of St. Francis, archway in the south wall of the nave (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

preciziral največjo dovoljeno višino cerkva ter določil, naj bodo brez kamnitega oboka; izjemi sta bila lahko le prezbiterij in zakristija (Sundt, 1987, 397–398, 405). V naslednjih desetletjih so bila ta določila večkrat ponovljena. Leta 1263 je bila izdana prepoved vsega »odvečneg« v kipih, slikah, tlakih idr., saj bi to oskrnilo redovno naravnost k uboštву (gl. Sundt, 1987, 400–402, 405). V 13. in celo v poznejših stoletjih se je mnogo dominikanskih cerkva držalo teh določil, prav tako mnogo, zlasti od sredine 13. stoletja dalje, pa je bilo grajenih v nasprotju z

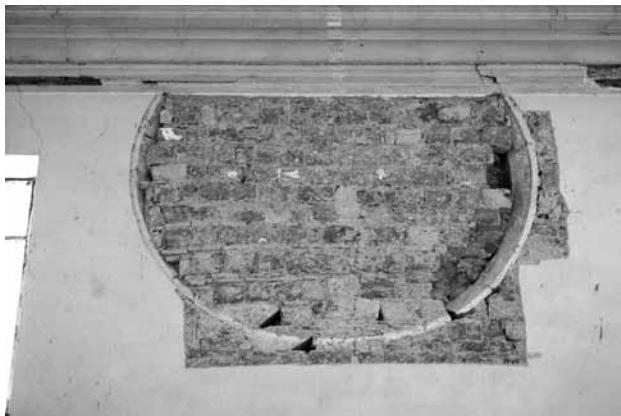
njimi, tako da so dominikanci leta 1300 na generalnem kapitlu preklicali zapovedi glede višine in obokanja, obdržali pa prepoved iz leta 1263 glede ornamentiranja, ki pa so jo ponekod prav tako prekršili še pred iztekom 13. stoletja (Sundt, 1987, 402–404, 405).<sup>26</sup> Naldini piše, da je bila koprska dominikanska cerkev prostornejša od ohranjene koprske cerkve manjših bratov, kar sovpada z opisanim dogajanjem na področju arhitekture obeh redov. Sodeč po Naldinijevem opisu je tudi nova dominikanska cerkev, zgrajena ob koncu 14. stoletja, imela tlorisno zasnova, sorodno koprski (in piranski) cerkvi sv. Frančiška. Domnevamo lahko, da je povzela obliko prvotne cerkve, zgrajene po prihodu dominikancev. Enoladijske cerkve s trikapelnim vzhodnim delom so namreč značilne za zgodnejše obdobje, saj je bila od ok. 1300 vse pogosteje monumentalna zasnova novih ali predelava obstoječih cerkva, ki se je kazala predvsem z velikimi dimenzijami stavb ter s stranskimi in prečnimi ladji s kapelami (prim. Schenkluhn, 2000, 71, 177 in nasl.; 216 in nasl.). V 14. in 15. stoletju je bil tip redovnih cerkva s trikapelnim vzhodnim zaključkom brez prečnih ladij, brez apsid in brez bogatega okrasja sicer še vedno uporabljan tudi pri novogradnjah, a v manjših komunah (gl. Dellwing, 1988, 549–550; prim. Todenhöfer, 2007, 58).

#### MANJŠI BRATJE SV. FRANČIŠKA

Za dominikanci so na Primorsko prišli manjši bratje sv. Frančiška, in sicer v Koper in Piran. Naldini je zapisal (Naldini, 1700, 186–187, gl. tudi str. 85; Darovec, 2001, 136–137, gl. tudi str. 59–60; prim. Kandler, 1855, 30, 31; 1986, II, 555, 558; Sartori, 1986, II/1, 397–399; Škofljane, 2000, 74, op. 25; Maračić, 2001b, 223–224), da so še pred letom 1260 prišli v Koper, kjer jim je škof Konrad »dodelil majhno škofijsko cerkev na kraju, imenovanem Caprile /.../. Potem pa jim je leta 1263 opatinja samostana sv. Jakoba Močvirskega v Muranu pri Benetkah Avrelija Faliera odstopila velik vrt, ki je pripadal njenemu samostanu, oglejski patriarh Gregor pa jim je leta 1264 milostno podaril prostoren trg poleg vrta. Ob odobravajoči naklonjenosti mesta in ob širokogrudnem dovoljenju škofa Konrada, da staro cerkev, ki so jo dobili od njega, vgradijo v novo, za katero je sam malo pred tem postavil temeljni kamen, ali pa jo po svoji presoji porušijo in kamenje uporabijo za druge gradnje, so leta 1265 končno sklenili, da postavijo nov samostan. V kratkem času treh let so tako dobili stavbo, ki danes že močno presega štiri stoletja starosti.<sup>27</sup> Če je s »samostanom« mišljena tudi cerkev, bi njeni izgradnjo morali postaviti v čas med 1265 in 1268 (Oter Gorenčič, 2009,

26 Kleefisch-Jobst (1991, 105–108) zagovarja tezo, da so stavbni predpisi, prepovedi ornamentike in uboštveni ideal imeli le neznaten vpliv na arhitekturo.

27 Tommasich (1891, 22) začetke samostana postavlja v leto 1230; Parentin (1982, 67) navaja, da so manjši bratje zagotovo v mestu živelji že mnogo pred 1265 in imeli tudi svojo posvečeno cerkev. Sartori (1986, II/1, 397) piše, da je bil 1266 porušen samostan S. Francesco Vecchio, ki je bil gotovo starejši od 1263, novi pa je bil začet 1265 (prim. Maračić, 2001a, 26; 2001b, 224). Parentin (1988, 87) piše, da se je cerkev na temeljih stare dvignila leta 1265, Maračić (1992, 75) pa, da je bil prvotni samostan porušen 1266. Zugaj (1989a, 118–119, 1989b, 25) začetke



**Sl. 9: Koper, cerkev sv. Frančiška, okvir rozete na zahodni ladijski steni (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

**Fig. 9: Koper, Church of St. Francis, rim of a rose window in the west wall of the nave (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

94).<sup>28</sup> Staro so manjši bratje morda vzidali v novo,<sup>29</sup> saj Naldini tudi piše (Naldini, 1700, 190; Darovec, 2001, 138), da »je cerkev, ki je zrasla iz dveh predhodnih, izjemna /.../ in tako je iz dveh v bistvu dobrih cerkva, prve končane, druge pa komaj začete, nastala spoštljiva nova stavba.«

Pri tlorisni zasnovi cerkve so se vzorovali po cerkvi sv. Dominika, ki pa je bila prostornejša (Naldini, 1700, 190; Darovec, 2001, 138).<sup>30</sup> O samostanu je Naldini zapisal, da je bil že večkrat popravljen, sodobnejši so bili prostori istrske inkvizicije, ki je imela v Kopru od druge polovice 16. stoletja svoj sedež (Naldini, 1700, 192; Darovec, 2001, 140; gl. tudi Parentin, 1982, 67–68; Maračić, 1992, 35–36, 77; 2001b, 229; 2001c). Do največjih gradbenih predelav je prišlo okoli sredine 18. stoletja, ko sta bila cerkev in samostan barokizirana (prim. Guček, 1995, 36, 38; Lucchese, Quinzi, 2001; Kovač, 2007; gl. tudi Sartori, 1986, II/1, 400–401; Zvkds Oe Piran, 2008, 10); tudi današnji izgled zunanjščine cerkve je rezultat novoveških prezidav (Žitko, 1992b, 93; Guček 1995, 37).<sup>31</sup> Proti koncu leta 1805 so

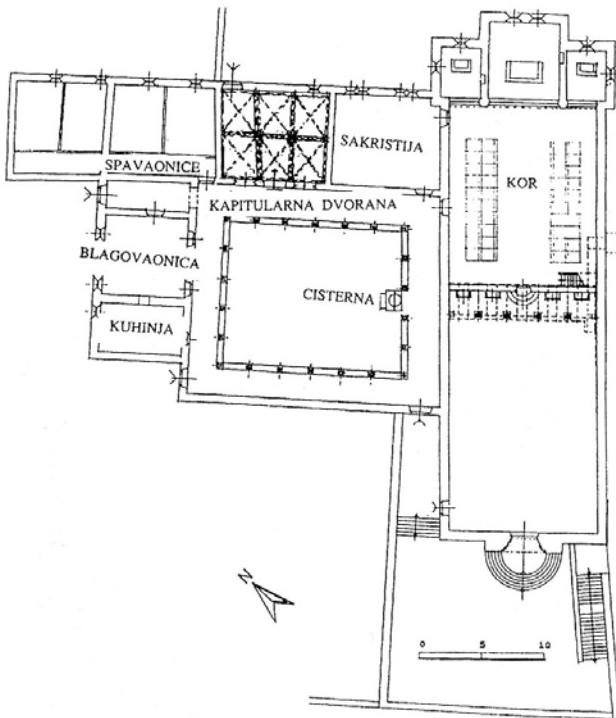


**Sl. 10: Koper, cerkev sv. Frančiška, spoliji ob zahodnem portalu (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

**Fig. 10: Koper, Church of St. Francis, two spoliae near the west portal (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

samostana postavlja v čas okoli 1229; prim. Godina, 1939, 47; Maračić, 1992, 75; Žnidaršič, 1996, 25; Maračić, 2001a, 26, 27; 2001b, 224. Granić (1887, 17) ustanovitev postavlja v leto 1265; enako Cuscito (1982, 37), ki na str. 33 tudi piše, da so pred začetkom gradnje v letu 1265 menihi uporabljali starejšo stavbo, ki je bila 1266 porušena.

- 28 Iz listine, izdane 1268, sledi, da so tedaj že stali cerkev, samostan, pokopališče in vrtova, gl. Sartori, 1986, II/1, 399. Prim. Bernik, 1968, 81 (enako Lavrič, 1986, 173): cerkev je nastala v 60-ih letih 13. stoletja; Komelj (1969, LVIII): leta 1267 naj bi že stal konvent s cerkvijo; Semi (1975, 416): cerkev zgrajena 1260, na str. 135 pa isti avtor navaja, da so z gradbenimi deli pričeli 1265. Žitko (1992b, 93): cerkev dograjena ob koncu decembra 1265, s papeško bulo so ji leta kasneje dodali še samostan. Guček, Štefanac (1995; enako Guček, 2000, 107): po 1260; Höfler (1997, 99) in Höfler (2000, 226): okoli 1270; Štefanac (2000b, 28): kmalu po 1260. Lucchese (2001) izgradnjo cerkve in samostana postavlja v leto 1266.
- 29 Prim. Kovač (2007, 94): »Ni še povsem jasno, ali je bila manjša cerkev, ki so jo do tedaj minoriti uporabljali, vključena v novo cerkev ali pa so jo porušili in kasneje uporabili za gradnjo nove cerkve.« Curk, Vidmar, Radovanovič (2008, 113) pišejo, da so »nova cerkev uravnali po izročilu stare«. Gl. tudi Kandler, 1986, II, 558, in op. 35.
- 30 Ob Valierijevi vizitaciji je bilo v cerkvi, ki jo je opisal z besedami *ecclesia est satis ampla et eggregie constructa*, devet oltarjev (Lavrič, 1986, 70–71; Parentin, 1997, 286).
- 31 Gotski južni vhod, ki ga je delno zakril mlajši zvonik, gl. pri Kovač, 2006, 16; gl. tudi Guček, 1991, 6.



**Sl. 11: Pula, frančiškanski samostan, tloris stanja iz 13. stoletja (Maračić, 2005).**

**Fig. 11: Pula, Franciscan monastery, ground plan in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Maračić, 2005).**

se v stavbah naselili vojaki in v naslednjem letu je sledil razpust samostana (Parentin 1982, 68; Sartori, 1986, II/1, 397; Zugaj, 1989a, 119; Maračić, 1992, 76; 2001b, 230; Bonin, 2004, 114–118; Benedik, 2005, 148),<sup>32</sup> ki so ga v nadaljevanju zaradi spreminjačoče se posvetne namembnosti še večkrat prezidali (prim. Caprin, 1905–07, I, 34, op. 2; Venturini, 1906, 81–82; Semi, 1975, 135; Parentin, 1982, 68; Sartori, 1986, II/1, 402; Guček, 1995, 36, 38; Lucchese, 2001; Bonin, 2003, 147; Prohinar, 2003, 13–14; Bonin, 2004, 118–120; Kovač, 2007; Zvkds Oe Piran, 2008, 10–11, 13–18).

Klub poznejšim gradbenim posegom je cerkev, ki se z zahodno fasado odpira na Martinčev trg, ohranila srednjeveško prostorno enoladijsko zasnovo s tremi ravno zaključenimi vzhodnimi kapelami (sl. 4). Po širini in dolžini izstopa srednji kvadratni prezbiterij, ki ga obdaja po ena kvadratna kapela, segajoča čez širino ladij. Križnorebrasti obok, ki je prvotno pokrival vse tri korne kapele, je ohranjen le v prezbiteriju (sl. 5); ladijski del je imel sprva odprto leseno ostrešje (Guček, 1995, 37; Guček, Štefanac,



**Sl. 12: Koper, cerkev sv. Frančiška, levi rob slavoloka v južni ladijski steni (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

**Fig. 12: Koper, Church of St. Francis, left edge of the archway in the south wall of the nave (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

1995; Guček, 2000; Kovač, 2008, 102),<sup>33</sup> kar je ustrezalo določilom z generalnega kapitla v Narbonnu iz 1260, ki so dovoljevali obok le nad oltarnim delom.<sup>34</sup>

Leta 1994 so bile v južni steni prezbiterija odkrite zidané sedilije (Guček, 1995, 39; Guček, 1998; Prohinar, 2007, b. p.), med obnovitvenimi deli v preteklih letih pa so bili na severni steni ladje poleg kamnitih okvirjev treh gotskih oken, od katerih ima srednji ohranjen trilistni kamniti zaključek (sl. 6), mdr. odkriti še prehoda na stiku z zahodno steno, dalje odprtini, katerih nekdanja namembnost ni jasna, prvotni gotski prehod v križni hodnik in domnev-

32 Marušič (1989, 59) kot leto ukinitve navaja 1805; Kontestabile Rovis (2001) pa piše, da je bil samostan razpuščen 1807.

33 V ladji, na ladijskih gotskih tramovih, v nekdanjem križnem hodniku na severni strani cerkve, zdaj dostopnem skozi prostore gimnazije, in korni kapeli je nekaj ostankov gotske poslikave, gl. Guček, 1995, 37; Höfler, 1997, 99; Guček, 1998; 2000; Höfler, 2000; Quinzi, 2001; Kovač, 2007; Prohinar, 2007; Kovač, 2008; Prohinar, 2008; Zvkds Oe Piran, 2008.

34 Gl. op. 25; prim. Komelj, 1973, 140.



*Sl. 13: Koper, cerkev sv. Frančiška, zgornji del južnega slavoločnega slopa (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

*Fig. 13: Koper, Church of St. Francis, upper part of the south archway pilaster (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

no baročni portal z ohranjeno preklado. Na južni ladijski steni (sl. 7) so bili poleg spodnjih delov kamnitih okvirjev štirih gotskih oken odkriti še prehod v pritličju, katerega ostanki so vidni tudi na zunanjščini, večji del gotskega kamnitega slavoloka, ki je vodil domnevno v kapelo sv. Marije Magdalene (sl. 8),<sup>35</sup> in gotska ter baročna faza slavoločne odprtine kapele. Na zahodni steni (sl. 9) so bili odkriti ostanki kamnitega okvirja rozete (Prohinar, 2007; 2008; gl. tudi Guček, 1991, 4–6; Kovač, 2006, 9–13; Prohinar, 2007, 1 in nasl.; Zvkds Oe Piran, 2008, 11–12, 14–18; Kovač, 2009).<sup>36</sup> Na zahodni fasadi sta na južni strani ob vhodu vzdiani spoliji, morda fragmenta nekdanjega portala (sl. 10).<sup>37</sup>

Po tlorisni zasnovi cerkev ustreza eni od različic beneške oziroma severnoitalijanske arhitekture uboštvenih redov, t. i. trikapelni dvorani, ki so se je posluževali mdr. tudi v Istri in Dalmaciji (prim. Wagner-Rieger, 1957/1958, 287–90; Komelj, 1969, LVIII; Komelj, 1973, 17, 134, 140; Guček, Štefanac, 1995; Guček, 2000, 107; Vuk, 2001, 94–95) in se je uveljavila tako pri cerkvah reda sv. Franciška kakor pri cerkvah dominikanskega in tudi avguštinskega reda (gl. Wagner-Rieger, 1957/1958, 273–274, 287–290; prim. Komelj, 1973, 17; gl. tudi Dellwing, 1988, 547 in nasl.; Schenkluhn, 2000, 64–69);<sup>38</sup> med spomeniki v slovenski Istri je tak tloris imela še piranska minoritska, sorodnega pa tudi kopriska dominikanska cerkev. Med dobro ohra-



*Sl. 14: Koper, cerkev sv. Frančiška, baza severnega slavoločnega slopa (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

*Fig. 14: Koper, Church of St. Francis, base of the north archway pilaster (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*



*Sl. 15: Koper, cerkev sv. Frančiška, konzola v severozahodnem kotu prezbiterija (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

*Fig. 15: Koper, Church of St. Francis, console in the north-west corner of the presbytery (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

<sup>35</sup> Na podlagi poligonalne tlorisne oblike kapele, vidne na katastrskem načrtu iz 1819, je v konservatorskem programu izražena možnost, da bi bila kapela prezbiterij starejše cerkve, gl. Zvkds Oe Piran 2008, 9; gl. tudi Prohinar 2007, passim. Takšna interpretacija vzbuja dve zlasti zaradi orientacije (usmerjenost prezbiterija na jug) in tudi zaslove prezbiterija (poligonalni tloris), poleg tega lokacija starejše cerkve v odnosu do novozgrajene ni povsem jasna (o tem gl. Sartori, 1986, II/1, 398).

<sup>36</sup> Ostanki gotskih oken so bili odkriti tudi v prezbiteriju (Guček, 1998; Kovač, 2007); na vzhodni steni prezbiterija je bilo prvotno dvoje gotskih oken (prim. npr. vzhodno steno prezbiterija frančiškanske cerkve v Pulju), gl. Prohinar, 2007.

<sup>37</sup> Na posnetku neg. št. 24.421 na piranski območni enoti Zvkds sta spoliji označeni kot »romanski fragment«.

<sup>38</sup> Takšen tloris je le ena od različic cerkva uboštvenih redov, od katerih ni nobeden razvil le svojemu redu lastne sakralne arhitekture, gl. npr. Wagner-Rieger, 1957/1958, 266–267, 269; Kleefisch-Jobst, 1991, 95–111; Schenkluhn, 2000, 12–14, 239–240.



**Sl. 16: Koper, cerkev sv. Frančiška, obočni sklepni kamen v prezbiteriju (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

**Fig. 16: Koper, Church of St. Francis, vault keystone in the presbytery (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

njenimi najbližjo paralelo koprski predstavlja frančiškanska cerkev v Pulju (sl. 11) s konca 13. stoletja (Semi, 1935b, 77; 1937, 109; 1975, 135; Vuk, 1983, 149; Guček, Štefanac, 1995; 2000, 108; Štefanac, 2000a, 100; Lucchese, 2001; Zvkds Oe Piran, 2008, 12–13).<sup>39</sup>

Stavbna plastika koprske cerkve je skromna in neizrazita in tako v skladu z redovnimi ideali.<sup>40</sup> Levi in desni rob slavoloka na južni ladijski steni (sl. 12) je poševno porezan in se spodaj trikotno zaključuje, zgoraj pa se konkavno izteka v oster rob. Lok sloni na kapitelnem zidcu v ravni stene in z zgoraj pravokotnim ter spodaj konkavnim profilom. Tudi robova slavoločnih slopov prezbiterija sta na ladijski strani poševno porezana in se pod vrhom konkavno iztekata v oster rob z grebenom pod njim (sl. 13), spodaj pa preideta v petosminske bazo s piramidalnimi vogalnimi »listi« (sl. 14); kapitelni zidec je paličasto-žlebasto profiliran. V prezbiteriju sta od štirih konzol, na katerih slonijo obočna rebra, ohranjeni le dve, ki sta poligonalne piramidalne oblike z zaključnima polkrožnima prstano ma, večjim zgoraj in manjšim spodaj, ter poligonalno nakladno ploščo (sl. 15). Na križišču reber je izklesan kamnit cvet (sl. 16). Visoki ozki rahlo šilasto zaključeni okni v vzhodni steni južne kapele<sup>41</sup> (sl. 17) in na sredini severne ladijske stene (sl. 6) imata soroden trilistni vrh svetle odprtine.

Najbližjo paralelo stavbni plastiki najdemo v puljski frančiškanski cerkvi (Oter Gorenčič 2009, 95–96). Čeprav



**Sl. 17: Koper, cerkev sv. Frančiška, okno v vzhodni steni južne kapele (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

**Fig. 17: Koper, Church of St. Francis, window in the east wall of the south chapel (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

je cerkev v Kopru precej slabše ohranjena, lahko ugostimo, da je puljska tako v arhitekturi kot v arhitekturnem okrasju sicer bogatejša (večji prostor, figuralne konzole, kompleksnejša profilacija slavoločnih kapitelnih zidcev idr.), a kljub temu primerljiva ne le po tlorisu, temveč tudi po zasnovi slavoločnih baz (sl. 18) in posnetih robov slavoločnih slopov (sl. 19), geometričnih konzolah (sl. 20) in izboru rozete (sl. 21) za okras sklepnih kamnov.<sup>42</sup>

39 O puljski cerkvi in samostanu gl. Bvdinis, 1928, 59–64; Forlatti, 1929; Krizmanić, 1998; Walcher, Quinzi, 2001; Krizmanić, 2001; Maračić, 2005.

40 Leta 1260 je bila na generalnem kapitlju manjših bratov v Narbonnu izdana prepoved gradnje (samostojnih) zvonikov, obok je bil dovoljen le v oltarnem delu, zapovedana sta bila kar največja preprostost tako v stavbah kakor v ornamentu in opremi in izogibanje vsemu odvečnemu in nenavadnemu, gl. Bihl, 1941, 45–46; prim. npr. Tode, 1934, 306–316; Donin, 1935, 19. Do neupoštevanja teh pravil je prišlo že v 13. stoletju, gl. npr. Donin, 1935, 18–21; Wagner-Rieger, 1957/58, 268–269; Sundt, 1987, 402–404, 405; Schenkluhn, 2000, 177 in nasl.; Jäggi, 2006, 20, op. 34.

41 Na južni steni južne kapele so vidni sledovi še enega, domnevno gotskega okna, gl. Zvkds Oe Piran, 2008, 8.

42 Za trikotne vogalne liste na bazah gl. Ruskin, 1900, 1, 78, in pripadajoč komentar.



**Sl. 18: Pulj, frančiškanska cerkev, baza južnega slavoločnega slopa (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

**Fig. 18: Pula, Franciscan church, base of the south archway pilaster (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

V Piranu so se manjši bratje naselili morda sočasno kot v Kopru, morda celo prej ali pa ob izteku 13. oziroma na prehodu v 14. stoletje (gl. Naldini 1700, 298; Darovec, 2001, 217; Caprin, 1905–1907, I, 276, op. 1; Paschini, 1915, 54; Cuscito, 1982, 40; Parentin, 1982, 76; Sartori, 1986, II/2, 1269; Mlinarič, 1989, 51; Zugaj, 1989a, 143; Zugaj, 1989b, 27; Maračić, 1992, 12; Škofljanec, 2000, 74, op. 26; Maračić, 2001a, 26, 28; 2001b, 241–242, 243). Oba samostana sta bila v skladu z redovnimi običaji postavljena v bližini mestnih vrat na obrobju strnjenega mesta (Komelj, 1973, 9; prim. Tomšič, 1999, 474; gl. npr. tudi Schenkluhn, 2000, 12; Todenhöfer, 2010, 315–319). V Piran, kjer jim je bil dodeljen velik ograjen prostor nasproti cerkve Marije Snežne (Naldini, 1700, 297; Darovec, 2001, 217) v četrti Poljska vrata (Žitko, 2000, 21), so prišli po zaslugu koprskega škofa Petra Manolessa (Naldini, 1700, 297–298; Darovec, 2001, 217). Napisna plošča iz kararskega marmorja, ki je vzidana na pročeju desno od vhoda v cerkev, sporoča, da so cerkev (skupaj s samostanom, Walcher, 2001, 214) začeli graditi 1301 in da je temeljni kamen položil piranski podestat Matej Manolessos, s čimer je bil gradnji pritegnil tudi ljudstvo. Po koncu svojega načelovanja v Piranu se je vrnil v Benetke, kar je še zmanjšalo že pred temo usihajočo zagnanost v gradnji. Delo se je nadaljevalo po njegovem



**Sl. 19: Pulj, frančiškanska cerkev, zgornji del severnega slavoločnega slopa (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

**Fig. 19: Pula, Franciscan church, upper part of the north archway pilaster (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

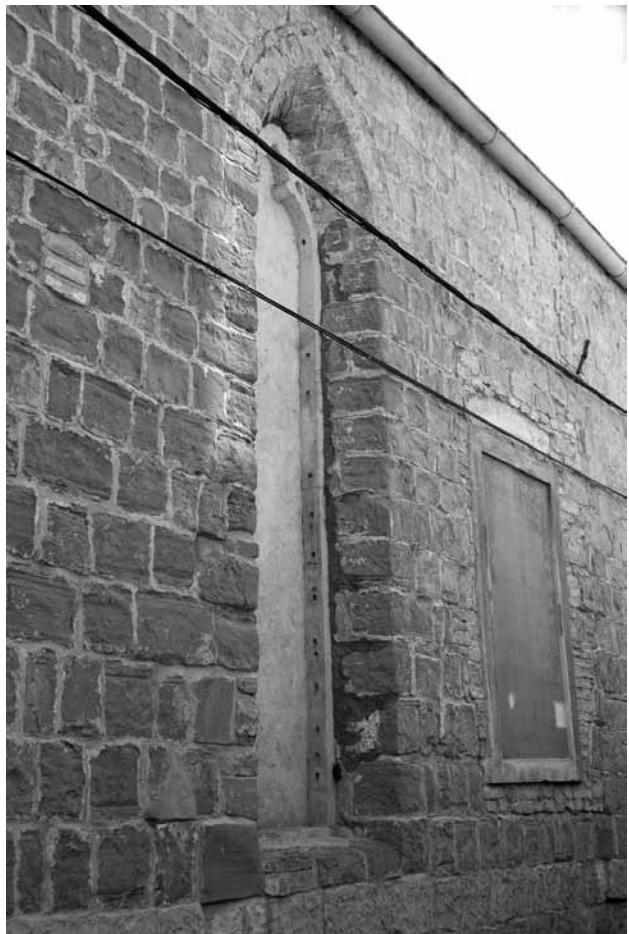
povratku leta 1318. Naldini piše, da so cerkev hitro dokončali, »in sicer tako mojstrsko, da je poleg kapiteljske pravta največja in najveličastnejša v Piranu« (Naldini, 1700, 299; Darovec, 2001, 218).<sup>43</sup> Opisuje jo (Naldini, 1700, 299–300; Darovec, 2001, 219) kot enoladijsko z glavnim oltarjem, ki ga zapira kor, in dvema stranskima kapelama ter omenja nekaj manjših oltarjev ob stenah. Omenja tudi dve

43 Napis na omenjeni plošči se glasi (Vogrin, 2001, 383): + AD DEI ET BTI FRACISCI NOM ECCLIA h FV- / IT ICEPTA ANN D' MCCCII SB NOBIL VIRO DNO / MAFEO MANOLESSO TVC POTATE PIRAN QUINE / I DCE BASILICE PMARIV FVDAMTV SVIS VMERIS / VECTV POSVIT 7<sup>2</sup> LOCAVIT PPIS MAIB PMAM PE- / TRA 7 ANN D' MCCCXVIII SB EODE NOBIL PRE- / LIBATO TC 7 POTE TRE PDCE EXITIT PTIN CO- / SVATA DATE CLEMINTIA TNITATIS C<sup>1</sup> LAVS 7 HONO/. / AMEN. / + O FRACISCE PAT XPI Q STIGMATA / PORTAS / + CELOR DIGNA RESERA NOBIS PCE. Izpis prepisa brez okrajšav gl. pri Vogrin, 2001, 383–84. Kandler (1879, 23; 1995, 37), piše, da je bil samostan ustanovljen 1309. Caprin (1905–07, I, 274) navaja, da je bil 1301 zgrajen samostan, 1318 pa je bila posvečena cerkev (I, 276). Tamaro (1910, 41) navaja, da sta bila samostan in cerkev posvečena 1301. Alisi, Chiese minori, b. p. (citirano po Vuk, 1983, 130, op. 9, in 132, op. 20; 2001, 86, op. 3), navaja odločbo beneškega senata, ki je 1318 izdal dovoljenje za prevoz 16.000 strešnikov *pro copriendo ecclesiam S. Francisci*. Alisi (1955, 36–38) piše, da je bila gradnja kompleksa končana v 17 letih, že konec 1302 pa se je okoli nove cerkve izoblikovalo pokopališče, pokopi pa so se izvrševali v križnem hodniku in cerkvi. Curk, Vidmar, Radovanovič (2008, 261) pa pišejo, da so bila samostanska poslopja in pokopališče končana 1302, cerkev pa je bila posvečena 1318.



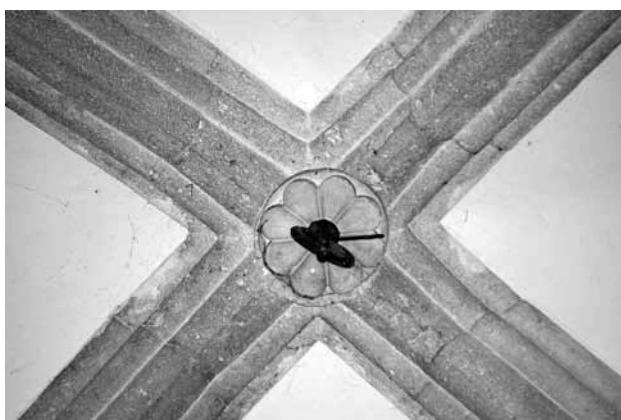
Sl. 20: *Pulj, frančiškanska cerkev, konzola v severni kapeli* (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).

Fig. 20: *Pula, Franciscan church, console in the north chapel* (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).



Sl. 22: *Piran, minoritska cerkev, zazidano okno na zunanjščini srednje kapele ob severni strani ladje* (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).

Fig. 22: *Piran, Minorite church, walled up window in the exterior wall of the central chapel on the northern side of the nave* (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).



Sl. 21: *Pulj, frančiškanska cerkev, rozeta na stičišču reber prezbiterija* (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).

Fig. 21: *Pula, Franciscan church, rosette at the intersection of the ribs in the presbytery* (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).

bratovščinski<sup>44</sup> cerkvici, od katerih je ena na pokopališču, posvečena sv. Katarini, druga, sv. Janeza, pa v samostanu. O samostanu s pisarnami in sobami za bivanje dostenjanstvenikov pa navaja, da je to sodobna stavba (Naldini, 1700, 300; Darovec, 2001, 219; gl. tudi L'archeografo, 1837, 355; Tommasini, 1993, 199; prim. Vuk, 2001, 86 in nasl.).<sup>45</sup> Ob svoji vizitaciji je Valieri cerkev, v kateri je bilo tedaj deset posvečenih oltarjev, opisal z besedami (Lavrič, 1986, 82–84; Parentin, 1997, 294–295): *Est satis ampla, recte constructa, habet fores tutas, campanile, organum, crucifixum magnum in medio ecclesiae. Sarta tecta recte se habent.*

O prezidavah iz časa do 1500 nekaj malega izvemo iz posameznih oporok. 27. avgusta 1425 je Martin, sin po-knjega Franje Marina iz Pirana, samostanu zapustil del svojih solin z namenom, da bratje molijo za pokoj nje-gove duše, dobiček od solin pa porabijo za ureditev in popravilo cerkve (Sartori, 1986, II/2, 1270; gl. tudi Maračić, 2001a, 32; 2001b, 243–244, 245).<sup>46</sup> 11. januarja 1476 je Benedikt, sin Jurija iz Zadra, prebivalec Pirana, zapustil svoje imetje za popravilo samostana (Šamperl, 2002b, 146), iz česar izvemo, da sta bila cerkev in samostan v 15. stoletju potrebna posameznih gradbenih posegov. Ti so bili v cerkvi izvedeni tudi na začetku 16. stoletja, najbolj temeljito je bil celoten samostan predelan v 17. stoletju, več posegov pa je bilo izvedenih tudi v 18., 19. in 20. stoletju (Granič, 1887, 3 in nasl.; Alisi, 1955, 76 in nasl.; Vuk, 1983; Sartori, 1986, II/2, 1269 in nasl.; Biščak, Guček, Mally, Bernik, 1989; Alberi, 2001, 576–577; Maračić, 2001a, 35; Šamperl, 2001b; Vuk, 2001; Žitko, 2001, 48, 51; Curk, Vidmar, Radovanovič, 2008, 261–264). Leta 1954 je bil nacionaliziran, po dena-cionalizaciji in obnovi pa služi prvotnemu namenu (Parentin, 1982, 79; Sartori, 1986, II/2, 1294–1297; Maračić, 1992, 56; Šamperl, 1995; 1998; Maračić, 2001b, 171–176, 182–188; Šamperl, 2001a; 2001b; 2002a; Curk, Vidmar, Radovanovič, 2008, 264).

Baročno pročelje minoritske cerkve skupaj s samo-stansko vhodno partijo s portalom, ki vodi v križni hodnik, danes obvladuje severozahodno stran Ribiškega trga (Bernik, 1968, 181).<sup>47</sup> Čeprav je izgled cerkve in samostana predvsem rezultat novoveških prezidav, sta gotsko stavbno telo cerkve in dela samostana še vedno ohranjena. Tloris gotske cerkve so sestavljeni pravokotna ladja s kvadratnim prezbiterijem in ob njem po ena ožja, krajša in nižja kvadratna kapela, segajoča čez širino ladje. Obokan je bil le vzhodni del, ladja je imela vidno ostrešje (Vuk, 1983, 136, 137, 140, 145, 147–148; 2001, 86, 91, 94; gl. tudi



*Sl. 23: Piran, minoritska cerkev, vrh gotskega slavoloka južne kapele (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

*Fig. 23: Piran, Minorite church, apex of a Gothic arch of the south chapel (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

Walcher, 2001, 214). Gre torej za tlorisni tip, ki smo ga srečali že pri koprski cerkvi. V Piranu je bila glavni ladji, domnevno še v času gotike, prizidana nekakšna stranska ladja, ki je končno podobo dobila postopoma z izgradnjo treh kapel. Na vzhodni in srednji kapeli je ohranjeno dvoje zazidanih šilasto zaključenih oken, eno z ostanki trilistne-ga vrha (sl. 22). Marko Vuk kot primerjavo za postopno dodajanje kapel enoladijski zasnovi navaja frančiškansko cerkev v Trevisu (Vuk, 1983, 140), ki pa ima nekoliko dru-

44 O bratovščinah v severozahodni Istri v obdobju Beneške republike gl. Radmiloč Bonin, 2009.

45 Minoriti so se naselili ob že pred njihovim prihodom obstoječi cerkvi sv. Katarine, ki je stala nad pokopališčem in je po izgradnji minoritske cerkve služila domnevno v pokopališke namene in ostala v funkciji do 1707. Desno od glavnega samostanskega portala je v tlaku viden ostanek njenih vhodnih vrat (gl. Granič, 1887, 11; Alisi, Chiese minori, 10, cit. po Vuk, 2001, 96; Ličen Krmpotić, 1995a, 1; Šamperl, 1998, 11; 2001b, 422, op. 64; Vuk, 2001, 96; Kajfež, 2003, 6–8; Plestenjak, 2006). Cerkev sv. Katarine je (bila) locirana v pritličju današnje stavbe na Bolniški ulici (Ribiški trg), ki stoji med zahodnim traktom križnega hodnika in stavbo nekdanje Ribiške šole, gl. Kajfež, 2003, 2.

46 Iz zapisa v oporoki z dne 3. junija 1348 Alisi (1955, 50) domneva, da je pod ometom v cerkvi morda stenska poslikava.

47 O razvoju samostanskega kompleksa oz. konservatorskih ugotovitvah o starosti posameznih delov gl. Ličen Krmpotić, 1995a.



*Sl. 24: Piran, minoritska cerkev, prebeljena kapitelna zidca osrednjega slavoloka (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).*  
*Fig. 24: Piran, Minorite church, painted capital corbels of the central archway (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*



*Sl. 25: Piran, minoritska cerkev, zidec v južnem kotu glavne ladje (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).*  
*Fig. 25: Piran, Minorite church, corbel in the south corner of the nave (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

gačno zasnova, saj ima tudi transept, ki mu je na vzhodni strani dodan pet kapel; korni je dodan poligonalni zaključek, kapeli ob prezbiteriju pa imata dvopolni križnorebrasti obok (gl. Schenkluhn, 2000, 64, sl. 3). Po tlorisni zasnovi je piranski cerkvi v osnovi sorodna dominikanska cerkev sv. Katarine v Pisi (gl. Schenkluhn, 2000, 64, sl. 5), zgrajena med 1253 in 1262. Ta ima sicer po dimenzijah mnogo večjo ladjo, ki pa se na vzhodu izteka v tri ravno zaključene kapele z enopolnim križnim obokom. Stranski kapeli prav tako segata čez širino ladje. Ob južni strani so bile ladji pozneje dodane tri, prav tako križnorebrasto obokane kapele, katerih zunanjia linija je poravnana s še eno kapelo, ki stoji ob južni korni kapeli.

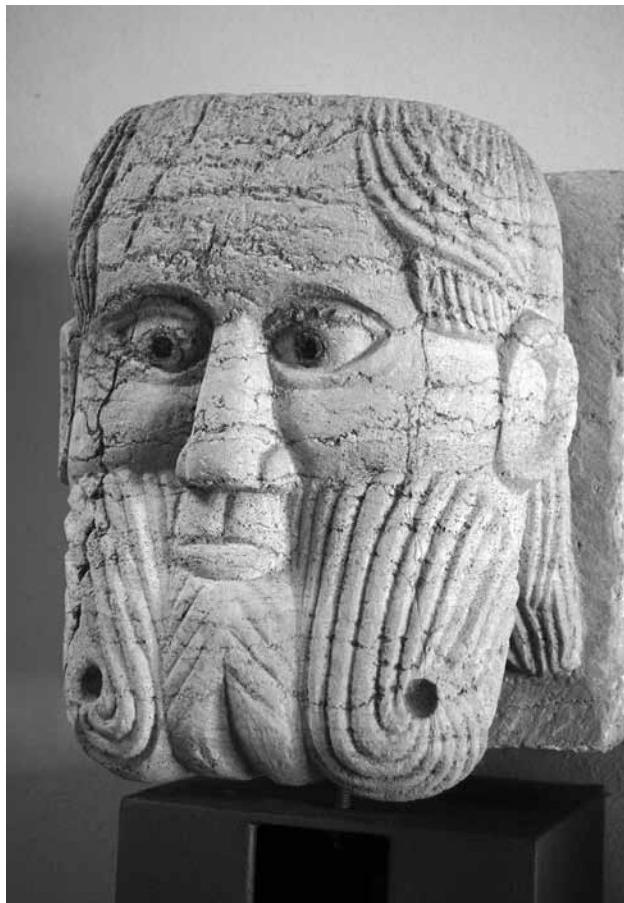
V notranjščini je od srednjeveške cerkve viden še vrh južne slavoločne odprtine, ki je danes višinsko predelje-



*Sl. 26: Piran, minoritska cerkev, vrh gotskega slavoloka severne kapele (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).*  
*Fig. 26: Piran, Minorite church, apex of the Gothic archway of the north chapel (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*



*Sl. 27: Piran, minoritska cerkev, sklepni kamen gotskega slavoloka prezbiterija (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).*  
*Fig. 27: Piran, Minorite church, keystone of the Gothic archway of the presbytery (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*



*Sl. 28: Piran, pinakoteka minoritskega samostana, kamnita glava (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

*Fig. 28: Piran, Pinacotheca of the Minorite monastery, stone head (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*



*Sl. 29: Piran, minoritska cerkev, zunanjja stena prezbiterija (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

*Fig. 29: Piran, Minorite church, exterior wall of the presbytery (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

na; v nadstropju z ohranjenim rahlo zašiljenim banjastim gotskim obokom južne kapele (sl. 23) je urejen molitveni kor (prim. Vuk, 1983, 145; 2001, 91). Kamnit kapitelni zidec je sestavljen iz spodnjega konveksnega dela, kjer je stik z ravnim delom poudarjen z robom, in zgornjega dela z obrnjenim atiškim profilom. Sočasna sta danes prebeljena kapitelna zidca osrednjega slavoloka, ki imata enak profil in sta vidna iz cerkve (sl. 24). Njun atiški del se nadaljuje na ladijski strani slavoloka. Atiška profila sta v isti višini ohranjena tudi v levem in desnem (sl. 25) kotu glavne ladje kot konzoli ločnega dela stranskih slavolokov (prim. Vuk, 1983, 145; 2001, 91). Ohranjen je vrh slavoloka nekdanje severne kapele vključno s kapitelnim zidcem; viden je s stopnišča na zvonik (sl. 26). S podstrešja cerkve je viden tudi gotski vrh slavoloka prezbiterije; v njegovem

temenu je ohranjen sklepni kamen (sl. 27), na katerem je izklesan križ. Na podstrešju cerkve je v severovzhodnem vogalu glavne ladje vidna preprosta polkrožno porezana kamnita konzola, ki je morda podpirala ladijsko leseno ostrešje.<sup>48</sup>

Na zunanjščini cerkve je na vzhodni steni prezbiterija<sup>49</sup> vzdiana kamnita stilizirana glava bradatega moža, ki jo odlikuje natančnost izdelave in močna izraznost (sl. 28). Emilijan Cevc je bil mnenja, da je glava nekoč nosila kakšen fasadni steber (Cevc, 1963, 38), glede oblakovnih izhodišč pa se mu je zdela najbližje lombardsko-provansalska tradicija. Kot bližnjo primerjavo je navedel glave apostolov na dveh reliefih v milanski stolnici iz časa 1185–1187 (Cevc, 1963, 39). V nadaljnjih objavah so pisci večinoma povzemali Cevčeve ugotovitve, pri čemer so

48 Vuk (1983, 145; 2001, 91) navaja, da je ohranjen tudi sklepni kamen na notranji strani zazidanega severnega slavoloka. To seveda drži, vendar je brez kakršnegakoli okrasja.

49 Na tem mestu je od 1997 vzdiana kopija, original se hrani v samostanski pinakoteki (Šamperl 2001b, 414, 418).



**Sl. 30: Piran, minoritski samostan, nakladni kapitel v bifori zvonika (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

**Fig. 30: Piran, Minorite monastery, abacus-capital in the mullioned window of the belfry (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

omenjali le »lombardsko« oz. italsko izhodišče (Zadnikar, 1970, 51; Golob, 1998, 74). Sama sem opozorila na možnost, da bi bila glava, ki je bila izklesana najverjetneje konec 12. stoletja (prim. Cevc, 1963, 39; Zadnikar, 1970, 51; Golob, 1998, 74), prvotno lahko služila kot konzola portalne preklade (Oter, 2005, 20–21). Na zunani vzhodni steni prezbiterija (sl. 29) je v spodnjem delu vidnih tudi dvoje prvotnih zazidanih visokih zašiljenih oken, nad dve ma novoveškima zazidanimi oknoma pravokotne oblike s kamnitim okvirjem pa je zazidano prvotno okroglo okno s kamnitim okvirjem. Gotski okulus »lombardskega sloga«<sup>50</sup> je členil tudi srednjeveško fasado cerkve. V spodnjem delu zvonika<sup>51</sup> oziroma severne vzhodne kapele je ohranjeno gotsko okno; nad njim je še pravokotna ozka lina, v zaključku pa novoveška bifora in pravokotna lina nad njo. V biforah so fragmentarno ohranjeni štirje gotski nakladni kapiteli (sl. 30). Na notranji strani (vidno iz prostora za zvono) imajo trije izklesane ozke šilaste vogalne liste s sredinsko žilo (na četrtem niso ohranjeni), ki se zaključujejo pod vrhom kapitela. Nakladni del ima pravokotno-paličast profil (prim. Vuk 1983, 142; 2001, 89–90). Ti kapiteli, ki so bili prvotno najbrž v srednjeveških biforah zvonika (to je tudi sicer eno od najpogostejših mest uporabe nakladnih kapitelov v visokem srednjem veku), se v primerjavi z onimi, ki so ohranjeni v pinakoteki (gl. nadaljevanje), zaradi slogovnih razlik zdijo starejši. To bi potrjevale tudi navedene datacije o izgradnji cerkve in križnega hodnika. V slo-



**Sl. 31: Piran, minoritska cerkev, okno v južni ladiji steni (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

**Fig. 31: Piran, Minorite church, window in the south wall of the nave (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

venskem umetnostnem prostoru so jim tipološko najbliže nakladni kapiteli iz romanskega križnega hodnika cistercijskega samostana v Stični iz druge polovice 12. stoletja (gl. Oter, 2003), čeprav so bili piranski formalno najverjetnejše prevzeti iz beneškega prostora. Zidci bifornih oken imajo zgoraj pravokoten in spodaj konkaven profil, ki je v srednjem veku sicer pogost, vendar je v tem primeru zaradi njihovega nadaljevanja na zunani strani zvonika datacija najverjetnejše mlajša (iz časa predelave zvonika). Pri pregledu srednjeveških elementov na zunanjščini cerkve nam ostane še pritlični del južne vzhodne kapele, kjer je poleg mlajšega pravokotnega okna prezentiran ostanek

<sup>50</sup> Granić (1887, 3), ki tudi navaja, da je bilo okroglo okno leta 1726 zaradi orgel zaprto z opeko, ob straneh pa sta bili odprtvi okni neenake velikosti. Fasada je bila obnovljena v letih 1882 in 1883 (Vuk, 1983, 140; 2001, 88). Vuk (1983, 139) je vrv v notranjem okvirju sedanjega portala in polkrožno nišo nad portalom imel za ostanek stare vhodne odprtine (prim. Tamayo, 1910, 41), oba elementa pa nato v objavi (Vuk, 2001, 88) označil za posnetek v duhu historicizma 19. stoletja, kar je tudi najverjetnejša razloga.

<sup>51</sup> Zvonik nad severno vzhodno kapelo ima ohranjen gotski način zidave. Sedanjo podobo je dobil v prvi polovici 18. stoletja (Granić 1887, 11; prim. Vuk 1983, 136, 140–142, 148; 2001, 89–90; gl. tudi Alisi, Chiese minori, b. p., cit. po Vuk, 1983, 133; gl. tudi Vuk, 2001, 90; Ličen Krmpotić, 1995a, b. p.).



*Sl. 32: Piran, minoritska cerkev, venčni zidec na severnem vogalu prezbiterija (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

*Fig. 32: Piran, Minorite church, cornice in the north corner of the presbytery (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

gotskega. Gotski zazidani okni sta prezentirani tudi na zunanjščini južne ladijske stene (Vuk, 1983, 140, 143; 2001, 86, 88, 92; prim. Ličen Krmpotič, 1995a, 2 in nasl.; 1995b; Šamperl, 2001b, 416), ki danes meji na notranji sprejemni prostor v prvem nadstropju samostanskega kompleksa. Eno od oken ima ohranjen trilistni zaključek svetle odprtine (sl. 31). Na severnem vogalu prezbiterija (sl. 32) in južnem vogalu južne kapele je viden slabo ohranjen tridelno členjen venčni zidec (konveksno-konkavno-konveksno). Na severozahodnem vogalu stranske ladje pa je na zunanjščini vzidan reliefno obdelan kamen šivanega vogala, ki ima prav na vogalu izklesano triperesno deteljico z žilami v obliki križa (sl. 33).

Nekaj srednjeveških elementov je ohranjenih tudi v samostanu. V južnem traktu sta prezentirani zazidani pokončni, najbrž še srednjeveški pravokotni odprtini, ohranjeni pa so tudi ostanki starejšega okna pod novoveškim stopniščem (prim. Vuk, 2001, 100). V nekdanjem refektoriju



*Sl. 33: Piran, minoritska cerkev, kamen na severovzhodnem vogalu zunanjščine (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

*Fig. 33: Piran, Minorite church, stone block in the north-east corner of the exterior (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*



*Sl. 34: Piran, minoritski samostan, niša v nekdanjem refektoriju (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

*Fig. 34: Piran, Minorite monastery, niche in the former refectory (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*



*Sl. 35: Piran, minoritski samostan, bifora v vzhodnem traktu križnega hodnika (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

*Fig. 35: Piran, Minorite monastery, mullioned window in the east wing of the cloister (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*



*Sl. 36: Piran, minoritski samostan, biforna baza (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

*Fig. 36: Piran, Minorite monastery, mullion base (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*



*Sl. 37: Piran, minoritski samostan, biforni kapitel (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

*Fig. 37: Piran, Minorite monastery, capital of the mullion (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

ju je ohranjena poznogotska zdna niša z lokom v obliki širokega trilista, ki se zaključuje na oslovski hrbet (sl. 34). Ob prehodu v ločni del sta bila v ostenu niše izklesana zdca, od katerih je ohranjen le še eden; ima pravokoten profil, ki je spodaj konkavno porezan (prim. Vuk, 2001, 98; gl. tudi Biščak, Guček, Mally, Bernik, 1989, s. p.; Ličen Krmpotič, 1995a, b. p.; Ličen Krmpotič, 1995b).

Na vzhodni steni samostanskega križnega hodnika je delno ohranjen vhod v nekdanjo kapelo sv. Janeza

Evangelista,<sup>52</sup> ki je po mojem mnenju služila tudi kot kapiteljska dvorana (prim. Šamperl, 2001b, 416).<sup>53</sup> Severno od portala je ohranjena gotska bifora (sl. 35) z rahlo šilastimi loki, katere delilni stebriček stoji na bazi in nosi kapitel s tanko nakladno ploščo.<sup>54</sup> Baza (sl. 36) ima atiški profil s pogrezenjenim torusom in nesorazmerno širokimi robovi trohila, vogalni listi so ploščati. Gladko jedro čašastega kapitela (sl. 37) brez zgornjega krožnega zaključka ima na vogalih urezane ozke vogalne liste s sredinsko žilo, ki

52 Vrata in okenski odprtini, ki sta bili izklesani 1320, sta bili zaprti 1732 (Granić, 1887, 11).

53 O kapiteljskih dvoranah gl. Gardner, 1998, 464–465.

54 Na notranji strani bifore se je ohranil napis MCCXX / fundata / MDCCXXXIII / LUCE / [ornata] (gl. Granić, 1887, 11; Alisi, Chiese minori, 18, cit. po Vuk, 2001, 98; Arhiv Kss, 1982; Ličen Krmpotič, 1995a, 2; Ličen Krmpotič, 1995b; Vuk, 2001, 98). Redovno kapelo z oltarjem sv. Janeza omenja tudi Valier, gl. Lavrič, 1986, 84, 170, op. 9; Parentin, 1997, 295.



**Sl. 38: Pula, vhodna stena kapiteljske dvorane (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

**Fig. 38: Pula, entrance wall of chapter house (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

se končajo pod vrhom kapitela. Bifora ima na obeh straneh ohranjen kamnit kapitelni zidec s širokim osrednjim konkavnim pasom, ki je spodaj paličasto zaključen, zgoraj pa ima pravokoten profil z utorom. Ploščati vogalni listi baze so bizantinska oblika, ki predstavlja predstopnjo razvitih gotskih različic (gl. Ruskin, 1900, 1, 288, Pl. 12/4), kapiteli z najpreprostejšo izvedbo vogalnih listov pa v razvoju beneških gotskih kapitelov predstavljajo osnovni tip, ki se v Benetkah najpogosteje pojavlja od druge polovice 12. stoletja<sup>55</sup> na stavbah poznoromansko-zgodnjegotskega obdobja (gl. Ruskin, 1900, 3, 246–247, Pl. 43/2; gl. tudi Marković, 1995, 54–66). Na notranji strani kapele, v kateri je danes pinakoteka z lapidarijem, je viden ostanek šilasto zaključenega loka kamnitega gotskega portala, delno pa je prezentirana tudi bifora južno od portala (prim. Biščak, Guček, Mally, Bernik, 1989, b. p.).<sup>56</sup> Marko Vuk je kot primerjavo piranskemu navedel vhod v oratorij »v krilu ob južni steni nekdanje minoritske cerkve sv. Frančiška v Čedadu, kar je dokaz, da so sheme samostanov s križnimi hodniki in pripadajočimi objekti nastajale v bistvu po enotni zasnovi« (Vuk, 2001, 98). Od bližnjih je tipološko primerljiva npr. tudi vhodna stena v kapiteljsko dvorano frančiškanske cerkve v Pulju (sl. 38), v slovenskem prostoru pa seveda minoritske cerkve na Ptiju, kjer kljub drugačni tlorisni zasnovi cerkve vhod v prostor, dostopen iz vzhodnega krila križnega hodnika, ostaja enak: centralni vhod s po eno biforo na vsaki strani. Enako zasnovana vhodna stena kapiteljske dvorane je ohranjena tudi v dominikanskem samostanu na Ptiju, še povsem romansko zasnovana pa tudi v cistercijanskem samostanu Stična.



**Sl. 39: Piran, pinakoteka minoritskega samostana, kapitela (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

**Fig. 39: Piran, Pinacotheca of the Minorite monastery, two capitals (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

V pinakoteki in cerkvi je ohranjenih še nekaj srednjeveških fragmentov (kosov stebričkov, baz in kapitelov), od katerih jih je večina nekdaj pripadala najbrž gotskemu križnemu hodniku, katerega izgradnjo lahko postavimo na začetek 14. stoletja (prim. Vuk, 2001, 98). Od slogovno opredeljive stavbne plastike je iz obravnavanega časa ohranjenih šestnajst kapitelov, deset baz in fragment osmerokotnega stebrička s kvadratno bazno ploščo. Med kapiteli jih je enajst enakih bifornemu kapitelu, le da ima pri teh nakladna plošča v nasprotju z biformim še paličast profil (sl. 39); med temi jih je osem brez sredinske žile. Teh enajst kosov ustrezata beneškemu trečentističnemu tipu kapitelov s stiliziranimi vogalnimi listi (gl. Marković, 1995, 54–66). Eden od nadaljnjih kapitelov z nakladno

<sup>55</sup> Gl. npr. Lieberman, 1982, Pl. 14 (takšni kapiteli v ladji cerkve sv. Janeza Krstnika v Bragori, ki je bila v gradnji od sredine sedemdesetih let 15. stoletja, so ostanek prejšnje cerkve na tem mestu); Dorigo, 2003, 308, 309, 268, 269/1A, 1D, 270, 271, 379/3, 604–605, 606/1; gl. tudi Arslan, 1970, repr. 4, 22; Franzoi, Di Stefano, 1976, 136–137.

<sup>56</sup> Granić (1887, 11) piše, da sta (bili) bifori gotsko-lombskega sloga.



Sl. 40: Piran, pinakoteka minoritskega samostana, kapitel (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).

Fig. 40: Piran, Pinacotheca of the Minorite monastery, capital (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).



Sl. 41: Piran, pinakoteka minoritskega samostana, kapitel (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).

Fig. 41: Piran, Pinacotheca of the Minorite monastery, capital (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).



Sl. 42: Koper, Pokrajinski muzej, kapitel (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).

Fig. 42: Koper, Regional Museum, capital (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).



Sl. 43: Piran, pinakoteka minoritskega samostana, baza (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).

Fig. 43: Piran, Pinacotheca of the Minorite monastery, base (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).

ploščo, ki je le fragmentarno ohranjen, je brez okrasja, jedro enega je obdano z masivnimi neprofiliranimi vogalnimi listi (sl. 40), eden je identičen bifornemu, eden ima višje jedro, vogalne liste brez sredinske žile in nakladno ploščo brez paličastega profila, okrasje enega pa sestoji iz spodaj povezanih vogalnih listov, ki se zgoraj upognejo in razprostrejo z mesnatimi listi brez površinske členitve in sredinske rozete in na zgornjih vogalih oblikujejo majhni voluti (sl. 41). Soroden kapitel se hrani v koprskem Pokrajinskem muzeju (sl. 42). Baze so podobne biforni, le da je stik srednjega konkavnega in zgornjega paliča-

stega svitka brez vmesnega profila. Ena od teh baz ima nastavek za osmerokotni steber (sl. 43).<sup>57</sup> Zanesljive provenience v pinakoteki in cerkvi shranjenih kosov danes ni več mogoče ugotoviti. Odsotnost figuralike in bogatega vegetabilnega ornamenta ustrezna redovnim zahtevam po preprostem, neizstopajočem okrasju in hkrati omogoča le formalne primerjave. V samostanski pinakoteki je ohranjen tudi fragment kamnitega loka, zaključenega na oslovski hrbet, z akroterijem (sl. 44).<sup>58</sup> Takšen vrh gotskih oken je v beneškem in beneško vplivanem prostoru zlasti v 15. stoletju pogost.<sup>59</sup>

## KLARISE

Ženski (nebenediktinski) redovi se na Primorskem v visokem srednjem veku omenjajo le v Kopru. Leta 1301 je škof Peter Manolessa »odprl klavzurnim redovnicam v Kopru vse možnosti, da se združijo z redom sv. Klare« (Naldini, 1700, 220–223; Darovec, 2001, 161–162; prim. Kandler, 1855, 36; 1986, III, 875). Iz tega sledi, da so klavzurne sestre že pred 1301 živele v Kopru in bile podrejene škofu, vendar, kot piše Naldini (Naldini, 1700, 223–224; Darovec, 2001, 162–163), »ni jasno, kateremu redu so pred tem pripadale in koliko let prej so mu že dale svoje ime. Lahko pa rečemo, da so bile najverjetnejše tretjerednice oziroma picokere enega od dveh že obstoječih svetih redov v mestu, sv. Dominika ali sv. Frančiška, saj so bile prave sestre. Sicer pa ni verjetno, da bi zlahka prestopile v drug red, če so prej kateremu sploh pripadale.« Kot izpričujejo posamezni dokumenti v koprskem Pokrajinskem arhivu, je imel Koper samostan klaris že v 13. stoletju (omenja se v letih 1299 in 1300, gl. Bonin, 2002, 36–37; 2003, 123).<sup>60</sup> Kot opozarja Peter Štih, sta bila v Kopru v 13. stoletju torej najmanj dva ženska samostana (Štih, 2005, 52; gl. tudi Kandler, 1855, 36; Caprin, 1905–1907, I, 13; Parentin, 1982, 72; Kandler, 1986, II, 586; Semi, 1991, 47; Cigui, 2007, 412, Alisi, 1943), pri čemer povezava med *cella lustinopolitana* 13. stoletja (gl. Kandler, 1855, 36; 1986, III, 875) in *cenobium lustinopolitanum civitatis* 10. stoletja (gl. Štih, 2005) ni jasna (Štih, 2005, 52; gl. tudi Parentin, 1988, 86).

Samostan sv. Klare, postavljen na ravnici, na kateri je bila nekdaj mestna palača konzulov,<sup>61</sup> je skupaj s sosednjim, pripadajočim manjšim bratom, tvoril celoto (prim.



**Sl. 44: Piran, pinakoteka minoritskega samostana, zaključek loka z akroterijem (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).**  
**Fig. 44: Piran, Pinacotheca of the Minorite monastery, apex of arch topped by an acroterium (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).**

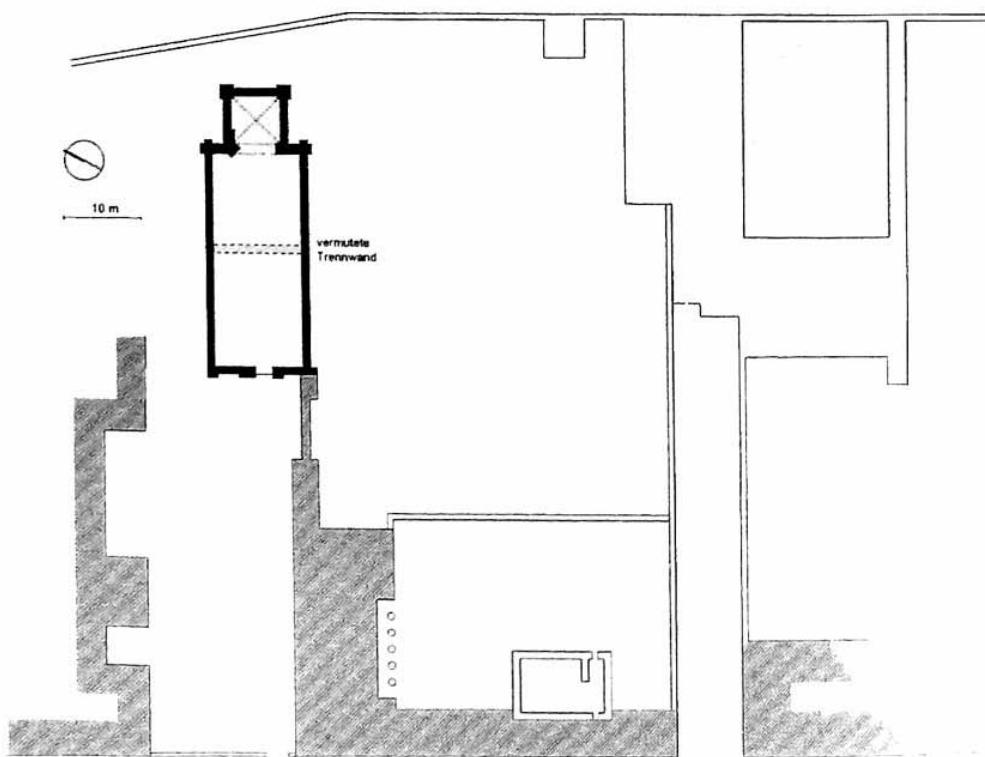
<sup>57</sup> Okrogla baza z nastavkom za osmerokotni steber je ohranjena tudi v koprskem Pokrajinskem muzeju.

<sup>58</sup> Gl. Ličen Krmpotič (1995a) repr. 2 med reprodukcijami pomembnejših najdb.

<sup>59</sup> Z akroteriji se zaključujejo gotske odprtine na številnih beneških civilnih palačah, najdemo pa jih tudi na sakralni arhitekturi, gl. npr. zaključek portala cerkve sv. Antona opata v kraju S. Daniele del Friuli (Arslan, 1976–1977, 28); gl. npr. tudi Caprin, 1905–1907, II, 193; Prelog, 1957, 67–69, 151, 163, 164, 167, 170–172; Arslan, 1970, repr. 72–74, 78, 88, 89, 171, 172, 175, 187, 189–191, 194, 195, 205–208, 210, 213–217, 223, 234–240, 242, 245–247, 250–255, 257–259, 263–267, 285–288. Z akroterijem se zaključujejo npr. tudi posamezna okna na piranski Benečanki in koprski Pretorski palači, obe iz sredine oziroma druge polovice 15. stoletja, gl. ustrezna poglavja v Štefanac et al., 2000.

<sup>60</sup> Caprin (1905–1907, I, 276, op. 1) piše, da sta bila tako koprski samostan klaris kakor tudi samostan sv. Frančiška ustanovljena 1331, prim. Kandler, 1855, 39; Semi, 1930, 36; gl. tudi Semi, 1991, 47.

<sup>61</sup> Manzuoli (1611, 66) dobesedno piše, da je bil po izročilu samostan sv. Klare nekoč palača konzulov, in dodaja, da je na stavbi še mogoče videti grbe treh konzulov.



**Sl. 45: Ravenna, cerkev sv. Klare, tloris (Jäggi, 2006).**  
**Fig. 45: Ravenna, Church of St. Clare, ground plan (Jäggi, 2006).**

Guček, Hoyer, 1986, b. p.).<sup>62</sup> V letih 1511, 1554 in 1573 ga je prizadela kuga, situacijo pa je poslabševala še odsotnost rednega upravitelja (o tem gl. Naldini, 1700, 226; Darovec, 2001, 164–165; gl. tudi Lavrič, 1989, 72; Benedik, 2005, 141). Okoli 1570 je prišlo do odločitve, da se redovnice ponovno podredijo škofu, kar se je zgodilo štiri leta zatem (Naldini, 1700, 227; Darovec, 2001, 164, 165).<sup>63</sup> Leta 1806 so samostan razpustili Francozi, odtej je služil različnim svetnim namenom, od 1990 v njem (Kapodistriasov trg 1) domuje koprski Pokrajinski arhiv (gl. Caprin, 1905–1907, I, 34, op. 2; Bernik, 1968, 81; Parentin, 1982, 72; Guček, Hoyer, 1986, b. p.; Luglio, 2000, 22; Kontestabile Rovis, 2001, 16; Bonin, 2002, 41–43; 2003, 125–126, 128, 145, 147–148; Prohinar, 2003, 7; Curk, Vidmar, Radovanovič, 2008, 110).<sup>64</sup>

O arhitekturi je Naldini zapisal, da je od stare cerkve ohranjen le skelet, in sicer glavne stene, glavna kapela z

oltarjem in primerno velik kor nad glavnimi vrati, ki pa so ga pred slabim stoletjem zaprli in z zunanje strani obnovili. Prav tako je bilo pred nekaj leti prenovljeno glavno stopnišče, v Naldinijevem času so v glavni kapeli odprli spovednico, nasproti nje pa postavili zakristijo (Naldini, 1700, 227–229; Darovec, 2001, 166–167; prim. Luglio 2000, 146).<sup>65</sup> O samostanu je zapisal, da je bil povečan in da »lahko tekmuje v lepoti in udobju z najbolj urejenimi samostani« (Naldini 1700, 229; Darovec, 2001, 167). Samostan s srednjeveškim stavbnim jedrom je bil v 16. stoletju razširjen in predelan zlasti v 17. pa tudi v 18. stoletju, nekaj gradbenih posegov je bilo izvedenih še v 19. stoletju.

Kot so pokazale stavbne raziskave, je bila prva cerkev enoladijska s kvadratnim prezbiterijem.<sup>66</sup> Obodni zidovi iz lepo obdelanih kvadrov v enakomerno debeleih vodoravnih plasteh imajo stopničasto razširjen temelj iz ve-

- 62 Na območju nekdanjih samostanov sv. Klare in sv. Frančiška je treba iskati zgodnjesarneveško jedro Kopra, gl. Gardina, Župančič, 1984, cit. po Župančič 1989, 15.
- 63 Bernik (1968, 81) piše, da so klarise sklenile, da se podrede koprski škofiji, okoli 1564; enako Žitko (1989, 41–42). Bonin (2002, 37; 2003, 124) sklep klaris o ponovni podreditvi koprskemu škofu postavlja v leto 1511. Ob Valierjevi vizitaciji v letu 1580 je imela cerkev šest oltarjev (Lavrič, 1986, 77; Parentin, 1997, 291).
- 64 Marušič (1989, 59) kot leto ukinitve navaja 1805; Alberi (2001, 449) pa piše, da je bil samostan opuščen 1816.
- 65 Baldassare Bonifaco je okoli 1653 zapisal, da je v Kopru šest samostanov beraških redov, ki so vsi maloštevilni razen tistih frančiškanov, ki si okrog ledij zavezujejo debele vrvi in si na noge natikajo cokle ali natikače ter so vsestransko revni, zato pa imajo lepe in prostorne cerkve. Primerno veliki sta se mu zdeli tudi cerkvi sv. Blaža in sv. Klare, gl. Darovec, 1999, 157.
- 66 Cerkev je imela prvotno odprto leseno ostrešje (Guček, Hoyer, 1986, b. p.; Prohinar, 2003, 6).



*Sl. 46: Koper, Srednja ekonomsko-poslovna šola, steber v vhodni avli (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

*Fig. 46: Koper, Secondary School of Business and Economics, column in the entrance hall (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*



*Sl. 47: Koper, Srednja ekonomsko-poslovna šola, spodnji del stebra (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

*Fig. 47: Koper, Secondary School of Business and Economics, lower part of the column (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).*

čjih, grobo obdelanih kamnov (Cunja, 2001, 305; 2006, 37). Srednjeveška cerkev je bila temeljito prezidana v 17. stoletju; mdr. je bila na mestu kvadratnega prezbiterija zgrajena polkrožna apsida, ki je prekrila tudi pokopališče.<sup>67</sup> Porušena je bila zahodna fasadna stena cerkve in nekoliko zahodneje zgrajena nova. Širina prvotne cerkve je ostala nespremenjena, višina pa je bila občutno povečana (Cunja, 2001, 307; 2006, 37).

Od novograjenih samostanskih cerkva klaris se nam jih je iz časa do 1250 ohranilo le malo. V Italiji je razlog za to predvsem dejstvo, da so se prve skupnosti tega reda naselile v že obstoječih samostanskih stavbah, ki so jim

bile dodeljene (gl. Jäggi, 2006, 24–32). Ena redkih novozgrajenih cerkva, Santa Maria delle Donne v kraju Ascoli Piceno, ima pravokotno zasnova z notranjim višinsko predeljenim dvojnim korom; empora je bila domnevno ob notranji zahodni steni (gl. Jäggi, 2006, 39–41),<sup>68</sup> tako kot morda tudi, sodeč po Naldinijevem opisu, pri koprski cerkvi.<sup>69</sup> Od prav tako redkih novogradnj iz druge polovice 13. stoletja v Italiji je na našem kontekstu zgovorna cerkev klaris v Ravenni (sl. 45) z ravnikrito pravokotno dvoransko ladjo in ožjim obokanim kvadratnim prezbiterijem (gl. Jäggi, 2006, 116–118), saj je soroden tloris imela tudi koprsko cerkev.

67 Leta 1989 je bilo v cerkvi raziskano pokopališče, ki je zaradi svoje kompleksnosti, večplastnosti, daljšega časovnega razpona pokopavanja in velikega števila grobov najvažnejše raziskano grobišče v mestu. Poznoantični in zgodnjesrednjeveški fazi pokopavanja je po večstoletnem presledku z izgradnjo samostanske cerkve sledila ureditev pokopališča neposredno ob prezbiteriju. Ta prostor je prekril polkrožni prezbiterij, rezultat barokizacije v 17. stoletju; pokopavanje se je tedaj preneslo v zidane grobnice v cerkvi (Cunja, Župančič, 1992, 38–39; gl. tudi Grosman, 1991, 32–36; Bonin, 2001; 2003, 128 in nasl.; Cunja, 2001, 307).

68 O problematiki t. i. nunskega kora oziroma (zahodne) empore v srednjeveških samostansih klaris in dominikank gl. Jäggi 2006, 193–207, 221–222.

69 Očitno podaljšava ladje na zahodni strani ni vključevala rušitve kora.



Sl. 48: Koper, Srednja ekonomsko-poslovna šola, kapitel stebra (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).

Fig. 48: Koper, Secondary School of Business and Economics, capital of the column (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).



Sl. 49: Koper, Kolarska ulica 18, kapitel (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).

Fig. 49: Koper, Kolarska Street 18, capital (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).



Sl. 50: Koper, stolnica, južna zunanjščina, fragment (foto: M. Oter Gorenčič).

Fig. 50: Koper, Minster, exterior south, fragment (photo: M. Oter Gorenčič).

V vhodni avli koprske srednje ekonomsko-poslovne šole, nekdanjem zahodnem samostanskem traktu, je razstavljen steber, ob katerega je prislonjen pravokoten profil, visok približno 1,20 m, njemu pa je dodan tanek polsteber s kapitelom, ki sega do dveh tretjin višine pravokotnega profila (sl. 46). Ta se skupaj s polstebrom prilega valjastemu jedru stebra tako, da je njegova baza prekinjena (sl. 47). Baza ima atiški profil z nazaj upognjenimi vogalnimi listi. Čašasti stebrni kapitel ima široke vogalne liste s trakastimi robovi in sredinsko žilo. Listi so na vrhu upognjeni in se pod volutama tridelno resasto razprostrejo (sl. 48). Pravokotni profil ima tipično beneški storžasti zaključek z diamantiranim nizom pod njim. Polsteber brez baze pa ima čašast kapitel z gladkima vogalnima listoma, ki sta na vrhu z malima volutama upognjena nazaj. Med vogalnima listoma je izklesana rozeta. Identičen okras, kot ga ima kapitel stebra, ima koprski kapitel (sl. 49) v hiši na Kolarski ulici 18 (prim. Marković, 1995, 146–147, kat. 85 a).<sup>70</sup> Na podlagi primerjav s poznosrednjeveškimi kapiteli, ohranjenimi v Istri, ju je mogoče datirati v čas od sredine 14. do sredine 15. stoletja (Marković, 1995, 147). V konzervatorskih poročilih lahko preberemo, da steber izvira iz prvotnega križnega hodnika samostana klaris (gl. Guček, Hoyer, 1986, b. p.; Prohinar, 2003, 6), po mnenju Predraga Markovića pa je, kakor tudi kapitel na Kolarski ulici, ostanek oltarne pregrade ali neke kapelne ograje, katere del so morda tudi fragmenti, vzdani na severni in južni zunanjščini koprske stolnice (Marković, 1995, 146, op. 247). Sodeč po dodatku stebra, ki učinkuje kot okamenel del »pohištva« oziroma kot del interiera, je Markovićeva hipoteza, da gre za ostanek ograje, verjetneješa, vendar

po mojem mnenju fragmenti, vzdani na stolnici visoko pod venčnim zidcem (sl. 50), niso del te ograje. Čeprav jih mersko ni bilo mogoče preveriti, vendarle lahko ocenimo, da se ob njihovi postavitvi na polsteber diamantiran niz, ki poteka nad arkadicami, ne bi ujel z diamantiranim nizom pravokotnega profila ob stebru.

Kot je pokazala opravljena raziskava, je ohranjene srednjeveške stavbne dediščine benediktincev, dominikancev, manjših bratov sv. Frančiška in klaris malo. Od številnih postojank v slovenski Istri, kjer so delovali benediktinci, je ohranjen le ankaranski sarkofag, ostanek samostana klaris je le en steber, poznan pa je še tloris cerkve. Od dominikanskega samostana okvirno poznamo le tloris obeh srednjeveških cerkva. Od samostanov obravnavanih redov se je iz srednjega veka še največ ohranilo v Kopru in Piranu, kjer so delovali manjši bratje sv. Frančiška. Še najbolje je ohranjena njihova koprska cerkev, čeprav je bila tudi ta v poznejših stoletjih večkrat prezidana. Ohranjene zidove piranskega samostana zakriva novoveška preobleka, ki pa mestoma vseeno omogoča vpogled v posamezne ohranjene srednjeveške stavbnopastične detajle. V piranskem samostanu zbrani kosi srednjeveških kapitelov, baz in drugih fragmentov so dragocena zapuščina, ki nam vsaj delno omogoča predstavo o izgledu nekdanjega križnega hodnika in drugih prostorov samostanskega kompleksa. Čeprav je večina ohranjene stavbne plastike iztrgana iz prvotnega konteksta, lahko ugotovimo, da se formalno tesno povezuje z beneško, tlorisne zasnove obravnavanih cerkva pa so povsem v skladu s sočasno redovno arhitekturo.

70 Po besedah lastnika hiše na Kolarski ulici 18 kapitel izhaja iz neke privatne hiše v Kopru.

## MEDIAEVAL ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE OF BENEDICTINES, DOMINICANS, FRANCISCAN FRIARS MINOR AND POOR CLARES IN SLOVENE ISTRIA

*Mija OTER GORENČIČ*

France Stele Institute of Art History, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Novi trg 2, 1000 Ljubljana  
e-mail: moter@zrc-sazu.si

### SUMMARY

*There are no uniform data about the settlements of Benedictine monks in Slovene Istria in the Middle Ages. Supposedly, they were active in Koper, Valdoltra, Izola, Piran, Portorož, Strunjan, Šmarje above Koper, on the Sermin Hill and in Krog above Sečovlje, but no remains of architecture or architectural sculpture dating from periods prior to the year 1500 can be found in these locations, with the exception of a stone sarcophagus standing in front of the southern façade of the former Benedictine outpost in Ankaran. Sarcophagi of a similar type were produced from the second quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century through the entire 15<sup>th</sup> century, and were especially popular with prominent and wealthy clients. Its closest comparison would be the group of typologically uniform sarcophagi near the exterior of the Church of St. John and St. Paul in Venice.*

*The reformed orders, established in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, did not inhabit Slovene Istria, and no knight order outposts have been attested in this area either; the so called mendicant orders, on the other hand, founded several monasteries here. The Dominicans, who settled in Koper in 1217 or 1220, were among the first. It can be assumed that the monastic church, consecrated in 1401 and later slightly reshaped, took on the ground plan of the original church, which had been built upon the arrival of the Dominicans. The design of the Church of St. Francis in Koper was modelled after it.*

*After the Dominicans, Franciscan Friars Minor came to Primorska, allegedly first in Koper (before 1260) and then in Piran. The construction of the Koper church can be dated between 1265 and 1268. The single-nave design with a tripartite vaulted eastern end-piece imposed itself both in churches of the Franciscan Friars Minor and in those of the Dominican and Augustine orders, which is corroborated by the Minorite and Dominican churches in Piran and Koper, respectively. Among the preserved religious constructions, the church with the ground plan closest to that of the Koper church is the Franciscan church in Pula, Croatia. The architectural sculpture of the Koper church is modest and plain, in harmony with the order's ideals. The nearest parallel to it can again be found in the Franciscan church in Pula.*

*Franciscan Friars Minor settled in Piran around the year 1300 at the latest. The gothic architectural core of the church and the monastery with several mediaeval masonry details is still preserved despite later changes and additions. The church nave was gradually extended on its northern side with three chapels. On the eastern side of the cloister is the partly preserved original entrance with one (of the original two) mullioned window into the Oratory of St. John the Evangelist or the chapter house. Its base and capital match those of Venetian mullioned windows from the late Romanic–early Gothic period. The pinacotheca and the church preserve some similar mediaeval fragments, most of which probably used to be part of the Gothic cloister. These, too, are typologically related to the contemporary Venetian architectural sculpture.*

*The Koper convent of the Poor Clares was first mentioned towards the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The first priory church was a single-nave construction with a flat-termination presbytery. One of the rare Italian newly built churches of the Poor Clares from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century to share the same ground plan was the Church of Saint Clare in Ravenna. The church preserves a column with a capital from the former monastery, which can be dated in the period between 1350 and 1450, is also preserved.*

**Key words:** Middle Ages, Primorska, Littoral, Slovene Istria, architecture, architectural sculpture, monasteries and convents, Benedictines, Dominicans, Franciscan Friars Minor, Minorites, Poor Clares, Church of St. Dominic, Church of St. Francis, Church of St. Clare, Ankaran, Koper, Piran

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## SUSTAINABLE NATURAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE TOURISM IN PROTECTED AREAS: CASE STUDY

*Armand FAGANEL*

University of Primorska, Faculty of Management, Cankarjeva 5, 6000 Koper, Slovenia  
e-mail: armand.faganel@fm-kp.si

*Anita TRNAVČEVIČ*

University of Primorska, Faculty of Management, Cankarjeva 5, 6000 Koper, Slovenia  
e-mail: anita.trnavcevic@fm-kp.si

### ABSTRACT

*From once common delta marshes, which were shaped into the saltpans, found near all the coastal towns of Slovenian Coast, there are only few coastal wetlands left. The concessionaire of Sečovlje Salina Nature Park is entitled to use the natural pans for traditional salt-making; in addition, under the laws and regulations the concessionaire is allowed to perform certain activities in the Park: management of the Park, development of sustainable tourism and the farming of aquatic organisms. This paper provides an overview of trends that affect the planning of tourism in protected areas, the growth and diversification of this niche market, and the potential benefits and risks of merging tourism with natural and cultural heritage. Through the contentanalysis of documents, the case study of planning for sustainable development in the protected area is examined: the sensitivity of development of infrastructure and services, tourism marketing and management challenges in a secure area, and tools for tourism management.*

**Key words:** Nature park positioning, saltpans, museum, sustainable tourism, cultural heritage, natural heritage, sustainable marketing, heritage marketing

## TURISMO SOSTENIBILE BASATO SUL PATRIMONIO NATURALE E CULTURALE NELLE AREE PROTETTE: STUDIO DI CASO

### SINTESI

*Delle zone paludose accanto alle foci dei corsi d'acqua, poi trasformate in saline, che un tempo esistevano in un numero maggiore accanto alle località costiere slovene, oggi ne rimangono solo alcune. Il curatore del Parco naturale delle saline di Sicciole ha il diritto di utilizzare le saline naturali per il tradizionale processo di estrazione del sale. Inoltre, ai sensi delle leggi e dei regolamenti applicabili, il curatore è autorizzato a svolgere nel Parco alcune attività: la gestione del Parco, lo sviluppo del turismo sostenibile e l'allevamento di organismi acquatici. Il presente testo fornisce un quadro delle tendenze che influiscono sulla pianificazione del turismo nelle aree protette, sulla crescita e la diversificazione di questo mercato di nicchia, e i potenziali benefici e rischi che accompagnano la fusione del turismo con il patrimonio naturale e culturale. Attraverso l'analisi dei documenti, viene esaminato lo studio di caso di pianificazione per lo sviluppo sostenibile dell'area protetta: la sensibilità dello sviluppo delle infrastrutture e dei servizi, le potenziali difficoltà del marketing e della gestione del turismo in una zona protetta, e gli strumenti necessari per la gestione del turismo.*

**Parole chiave:** posizionamento del parco naturale, saline, museo, turismo sostenibile, patrimonio culturale, patrimonio naturale, marketing sostenibile, marketing del patrimonio naturale e culturale

## INTRODUCTION

Sečovlje saltpans have been built and maintained by human efforts since before the rise of Venetian republic. The 650 ha saltpans of Sečovlje are located on the border with the Republic of Croatia, in the southern part of the municipality of Piran. The northern part of the Park, where there is on-going active salt production is called Lera. Strunjan and Sečovlje saltpans are the most northern pans in the Mediterranean and among the few pans where salt is still being produced using the traditional processes (Soline Pridelava soli, 2004a). In 1989, the municipality of Piran adopted a decree inaugurating the Sečovlje Salina Nature Park (SSNP); in 1999, the Park was transferred into state protection. Upon entering the EU, saltpans were included in the list of priority habitats (*Natura 2000*) and in 1993 the Park has been placed on the list of wetlands of international importance under the Ramsar Convention (Beltram, 2005).

Since a natural link between tourism and heritage management can easily be established, over the last few years cultural heritage has been studied from a tourism perspective, implying that heritage has to be presented and promoted to tourists in order to be kept 'alive'. Studies have been conducted to identify problems and develop recommendations related to the semantic annotation of cultural heritage collections (see Schreiber et al., 2008), the use of multimedia and other 'technologies'. Some studies emphasize the role of pollution in maintaining cultural heritage (see Varotsos et al., 2009); however, little research is being done on natural heritage as cultural heritage. Saltpans constitute natural heritage as well as part of the cultural heritage of Slovenia. We can see them as a natural habitat for rare species as well as 'a means' to a balanced eco-system in the gulf of Sečovlje. Also, the way salt is 'produced', the rituals and traditions, items and language associated with saltpans can be seen in the light of cultural heritage.

The cultural heritage of SSNP represents hundreds of years (from 14<sup>th</sup> century) of life and work on the Adriatic coast, with ruins of old saltpans houses, abandoned and still functioning salt-fields, levees and channels with stone walls, bridges, wind pumps and other artefacts. This site reflects and provides testimonies for significant ethnological, technical, historical, settlement and landscape heritage. In the Sečovlje saltpans, the salt is still being produced "with the traditional procedures of the daily gathering of brine on the biosediment – the *petola*" (Soline Pridelava soli, 2004b).

Historically, the saltpans of Piran were very important. As Darovec (2001) reports, the distribution of salt resources has been of major importance for the economic as well as the political position of north-western part of Istria. Venetians were attracted by the quality of the Piran salt (from saltpans of Sečovlje), while the salt from Koper was mostly destined for export to the inner Slovenian

regions under the Habsburg monarchy. The trade in salt became one of the principal commercial areas, in which Venetian and Austrian spheres of influence coincided. Today, saltpans are silent witnesses of former flourishing economic activity and centuries of efforts by the Roman and Slovenian populations of Istria (Hieng, 2008).

The nearby city of Portorož became famous as a resort destination, the first forerunner of tourism in 13<sup>th</sup> century. At that time, Benedictine monks from St. Lawrence treated some diseases as rheumatism with seawater and salt mud from the nearby saltpans. Otherwise, Portorož became known as a resort town gradually and only in the 19th century. At that time they re-discovered the healing properties of mud and salt baths. The year 1885 is considered to be the official beginning of tourism in Portorož. Until then its primary importance was as an industrial city and not as a tourist centre. It is known that in the best years saltpans required up to 2000 season workers. (Brglez et al., 2005)

Romeril (1989) pointed to various possible effects that tourism industry can have on the environment. The scarcity of the natural resources that we use for tourism purposes reminds us that we have to exploit them in a sustainable manner, although the availability of visitors' free time is increasing, as well as appetites for development. Silberberg (1995) has highlighted a number of important building blocks constituting the attractiveness of the natural heritage: perceived product quality, awareness of visitors; views of visitors concerning services; sustainability; the degree of perceived uniqueness of the tourism product; ease of access; the involvement of the community and its positive attitude towards tourism; the dedication and ability of managers. McKercher, Ho and duCros (2005) investigated the links between tourism and cultural heritage management and highlighted the continuum rather than the widespread conflict paradigm, with the reflection of different maturity levels in the relationship between tourism and destination management. Lim and McAleer (2005) offered the detailed analysis of management practices and challenges for ecologically sustainable tourism. Leask and Yeoman (1999) have classified cultural heritage attractions in three categories: built, natural and living heritage; the Sečovlje saltpans paradigmatically represent all three categories. Bacon (1987) has assessed the potential use of wetlands for the purposes of diversification of the tourism industry. He presents an evaluation methodology for tourism use of wetlands: while the natural heritage also requires protection, through the methodology the various national environmental and socio-economic criteria for assessing the potential use of wetlands for tourism purposes are monitored. The wetland ecosystem conceals an unimaginable wealth of biodiversity that is very important for sustainable development. The United Nations World Tourism Organization in February 2010 signed a memorandum with the Ramsar Convention, which

should indicate a closer cooperation between the two organizations to work towards strengthening the role of wetlands and biodiversity of their ecosystems to develop sustainable tourism (UNWTO, 2011). Coastland wetlands are very rich in natural habitat types and perform an exclusive role in the environment (Breg Valjavec, Polajnar Horvat, 2011).

Eagles, McCool and Haynes (2002) thought that the planning and management of sustainable tourism in protected areas should be guided so as to develop sustainable tourism from the perspective of local conditions and local communities. Another important aspect of resources and visitor management is keeping in mind that they also need to maintain the natural heritage area for the enjoyment of future visitors. The sustainable management of protected areas can contribute to the protection of natural heritage and avoid the danger of the destruction of natural beauty. Mihalič (2001) emphasizes the need for a relationship between tourism and the natural environment, coordinating the impact of tourism on the natural environment, as well as the importance of quality physical environment for tourism. The latter often tends to be ignored, even though they are equally important.

Xu, Wan and Yang (2007) noted that different types of wetlands should use different eco-tourism development models, which should be derived from an analysis of the historical and cultural backgrounds, the integrity of the ecosystem, the competitive market capacity and the regional economy. Zhang, Liu and Tong (2007) argue that we should stay alert to the various wetlands components: the different stakeholders in eco-tourism in the wetlands, the extent of the exploitation of eco-tourism in the wetlands and the monitoring of eco-tourism in the wetlands. Wang and Lu (2009) have raised important questions for future research to advance the study of eco-tourism development in wetlands and to provide a reference for the exploitation of resources, environmental protection and scientific administration of wetlands and related areas. Pan, Cui and Wu (2010) have evaluated the behaviour of visitors to the wetland park and noticed that it differs from tourist behaviour at the usual or eco-tourism destinations, especially with respect to perceptions of intensive wetland ecosystem functions and behaviours in relation to environmental effects.

In this paper, sustainable development is discussed in conjunction with the comprehensive protection of natural heritage and tourism development in the natural area, which itself requires extraordinary caution in the planning and realization of any changes and activities. The Slovenian Tourism Strategy 2002–2006 (Ministry of the Economy, 2002) proposed a tripartite internal division of the development of coastal eco-tourism within the saltpans (intensive tourist use of the band at Seča, protected activity in middle part of the salt production facility and a third completely protected part consisting of

the ex Dragonja river bed – Drnica channel). Within the analysis of the Development Plan and Policies of Slovene Tourism 2007 – 2011 (Ministry of the Economy, 2006) it has been acknowledged that “protected areas provide a source for the development of tourism products, while at the same time tourism represents a tool for nature conservation”.

The latest 2012–2016 tourism strategy (Ministry of Economic Development and Technology, 2012) represents a commitment to the vision that by 2016, tourism in Slovenia will be entirely based on sustainable development.

Primožič (2005) when examining the integration of heritage and tourism in Slovenia stresses the importance of promoting tourism in protected areas. On the basis of Leask and Yeoman (1995), the SSNP division can be classified as both natural and cultural heritage, reflecting the elements of the built and living heritage; a classification which combines the elements of the protection of biodiversity in the wetland with the natural environment that human work remodelled over the centuries and where the desalination on a traditional model is currently under way. Several Slovenian authors have researched important issues of sustainable tourism in protected areas, e.g. Jurinčič (2005) wrote about assessment of carrying capacity; Jurinčič, Bojnec & Bošković (2007) wrote on the management of natural parks for successful tourism development; Lebe (2008) about cultural heritage; Lebe & Milfelner (2006) on sustainable tourism; Lešnik Štuhec & Mumel (2010) on the sustainable marketing of protected areas; and Sovinc & Morgan (2003) about protected areas and their meaning for tourism.

The SSNP management has set out the following objectives: nature conservation, preservation of exceptional natural and cultural values, protection of indigenous, rare and endangered plant and animal species, natural ecosystems and the characteristics of inanimate nature and the preservation and care of the countryside. The Concessionaire shall exercise its right to use natural values of Sečovlje saltpans for traditional salt-making so as not to endanger biodiversity, to protect natural and cultural heritage and to preserve the ecosystem of the salt workings.

The SSNP is divided into three protected areas, namely Lera, Fontanigge and the Drnica channel. In Fontanigge, the area of strictest protection, economic activity is not allowed: this zone may be used to collect brine from which salt is then obtained at Lera, and for the production of salt in the museum complex. The Slovenian government decree declared Fontanigge to be a cultural monument of national importance; while the zone at Lera is an area of active salt production. The saltpans are managed by the concessionaire Soline Pridelava soli, d. o. o. (Salt Production Co., Ltd.), a company which has been bought in 2002 by the company Mobitel, d. d. from the company Droga Portorož, d. d., for the pur-

pose of marketing promotion through the preservation of cultural and natural heritage. The granted concession shows the complex nature of the protected area, since it includes a triple rate concession for mining rights to exploit mineral resources, the protection of natural values and water management. The primary purpose of the concession contract is the conservation of biodiversity and sustainable use of the park; while the concessionaire is obliged to comply with all international treaties and legislation of the Republic of Slovenia. The concessionaire may carry out other activities such as tourism, mariculture and moorings for rent, but these must not threaten biological diversity and must offer protection of the natural and cultural heritage (SSNP, 2011).

Within SSNP the Museum of Salt also operates, which is managed by the Sergej Mašera Maritime Museum of Piran. The museum complex consists of three restored salt workers' houses and comprises its own saltpan field and Giassi channel; inside the museum it is possible to view a collection of tools and the ancient method of salt production stemming from the 14 century, the salt-worker's family flat on the first floor, ground floor warehouse and restored bread oven (Sergej Mašera Maritime Museum Piran, 2011). Since 2012, a joint ticket has been available allowing the museum and saltpan attractions to be visited together.

## METHODOLOGY

A review of literature on the topic of sustainable integration of cultural and natural heritage in tourism development plans is needed for the consideration of the initial thinking about the role and use of heritage protection. The following methods have been used: documentary analysis of scientific papers and documents, descriptive analysis case study (Yin, 1994) and comparison method. Based on the findings, possible actions for the planning of sustainable tourism development strategies in the Sečovlje saltpans have been suggested. Because of the specific features the place of study presents, it cannot serve as a general model for the sustainable development of tourism in protected areas. It nevertheless offers an interesting insight into the processes of operational planning and the execution of strategies for the interested publics.

## TOURISM PLANNING INSIDE PROTECTED AREAS

Each protected area needs a plan, in which the management of tourism and related developments is described. The plan outlines the desired future state and the most effective and acceptable way to reach this goal. The plan includes detailed specific objectives that are determined on the basis of the founding acts of the area, describes the objectives of tourism development and identifies the management actions, budget, financing

and zoning, all of which are necessary to achieve the objectives (Eagles, McCool, Haynes, 2002). The park management is aware that in order to realize the long-term management goals of the SSNP it is of great importance to enable and maintain the system of zoning with clearly defined protection regimes and an effective system of management of protected areas, corresponding to international standards.

The annual plans of the SSNP follow the 10-year management plan; the most significant management units are (Sovinc, 2005): water regime, habitats and species, infrastructure, cultural heritage, visiting and interpretation, inspection service, research and monitoring, promotion and public information, salt production, tourism, water management, agriculture, mariculture, other activities, administrative work and staff, staff training, documentation service, fundraising, projects, international cooperation and commitment. Unlike other protected areas of national importance, the management of the SSNP has been awarded by means of a concession to a company; a public institution has not been established. The business model as the operator of the protected area could represent a great advantage in order to provide financial and human resource management for park. Alternatively, it represents a risk if there is a change in the enterprise management relationship in terms of the maintenance of the natural and cultural heritage.

The action plan for sustainable tourism development of South Primorska 2006 - 2012 (RDC Koper, 2006) provides a fundamental developmental orientation as »the redirection from intensive tourism development to sustainable development by raising the quality of existing products, with the gradual implementation of sustainable principles.«

Du Cross (2001) noted that mass tourism on the heritage site without attention to conservation management could lead to the physical and intangible damage of its cultural heritage values. Urry (1990) and Daniel (1996) warned that the provision of entertainment should not detract from the historical cultural significance of the place. The authors however warn against a diametric view, in which any commoditization of a heritage site is understood as a destructive attempt (i.e. Hovinen, 1995; Fyall, Garrod, 1996). At natural sites with limited resources, as it is the case with the SSNP, tourism strategies should be planned in which visitors are concentrated. Dispersal strategies should be avoided if there are not enough resources available for implementing educational campaigns and regulatory controls (Pedersen, 2002).

McIntosh & Prentice (1999, 608) analysed cultural heritage tourism experiences and found out that there are several dimensions that should be considered. These include "affective as well as cognitive benefits as responses to cultural heritage tourism settings and a stronger emphasis on the personal dimensions of visiting". It is important to obtain an insight into the knowledge, thoughts,

emotions and expectations of different groups of park visitors, as every visitor has to encode the experience of visit within his / her personal terms of reference.

### SENSITIVE DEVELOPMENT OF INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES

Movement within the SSNP is limited due to protection constraints; this to some extent reduces the accessibility of the park and museum. The museum is involved 3 km of walking distance; with high summer temperatures or bad weather, this reduces the visit. Alternatively, it is possible to access the museum by waterway; but it also depends on the weather – at low tides or windy weather, access is disabled. Transport costs are relatively high; the entrance fee to the museum has risen more than twice (Faganel, Bratina, 2008). The company Soline Pridelava soli, d. o. o. ensures the effective allocation of resources: more than 40 employees, most of them salt workers, water keepers and maintenance personnel, help to ensure the effective implementation of key activities to maintain the water system, which is essential in maintaining a saline ecosystem in the traditional way (Sovinc, 2005). Major groups of stakeholders identified within the park consist as follows: employees in the park and museum; museum and park management; ornithologists; biologists; ethnologists; photography enthusiasts; artists; environmentalists; sportspeople, a heterogeneous group of visitors including tourists, academic groups, and student research teams. The interests of individual groups are not always compatible, but the need for coexistence is recognized.

The Museum of Salt-making has no electricity – something that also limits the level and schedule of visits – but changes have to be planned very carefully because they could leave a strong impact on cultural heritage. Some years ago, the area was subject to crude intervention through the building of the main access road and administrative buildings, which greatly increased the level of visits as well as the looting of heritage until the protected area could be established. The Park has to co-exist with and help to coordinate the business expansion plans of the neighbouring Portorož international airport in their aim to extend the airport runway.

In 2010, SSNP gained the designation »MANSALT - Man and nature in Sečovlje pans« in the context of European Call LIFE + Nature and Biodiversity, resulting in EUR 7 million in funding. The funds will be primarily aimed at the reconstruction of inoperative dams, which are the main cause of the periodic flooding, and for the control of water regimes to maintain biodiversity. The remaining project objectives are the restoration of some degraded areas, increasing the awareness of the importance of traditional salt-making for the conservation of nature and facilitating the sustainable development of local communities and presenting a model of good practice in the

use of traditional methods of salt production in the reconstruction of ecosystems. Over the next five years, by means of the LIFE + in the Sečovlje salt pans, 6255 m of channel embankments and 1580 m of dam fronts will be restored, as well as the restoration of 8 ha of freshwater wetlands that provide a habitat for endangered European pond turtles (*Emys orbicularis*). The project will aim to raise the public awareness of the problem by organizing informational and educational workshops, the filming of two short movies and an online 'reality show' that will be established to monitor the current state of the terns (*Sterna albifrons*) nesting colonies (Ministry of the Environment and Spatial Planning, 2010).

In 2010, the municipality of Piran accepted the proposal for a detailed spatial plan for the 13.4 ha brownfield site of the abandoned coal mine in Sečovlje adjacent to that of SSNP. Mobitel, d. d. is the landowner and the sponsor of spatial plan. The development plan has been designed in order to integrate the tourism and cultural heritage. In the area of the coal mine they propose to place the reception centre and parking for Sečovlje salt pans, and to build a small hotel. They plan to build the hotel spa, which would use mud and salt brine. In addition to the planned museum park resort, the former railway station building would be preserved and used to locate the Parenzana museum. In the mining tower they would establish the old mine museum; on the first floor the salt-pans museum and art gallery would be located, and on the top the viewing platform. (Delo, 15. 6. 2010, 12)

The tourism development strategy for the municipality of Piran (2009–2015) identified eco-tourism and the integration of eco-tourism and cultural products in the coast hinterland as one of primary competitive advantages of the Piran/Portorož destination (Municipality of Piran, 2009). Infrastructure development within a sustainable tourism industry is in principle the primary responsibility of the public sector; for example, the design and construction of roads, airports and sewage systems. The role of the public sector is of particular importance in determining the protected areas, parks and reserves. Since the SSNP is under corporate management, insistence on maintaining a sustainable mode of investment in space is even more crucial, since this park is especially significant for the development of the public profile and credibility of the parent company. Therefore, the concessionaire should proceed in an extremely cautious manner when trying to increase awareness of the important issues and promote the sustainable behaviour of visitors, as they understand very well the connection between the concessionaire and Mobitel, d. d.. It is good if the access rules (pollution, fire, noise) are made available and visitors are familiarised with their contents because inappropriate behaviour can also be caused by ignorance or the lack of awareness of some visitors.

Within the REVITAS project - Revitalization of and tourism in the Istrian hinterland (bilateral European project

between Slovenia and neighbouring Croatia), workshops and seminars, lectures, and study tours were conducted in May 2011 in selected locations of the cultural heritage of Istria; among others, they have visited the SSNP and the salt festival. Such events inform and educate the local population as well as the wider region and are important as a means of raising awareness about the importance of sustainable tourism development and heritage conservation.

The cultural heritage of the SSNP attracts many artists. Sovinc (2011b): "Each year, their work is exhibited in Lera as part of the Lera Genius Loci event. Hundreds of visitors enjoy the combination of historical heritage and contemporary artworks in this exhibition. The artists involved include painters, photographers, dancers, singers and poets".

The following goals have been determined for the further management of the SSNP (Sovinc, 2011a): preservation of natural values, species, habitat types and landscape; facilitation of the experience of and learning about the park; contribution to achieving the objectives of public interest in other fields.

When discussing different investment and exploitation opportunities inside a wetland area it is of the utmost importance to explore the impact upon different wetland structures and functions and to consider the dynamics of development plans in the constructed ecosystem. This is necessary to provide a better understanding of the processes involved. In order to control these impacts at the SSNP, it would be wise to plan the management of identified challenges of sustainable tourism development, taking care of environment and conservation.

### MANAGING THE CHALLENGES OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN PROTECTED AREAS

To provide a proper marketing development strategy, a short SWOT analysis has been carried out for the protected area of SSNP. The following *strengths* can be assessed: place uniqueness; great location; rich cultural, natural and historical heritage; possibility of continued development; tradition; nearby tourist centres; fango medical treatment; recognised brands (Solnce, Lepa Vida); clean environment; and protected status. *Weakenesses*: insufficient tourist offer; no webshop for products; high maintenance costs; decay of park's infrastructure; inefficient use of some spaces; noise from airport; lack of experienced salt workers; seasonality; insufficient collaboration with tourism subjects; and lack of funding. *Opportunities*: special tourist products; no local competition; increase of visitor numbers; changes of visitor structures; increase of jobs; growth of environmental awareness and healthy lifestyle; demanding tourists willing to pay for the unique experiences; programmes for every season. *Threats*: lack of dedicated salt workers and committed staff; political, economic and professional li-

mitiations for the restoration of saltpans; loss of interest of the concessionaire; lack of overnight stay possibilities inside the park; inefficient marketing communication; lack of innovative approaches.

Answering our research question, we can assert on the basis of positive features in the presented case study that it is very likely that heritage protection and heritage tourism can coexist together inside protected area. The aim of the establishment of the park is biodiversity conservation, protection of cultural and natural heritage and support for sustainable development. Furthermore, it is also evident that carefully planned sustainable marketing can contribute an important source of added value for different stakeholders, involved in protecting, visiting or managing the protected area. When talking about the positioning of heritage inside the protected site in terms of sustainable marketing, certain "prescriptions" have to be taken into consideration.

A positioning strategy refers to the image of the service, which we want to evoke in the minds of the selected target market segment. Sustainability-conscious lovers of natural and cultural heritage, who enjoy spending their free time inside a protected area, are a very specific target group. Additionally, there are plenty of subgroups: for each of them the optimal strategy must be prepared. The tool for planning and carrying out these strategies is called the marketing mix; four interdependent P's for products and 7 P's for services. Following are the seven P's for cultural and natural heritage park services that reflect the potential of the park in terms of a sustainable paradigm.

The *Product* (service) is the high quality site, representing the built, natural and living heritage that has to remain intact for future generations, drawing from historical and cultural roots. This must be the guideline for all the services that are provided inside the park. *Place* is the park itself, the number of tourists has to be carefully planned and the zoning has to be strictly maintained also in order to separate different target groups of visitors (e.g. birdwatchers, biologists). The *Price* level of entrance tickets has to remain accessible. Other sources are more important, such as the salt that is produced and sold together with other connected products. *Promotion* is very important; a better web site with more interactive approach would be advisable. Not to forget the educational role that has to be maintained throughout informative and educative promotion if sustainable tourism is to be developed. *Physical evidences* are the park itself, facilities, brochures, staff uniforms, etc. and they are the key element in connecting and emphasizing the intangible aspects of the service that are forming the image of the service in the minds of the stakeholders. As *People* are meant firstly two main groups of stakeholders: service providers and visitors. The level of staff training, knowledge of foreign languages, kindness, empathy, etc. are attributes that are all of determinate value. Visitors of

the park have to be informed, instructed and educated to behave as the rules of the park stipulate. For all other groups of stakeholders, specific strategies have to be additionally prepared. *Processing* is about the implementation of service; here the actual contact is realized between providers and visitors. All the contact points have to be identified, carefully designed in an involving way to amplify the experience.

Besides the seven P's that are well-known from marketing theory and practice, at least one C is also very important – *Customers* and their changing needs, placed into a specific micro and macro environment. The existing positioning of the product has to be constantly challenged through the monitoring of technologies, legal, economic and other environments, used to display possible scenarios for the future.

We are also here presenting an improved interpretation of the Belz and Peattie's (2009) model, elaborating the work of Stoiber (2010) and Bouhana (2010), in which the 8 C's of sustainability branding was developed. It might be very important for the sustainable positioning of natural and cultural heritage: Core, Co-operative, Credible, Consumer benefits, Conversational, Consistency, Commitment, and Continuity. *Core* represents the beginning of credible sustainability marketing as the socio-ecological impacts of products connecting sustainability: in terms of the key problems and the core business, it is essential to ensure that they are congruent with target consumers. Promoting the experiencing of intact natural and cultural heritage to target visitors has to be the prime goal for any effective brand sustainability strategy. *Co-operation* with numerous stakeholders in the process of innovating and marketing sustainable products and services is required to solve socio-ecological problems associated with the product; that is, the natural and cultural heritage. *To be credible in the eyes of visitors, partners have to be trustworthy: independent designations awarded can help to further build credibility.* *Consumer benefits are usually broader, beyond the socio-ecological attributes, including health, safety, symbolism, status, etc., also taking into account diversity of visitor groups.* The effectiveness of sustainability branding increases when it is a two-way *conversation*, so visitors and other stakeholders should be invited to participate in a conversation about the sustainability process in order to intensify the brand-consumer relationship. If sustainability is the key to brand positioning, it is important to communicate it to consumers in a *consistent* way, integrating all the elements of the marketing communication mix. In doing so it should not be forgotten that sites and company's environmental and social performance should be congruent with the image displayed or the desired competitive positioning. The *Commitment* of top management and employees is crucial for effective sustainable marketing. *Continuity:* sustainability has to be planned and performed in the long term to deliver the brand promise.

Of course other C's could be added to this model, as Belz and Peattie (2010) further suggested, such as Clarity: sustainability includes many complex issues and employees should discuss these through seminars, speeches, newsletters, open discussions, internal prize competitions, etc., but it could be argued that clarity is already included inside the Conversational C.

The tourism industry utilizes environmental resources as the manufacturing material that acts as the most important ingredient for the locality attraction. The characteristics of the historical development of the tourism sector should be studied in terms of its economic role and the pressure it exerted on the environment. Modifications of tourists' activities, spontaneous market trends and their evaluation in the light of unbearable social and environmental indicators ought to be analysed. It would be wise to take an initial decision based on a simultaneous consideration of the location's environment and development potential. The broad environmental consideration could be viewed in terms of an opportunity rather than as a constraint; usually we agree that the segmentation of problems is the key to their solution, but the construction of a focused view and shared vision is facilitated by the existence of conflicting functions between them.

The managers of the SSNP have to pursue the continuation of dialogue with all the evidenced stakeholders in order to maintain the highest possible level of site protection awareness. Every opportunity should be taken to advocate the support for effective legislation and provision of financing resources. Education about environment protection and conservation has to be planned and offered in a non-intrusive manner at every established contact with stakeholders. A proactive sustainable management plan has to be prepared for the placement of tourism activities inside the protected area, implementing a diverse range of initiatives. Some minor but nevertheless important points in order to manage tourists flow could also be considered: e.g. to recommend a visit outside the peak; or a visit to other locations; an increase of the ticket price; a ban on visits at sensitive times; a ban on visits to sensitive areas; protection of sensitive areas from impact; acquaintance of visitors with the fundamentals of ethical behaviour.

The Sečovlje saltpans have already been temporary listed as a potential UNESCO world heritage location and according to Sovinc (STA, 2011), being part of the World Heritage List, as surveys show, could increase the number of visitors by some 30%. We strongly believe that the answer to our research question is yes: it is possible to integrate the protection of natural and cultural heritage inside the protected areas with heritage tourism, especially and exclusively through careful sustainable marketing positioning for selected target visitors. Through our case study, analysis and discussion based on theoretical and empirical findings it has been shown



**Fig. 1: Sečovlje saltpans (photo: A. Faganel).**  
**Sl. 1: Sečoveljske soline (foto: A. Faganel).**

that the coexistence of sustainable tourism and heritage protection is possible; but only if we educate interested and knowledgeable stakeholders, in which the proposed positioning of the heritage site has been accepted and internalised.

### CONCLUSION

We agree with Schroeder-Esch (2006), who refuses the constructivist view of inheritance, i.e. "Heritage as a place where such heritage is traced in the importance of material artefacts". It should rather be seen as a way of heritage interpretation and a representation of the world we live in and that this is a sphere in which we can actively participate. Accordingly, such a view of a combination of certain heritage elements of the past, which can be termed as important for the present, should be preserved and kept alive for the future. Protection and preservation of cultural heritage has become an impor-

tant resource for sustainable tourist use of cultural and natural sites; while it is necessary to consider the protection and conservation of these areas and their economic development. Traces of salt-making culture are reflected in the unique cultural, natural, technical, ethnological and historical heritage. Škornik (2008) points out that the economic importance of salt is combined with its environmental and cultural value; produced salt is sought after as a quality food and a tourist souvenir; the preservation of traditional festivities such as the Saltpan workers' festival (slo. *Solinarski praznik*) evokes an awareness of cultural heritage; the protected area provides a habitat for endangered plants and animals, but it also offers an ecologically pristine living environment for visitors. The SSNP is an example of good cooperation between an IT company and various stakeholders in joining to preserve the unique and endangered wetlands. The proximity to the tourist centre offers good opportunities for further development of cultural and ecological tourism, which

could include the provision of additional funding opportunities to preserve the valuable heritage. It has been presented how managers of protected areas have to understand the needs of their existing and potential visitors; it is also vital to adopt a service-oriented approach, i.e. a concern for satisfaction of all the involved stakeholders and visitors; while they should be aware that tourism in the park depends on the quality of natural and cultural resources in the protected area.

It is an extremely interesting case study as the Park is managed by a private company, without official public staff. Protected areas are usually under the management of public institutions, financed with government funds. In 2009 managers of protected areas in Slovenia retrieved only 52 % of their income from government; the rest came from other sources (Ministry of the Environment and Spatial Planning, 2011). Harsh economic conditions, recession and the financial crisis that has been in place since 2008 requires a consideration of the revised role of the state and the public good. Sources of funding that we were made aware of in the SSNP include: entrance fees, public funds, sponsorship projects, the concessionaire with a vision of the location's sustainable development, public-private partnerships, national and European research projects, production and sale of traditional products, sale of promotional products. There is also a risk of loss of interest of private entities, changes in private company's policy priorities; however, the distribution of resources can guarantee a certain degree of funding security. Tourist visits have to be monitored and managed. Specific methods and established good practice can also be used in cases of other protected areas. Having the desire to source income from sustainable tourism, it is important to ensure the scope and the level of impact of tourism on the protected area, which is still acceptable; mass tourism is not desirable. As Middleton and Hawkins (1998) asserted, a modern tourism industry is well-suited to facilitating and enhancing the environmental quality of destinations and of communicating and educating visitors and residents regarding its importance for the conservation of heritage and changing consumer behaviour and business models.

Olsson, Folke and Hahn (2004) analysed the emergence of an adaptive co-management system for wet-

land landscape governance and established that social transformation represents the key to move from a less desired trajectory to one where the capacity to manage ecosystems sustainably for human well-being is strengthened. It is a fact that wetlands as alternative tourism products provide people with numerous advantages in tourism with spectacular natural and cultural landscapes.

Regarding our case study, instead of building more infrastructure, now is the turn of storytelling and the development of a boutique offer. Slovenian tourism is extremely heterogeneous: mass tourism, congress tourism, sports tourism and other forms should coexist with natural and cultural heritage tourism. Lowenthal (2005) reminded us that we receive collective legacies from two sources: "the natural environment and the creations of human beings". Civilization leaves deep impacts on nature and environment changes artefacts, so we have to keep in our minds that both types of inheritances commingle and plan a distinctive offer of revitalised cultural heritage to make it available for potential visitors.

When assessing the contribution of this paper to the past studies, it should be emphasized that it is a specific case study, trying to expose interesting issues in a protected site-based sustainable form of tourism. It has been demonstrated that an appropriate marketing positioning, proceeding according to the developed sustainability strategy, is the main key to the integration of natural and cultural heritage inside protected areas alongside the heritage tourism.

Recommendations for further research: it would prove relevant and interesting if implications from this case study could be opened up for comparison to broader/global situations. Various visitors segments' preferences and expectations are also worth being analysed and compared with the management's view of the diversified products and services offered, to identify factors causing possible perception gaps. Another interesting set of issues would be to study how sustainable marketing activities and innovative destination branding influence visitors' perceptions, motives, behaviour, and environmental consciousness.

## TRAJNOSTNI NARAVNI IN KULTURNI DEDIŠČINSKI TURIZEM NA ZAŠČITENIH OBMOČJIH: ŠTUDIJA PRIMERA

*Armand FAGANEL*

Univerza na Primorskem, Fakulteta za Management, Cankarjeva 5, 6000 Koper, Slovenija  
e-mail: armand.faganel@fm-kp.si

*Anita TRNAVČEVIČ*

Univerza na Primorskem, Fakulteta za Management, Cankarjeva 5, 6000 Koper, Slovenija  
e-mail: anita.trnavcevic@fm-kp.si

### POVZETEK

*Sečoveljske soline predstavljajo naravno antropogeno mokrišče, ki so ga skozi stoletja sooblikovale človeške roke. Krajinski park Sečoveljske soline (KPSS) je bil ustanovljen leta 1989 in Republika Slovenija je prevzela pokroviteljstvo nad njim. Slovenija se je zavezala k spoštovanju Barcelonske konvencije ter Konvencije o biološki diverziteti. Trajnostni razvoj solin obravnavamo v povezavi s celovito zaščito te naravne in kulturne dediščine, kakor tudi turistični razvoj znotraj naravnega okolja, ki že samo po sebi zahteva posebno previdnost pri načrtovanju in uresničevanju kakršnihkoli sprememb in dejavnosti. Predstavljeni so bili nekateri družbeni, naravni in kulturno dediščinski vidiki trajnostnega razvoja destinacije. KPSS lahko klasificiramo kot naravno in kulturno dediščino, ki odseva elemente grajene in žive dediščine, s prepletanjem elementov zaščite biotske raznovrstnosti mokrišča; naravno okolje, ki ga je človeško delo skozi stoletja preoblikovalo in kjer še vedno poteka pridobivanje soli na tradicionalen način.*

*Pregled literature s področja trajnostnega vključevanja kulturne in naravne dediščine v turistične razvojne načrte je potreben zaradi začetnega razmisleka o vlogi in rabi zaščite dediščine. Namen študije primera je predstaviti strukturiran način razmišljanja o vplivih trajnostnega turizma, izpostaviti vprašanja glede ohranjanja dediščine ter za vzpostavitev zavedanja o pomenu dediščinskega marketinga. Glavno raziskovalno vprašanje raziskave je: »Ali se da integrirati zaščito naravne in kulturne dediščine znotraj zaščitenih področij z dediščinskim turizmom, s pomočjo trajnostnega marketinškega pozicioniranja?« Uporabljene so bile naslednje raziskovalne metode: dokumentacijska analiza znanstvenih člankov in besedil, kombinacija pojasnjevalne in opisne študije primera (Yin, 1994) ter primerjalna metoda. Na osnovi ugotovitev analize so predlagane možne aktivnosti za razvoj strategij trajnostnega turizma v Sečoveljskih solinah. Posebna pozornost je namenjena naraščajoči vlogi javno-zasebnih partnerstev v turizmu, za namen upravljanja okoljskih problemov. Zaradi posebnih značilnosti preučevane lokacije študije ne moremo ponuditi kot splošnega modela za dediščinski marketing ter trajnostni razvoj turizma v zaščitenih območjih; omogoča nam pa zanimiv vpogled v proces operativnega načrtovanja ter izvajanja zasnovanih strategij.*

*Zaščita in ohranjanje dediščine postaja pomemben vir za trajnostno turistično izkoriščanje območij kulturne in naravne dediščine. Istočasno pa je potreben tudi razmislek o zaščiti in ohranjanju teh območij ter njihovem gospodarskem razvoju. Sledi kulture pridobivanja soli odsevajo v enkratni kulturni, naravni, tehniški, etnološki in zgodovinski dediščini. Specifične metode in vzpostavljenе dobre prakse lahko uporabimo tudi na primerih drugih zaščitenih območij. Ob načrtovanju prihodka s pomočjo trajnostnega turizma je pomembno da vzpostavimo spremenljiv obseg in vpliv turizma na zavarovano območje; masovni turizem vsekakor ni zaželen.*

**Ključne besede:** pozicioniranje krajinskega parka, soline, muzej, trajnostni turizem, kulturna dediščina, naravna dediščina, trajnostni marketing, dediščinski marketing

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**OCENE**

**RECENSIONI**

**REVIEWS**



Monika Kirloskar-Steinbach, Gita Dharampal-Frick, Minou Friele (ur.): DIE INTERKULTURALITÄTSDEBATTE – LEIT- UND STREITBEGRIFFE. INTERCULTURAL DISCOURSE – KEY AND CONTESTED CONCEPTS. Freiburg – München, Verlag Karl Alber, 2012, str.

There is a common prejudice among many professional philosophers that there is no genuine place secured for an intercultural philosophy within the philosophy departments and their respective curricula. Although we can observe many positive changes taking place in the last decades, there still is no major philosopher of an intercultural orientation admitted to the core of the Western philosophical canon. Intercultural philosophy is still claimed, as it were, to be a more or less distant *cousin* of philosophy, being its relative but still not really being a part of the 'family' as such. There are many reasons for those prejudices; the book, a bilingual German-English compendium *Die Interkulturalitätsdebatte – Leit- und Streitbegriffe. Intercultural Discourse – Key and Contested Concepts*, is a valuable contribution to one of most pressing issues of today's world – i.e. an interdisciplinary field of intercultural studies.

There was undeniably a shift that took place in the philosophy of the late 20th century, a new conscience, aiming at something different from or larger than the prevalent monocultural Western philosophical tradition. Schopenhauer, of course, was the first philosopher to seriously attempt to incorporate Indian philosophy into his philosophical system. Later on, his follower Paul Deussen had for the very first time systematically presented his contemporaries with the new concept of philosophical historiography in his *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie* (1894–1917). Paul Masson-Oursel (with his *La philosophie comparée* in 1923) invented comparative philosophy; later, the first serious attempts were to be made in social anthropology to study indigenous cultures. African philosophy is a result of this adventure. Religious science has also tended to follow this trend: it was William Cantwell Smith (1916–2000), one of the major comparative religion scholars of the 20th century, who invented a new pluralist, non-exclusivist theology of religions, aspiring at deeper understanding of different religious traditions and cultures.<sup>1</sup> Within the philosophical tradition, Dewey (in 1952) and Merleau-Ponty (in 1956) were among the first to pledge themselves to a new comparative or intercultural era.<sup>2</sup> Among key Western thinkers both Heidegger (*Unterwegs zur Sprache* and *Brief über Humanismus*) as well as Derrida (*L'autre cap*) were both aware of the emergence of a new intercultural era. Finally, Luce Irigaray, with *Between East and West* (orig. *Entre Orient et Occident*, 1999), and many other works, surpassed the Western monocultural and monosubjective (masculine) culture – and it is in her thought that intersubjectivity finally meets with interculturality and rescues philosophy from the long oblivion of its two formative but

forgotten and suppressed traits. If there exists a truly dialogic philosophy, respectful of difference(s), it is a thinking, whose character is both intercultural and intersubjective.

*Die Interkulturalitätsdebatte – Leit- und Streitbegriffe* builds on this history and awareness and presents us with a variety of topics in a form of a compendium, bringing to the fore the very complicity and importance of the interculturality debate. In an era, designated by Rorty with the epithet "hybridization of cultures"<sup>3</sup> and its essential trait, the obsolescence of cultural differences, it is indeed very important to discuss the variety of concepts that are pertinent to contemporary debates, which relate to cultural differences as well as their various overlappings. Some of the entries in this book, namely "Cultural Hybridity" (by Jan Nederween Pieterse) or "Transkulturalität" (by Wolfgang Welsch) are directly linked to this question. The book is organized into six units, bringing to the fore various approaches – from methodological and personal to collective and finally political (public sphere) and economic issues. In this endeavour the book itself already transgresses (intentionally, as it seems to me...) the very



'concept' of interculturality. Few entries are maybe even closer to the bioethics rather than to the interculturality debate, and few entries could easily be omitted ("Generationengerechtigkeit" or "Civil Society", for example), of replaced with some others. Some entries ("Terrorism") would (for propedeutical reasons) perhaps better fit into a slightly different style of a compendium. Some of the topics would equally or even better work within a similar collection on human rights ("Migration Control" and "Humanitarian Intervention", for example). But this are only side observations. Let us look more closely into the book.

Heinz Kimmerle once said that there is a deep affinity between philosophies of difference (Heidegger, Adorno, Deleuze, Lyotard, Derrida, Irigaray, Kristeva) and intercultural philosophy.<sup>4</sup> It is a stunning failure of Western tradition (or its academia) to thus, still not be able to fully recognise and affirm this fact and translate it into a kind of dialogic and intercultural (including political) thinking of and for our age. The editors of *Die Interkulturalitätssdebatte – Leit- und Streitbegriffe* (Monika Kirloskar-Steinbach, Gita Dharampal-Frick and Minou Friese) are fully aware of this lacuna and in their introduction pledge themselves to take a different approach – especially within the philosophical field. For various reasons – as this book also shows – there already exists a kind of inherent methodological 'consensus' within the various fields of the humanities (in history and linguistics, for example) as well as social anthropology (ethnology), or even political science and sociology, that interculturality *must* form a part of any research into, say, 'man and society'. Ram Adhar Mall, one of the most influential intercultural philosophers, is thus rightly placed at the head of this large and substantial compendium.

In his analysis, Mall ("Zur Hermeneutik Interkultureller Philosophie") warns against a monological way of philosophising and pledges a new hermeneutics of overlapping, a thought being in the vicinity of what J. Rawls suggested with his 'overlapping consensus'. In this Mall diverges from Habermas and pledges for a 'weak' form of discursive consensualism, being respectful of difference(s) and critical of any (internal) rationalistic or aprioristic tendencies. With Georg Stenger ('Differenz: Unterscheidungen, Differenzierungen, Dimensionen') we step into what was already mentioned as one of the key concepts for contemporary intercultural debate: the difference. Stenger is also aware – and I would like to put this thought into the forefront of my observations – that interculturality can only work in an atmosphere of intersubjectivity. Lévinas is mentioned but perhaps this topic deserves a special chapter (entry); namely Stenger, who rightly observes that what is meant here is "*ein Erfahrungsdenken, das sich zwischen die großen Pflöcke von Rationalität und Empirie schiebt, oder besser vor deren Trennung statthat*" (p. 50). Later in his chapter, "vorintentionalen und vorprädikativen Felder sinnlich-leiblicher

*Genesis*" (p. 52) are mentioned. This inter- and/or intra-subjective dimension is indeed very important for the interculturality debate. If there is a way toward 'weak' consensus or an 'analogical' hermeneutics it is precisely here that it could be found. In "Authenzität" Heinz Kimmerle critically discusses and reconceptualises one of the key Western concepts of the 20th century, having huge influence on the entire philosophical tradition. With examples from African philosophy (and Buddhism) Kimmerle reorients and deconstructs the so called 'authenticity' debate (author/ity, person/ality, etc.) and proposes a genuine shift towards a new, interculturally-underpinned version of authenticity, now being thought of as a plurality of its different (concrete, historico-cultural) forms. At this point, the book's initial philosophical focus somehow (and too early?) merges with other – i.e. more transdisciplinary approaches. My criticism of Andreas Niederberger's "Heteronomie" entry is related to his criticism of some attempts (ethics of care, or Lévinas' philosophy) that are somehow artificially labelled with a "natural fallacy" etiquette. This is a pity indeed, since, as already said, it is precisely in those attempts, being also sensitive to what Stenger rightly observed as being a certain *beyond* of both empirical and transcendental approaches, that a new intercultural awareness could also emerge or secure its place. Meta-ethical approaches, in my opinion, are here obsolete. Also in the light of an importance of heteronomy in language (earlier in Niederberger's entry) there perhaps is a possibility also for the analogous idea working in the ethical sphere (and not necessarily limited only to certain aspects of psychological research, as mentioned by the author). In her idiosyncratic and in a way 'radical' approach to the "Subjectivity" entry, Asha Varadhvajan focuses on many inherent layers of this perhaps most contested concept of Western philosophy ("the self, identity, body, sexuality, and mind"; p. 112). Richard Evanoff's "Integration" brings us a very important observation: it is close to what Rorty once called 'edification' (I deliberately refer to this word to point to the hidden 'educational' character of many of the entries in this compendium, which is perhaps a bit neglected) In an integrative context it is the process of being able (again, with Rorty we might refer to his 'vocabularies') to experience and acquire a "greater intercultural sensitivity" (p. 139) for other cultures, cultural norms or simply differences. Then it was a good editorial decision to ask an Indian scholar to write about "Multiculturalism" (Rajeev Bhargava). As one of the mostly disputed concepts in today's Europe, as showed in this entry, this analysis realistically shows the genuine perplexity of this 'concept' by distinguishing between its many forms. In Christoph Antweller's "Universalismus und Kultur-Universalien" I find an important observation – perhaps one that, again, would deserve a special entry in this compendium – namely that, if there is a place where 'universalism' and different cultures meet, it is in human suffering, being "*unmittelbar und sinnenhaft*" (p. 192). Such a thought

could have huge potential for social ethics and political philosophy, as both are strongly represented in this compendium.

Due to the character of the book it is clear that some of the other entries cannot fully represent some of the topics. For a book that interestingly combines encyclopedic and monographic styles, this is not a disadvantage. For the entries such as "Solidarity", "Cosmopolitanism" etc. this would indeed be impossible. Still, one would expect more focused approach there. "Moral Imperialism" (by Brett Bowden) is perhaps also a victim of the above-mentioned combination (or compendium style), especially in view of its short and uncritical account of the so called 'Asian values'; or, on the other hand, of extremely sensitive topics such as genital mutilation/circumcision which certainly require more space and context as attributed/allowed in the respective chapter.

This book will contribute many new insights into what the editors have called "intercultural discourse". It is a critical, inter- and transdisciplinary concept which indeed could be of benefit to the "intellectual self-understanding of society in general" (p. 27, "Introduction"). I strongly believe philosophy should not resist this goal too early. As the editors propose, the volume "attempts to bring into philosophical focus central problems and topics of intercultural salience" (p. 26, "Introduction"). For that purpose, topics such as the body,<sup>5</sup> intersubjectivity (Irigaray), (trans)modernity (Dussel), globalisation(s) and contemporary Critical Theory,<sup>6</sup> different cosmopolitanisms, and many other approaches, should remain a part of a genuine and devoted philosophical adventure.

**Lenart Škof**

Ksenija Vidmar Horvat (ur.): VLOGA MNOŽIČNIH MEDIJEV PRI OBLIKOVANJU SLOVENSKE EVROPSKE ZAVESTI: KRITIČNE PERSPEKTIVE.

Ljubljana, Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2012, 286 str.

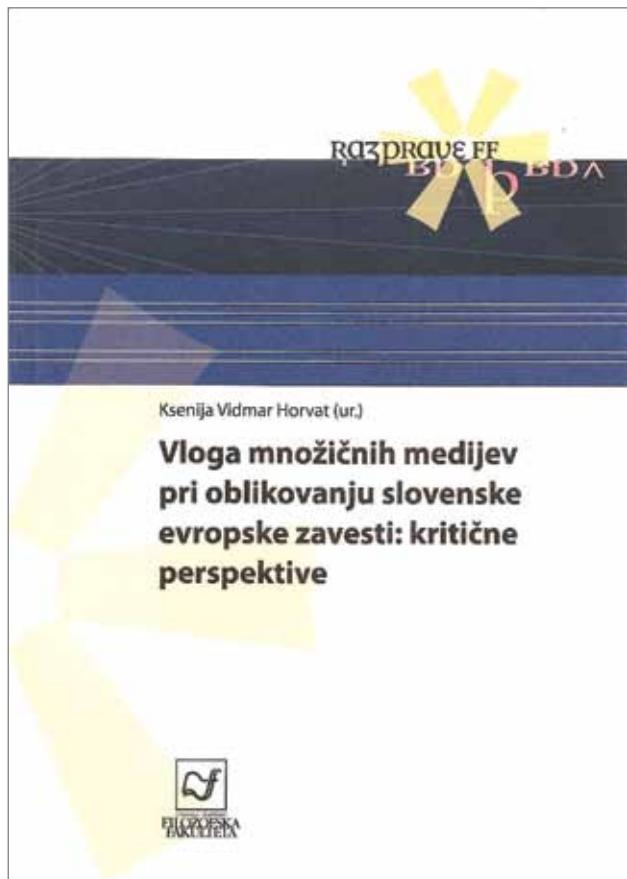
Urednica pričajočega zbornika dr. Ksenija Vidmar Horvat v predgovoru »Evropska zavest, nacionalna identiteta« spomni in opozori bralstvo, da evropejstvo in evropska identiteta nikoli v zgodovini nista bili pomensko zaprti in do kraja opredeljeni entiteti, čeprav se danes, v iskanju evropskih 'korenin' in posebnosti evropske kulture in civilizacije, pogosto opira prav na takšne, mitološke predstave. Nasprotno, Evrop je bilo od nekdaj več, poudarja, konstituirale pa so se glede na raznovrstne družbene, kulturne in institucionalne kontekste, v katerih se je sklicevalo na kolektivno nadnacionalno in/

ali civilizacijsko pripadnost. In dalje, če je torej multiplost in pretočnost pomena Evrope transzgodovinsko dejstvo, pa sodobni procesi združevanja, globalne mobilnosti in kozmopolitizacije zavesti tej nedoločljivosti dodajajo novo zgodovinsko razsežnost. Potem takem evropejstvo, naj ga pojmujemmo kot kulturno fikcijo ali dejansko v resnici deluječe polje identifikacijskih povezav, skupnega kulturnega pripadanja in demokratičnega državljanstva, predstavlja pomemben vidik oblikovanja nacionalnih in lokalnih kolektivnih identitet. Nacionalne skupnosti so torej vpoklicane v evropski projekt z namenom ustvariti medsebojno spodbujajočo dinamiko razvoja nacionalnih in transnacionalnih identitet, ki bi prispevala h kreativnemu zagoru novega prostora evropske družbe. Šele s takšnim prežemanjem nacionalnega in transnacionalnega bi Evropa vstopila na oder globalnega sodelovanja kot akter, ki bi, vsaj po prepričanju uradnih ustanov EU, ponovno pridobil moč in pomen, ki sta mu bila odvzeta s koncem imperialne in kolonialne zgodovine.

Zbornik, ki ga imamo pred seboj, se vpisuje v polje preučevanja oblikovanja nacionalne in nadnacionalne zavesti, pri čemer se osredotoči na vlogo medijev pri tej konstrukciji – medijev kot tistih, ki so po B. Andersonu nujni za oblikovanje nacionalne identitete, vprašanje pa je, ali se podoben model preslikava tudi na nadnacionalno raven. Delo izhaja iz znanstvenega izhodišča, da je kultura ključno polje oblikovanja evropejstva, ki bo dodala skupno identitetu gospodarsko in politično povezani skupnosti. Kulturna raznolikost držav članic Evropske unije je namreč hkrati njeno vezivo in temelj politične participacije, skupna kulturna politika pa predstavlja priložnost za demokratično politiko, ki krepi, razvija in širi prostor evropske javne sfere in sfere javnosti držav članic. Izbor prispevkov opredeljuje pojmom slovenska evropska zavest in ga postavlja v konceptualno razlikovalni odnos do evropske identitete. Avtorji in avtorice se sprašujejo, kakšno vlogo pri izgradnji nadnacionalne identitete igrajo mediji – kje in kako se v medijih oblikuje Evropa, kakšna je njena identiteta in kdo jo izreka. Ugotavlja, da se nacionalna in evropska identiteta med seboj ne izključujeta, pač pa ena drugi predstavlja orientacijsko točko in delujeta hkrati. Zbornik si postavlja vprašanja o vlogi množičnih medijev pri sooblikovanju evropskega prostora demokratičnega, participatornega in aktivnega državljanstva in odgovarja, da le participatorno aktivno vzpostavljanje evropskega prostora lahko zagotovi oblikovanje evropske zavesti, ki bo svojo moč in energijo črpala iz zavedanja o skupnih političnih vrednotah pravičnosti, enakosti, solidarnosti in demokratične odprtosti za kulturne razlike.

Glavnina razprav, objavljenih v tej knjigi, je nastala v okviru raziskovalnega projekta »Vloga množičnih medijev pri oblikovanju slovenske evropske zavesti«, ki je v partnerstvu z Inštitutom za civilizacijo in kulturo potekal pod vodstvom prof. Ksenije Vidmar Horvat na Oddelku za sociologijo Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani med letoma 2008 in 2011. Knjiga je razdeljena v tri dele. V prvem

delu avtorja Damjan Mandelc in Marjan Horvat podajata teoretske okvire za preučevanje demokratičnega ustroja evropske družbe in pluralnega modela evropske javnosti. Izzivi so osvetljeni z vidika procesov globalizacije, nacionalne lojalnosti in evropskih politik povezovanja. Članek Tjaše Učakar k teoretskim uvidom prispeva študijo prime- ra, vzeto iz nacionalnih kontekstov slovenske poosamovitoitve politične in idejno-ideološke formacije javnosti. Z zgodovinsko, etično in državljanško presojo tragedije izbrisanih v Sloveniji bralec dobi priložnost za premislek, kako »evropsko« je bilo oblikovanje slovenske poosamovitoitvene zgodovine in kaj vse se lahko, v lokalno-nacionalnih kontekstih, opredeli za evropsko početje. Opozarja, da ima dejanje izbrisala evropske dimenzije, kolikor upoštevamo dediščine sprevrnjenih mobilizacij patriotizma, nacionalizma in etnonacionalnega ponosa, ki najdejo svojo pot v legitimacijske postopke izključevanja v lokalnih evropskih domovanjih nacionalnih držav. Omenjene razprave prvega dela knjige prinašajo skupni ugotovitveni (pri) sklep, da je evropska identiteta izhodiščni pojem, ki ima analitsko vrednost samo, kolikor se jo razume kot globoko problematičen, konfuzen in ideo- loško zasičen instrument moči, ki prav toliko vključuje kot izključuje, ali bolje – ki vključuje s pomočjo legitimacije izključevanja.



V drugem delu se analize osredotočajo na obdobje slovenskega predsedovanja Svetu EU. Predsedovanje EU je eden pomembnejših mejnikov v slovenski poosamovitoitveni zgodovini in po svoji javni vidnosti pričakovano polje oblikovanja političnega (in medijskega) spektakla kot tudi simbolne samopotrditve mesta v evropski 'družini narodov'. V tem pogledu ga je mogoče razumeti – po mnenju avtorjev in avtoric – kot vrhunec in sklepno dejanje pristopanja k EU; lahko pa je tudi nov začetek, uvodno poglavje v povsem novo evropsko zgodovino Slovenije, takšno, ki temelji na aktivnem oblikovanju skupne Evrope in so-definiraju modela evropske družbe prihodnosti. Študije Marka Prpiča, Ane Vogrinčič Čepič in Mitje Čepiča Vogrinčiča predstavljajo prvi primer sinhronega spremljanja medijskega dogajanja v zgodovinskem enkratnem trenutku prvega predsedovanja Slovenije Evropski uniji. Zasnova tega dela projekta vključuje tako sociološko medijske analize poročanja kot tudi hkratne meritve »evropske zavesti« porabnikov informacijskih tehnologij, predvsem tiskanih in elektronskih medijev. S tem je omogočeno *in situ* opazovanje medijskih učinkov in analize vloge množičnega komuniciranja pri vzpostavljanju evropske zavesti in identitete. Rezultati so predstavljeni v prilogi, kjer so povzeti rezultati dveh anket, ki jih je po predlogi raziskovalne skupine izvedla strokovna služba pri časopisni družbi Dnevnik. Sklep tega dela ponuja dvomljivo sliko o uspešnosti evropskega projekta: na delu ostajajo sile nacionalnega ideološkega poenotnja, kjer je Evropa imaginarni podij in diskurzivni (pogosto semantično) prazen, kot pokaže Ana Vogrinčič Čepič instrument udomačevanja novih agend na ozadju starih politik (mono)kulturnega homogeniziranja in legitimiranja pripadnosti.

V tretjem delu se študije primerov prenesejo v širše kontekste evropeiziranja javnosti. Ana Ješe v svojem prispevku obravnava hrvaško približevanje članstvu v EU. Z osvetlitvijo družbenih dilem priključevanja prek nadzornega mehanizma *EU conditionality* – ki neredko stopa v očitno konfliktno razmerje z nacionalnimi pričakovanji in kolektivnimi mito-zgodovinskimi avtopriovedmi (Hrvaška) – kritična javnost lahko sama presoja o politični in ideološki domišljenosti evropskega projekta in njegovega poskusa razbremenjevanja nove evropske identitete od lokalne zgodovine in lastnega zahodocentričnega pогledа. Matic Majcen, nasprotno, s kritično institucionalno analizo javnega financiranja slovenskega filma pokaže na dvoumne in pogosto kontradiktorne logike, ki privedejo do učinka »nacionalne kinematografije«; s svežim konceptom poosamovitoitvenega filma (Piran – Pirano, Circus Fantasticus) Majcen pokaže na preplete dejavnikov, ki nacionalno definirajo v neredko travmatiziranih kontekstih tranzicije in poosamovitoitvene želje po (nacionalni) identiteti. Prispevek Ksenije Vidmar Horvat o aferi Patria, ki sicer zaključuje tretji del, je postavljen v dialoško razmerje s celoto. Čeprav izsledki primerjalne raziskave o medijskem poročanju o aferi v Sloveniji in

na Finskem kažejo na nacionaliziranje evropske afere v obeh državah, pa je v izbranem delu slovenskih medijev vendarle mogoče zaznati nastavke za transnacionalno in transverzalno povezovanje evropske kritične javnosti – ne glede na njene etno-nacionalne pripadnosti in lojalnosti.

Ključna in skupna ugotovitev posameznih raziskav je, da medijem v sodobnem času pripade odločilna vloga pri informiraju pa tudi oblikovanju tematik, ki naj bi jih javnost prepoznaла kot skupne evropske. V tem pogledu medijem pripade tudi temeljna funkcija oblikovanja transnacionalne javnosti v smislu, kot to opredeli Habermasov komunikacijski model. Empirične analize medijskega poročanja v pričujočem zborniku pa pokažejo, da se slovenski mediji te vloge slabo zavedajo ter da se namesto na kreativne modele političnega, kulturnega in širše družbenega sporazumevanja o skupnih evropskih zadevah 'Evrop' lotevajo na način rutinskega poročanja, ki niha med zunanjim in notranjim politiko. Posebna vrednost zbranih študij je, da pokažejo tudi na dejanski odziv javnosti, kot ga je razbrati iz anketne raziskave Dnevnikovega raziskovalnega centra. Ta pokaže, da se javnost skromno odziva na evropske programe združevanja in povezovanja ter da je zanje tudi malo pravega interesa. Izbrane študije z analizami nam ponujajo interpretativni okvir, s katerim je mogoče kritično ovrednotiti tudi pomajkljivosti kulture komuniciranja medijev z javnostjo, ki prispeva k takšnemu rezultatu.

Po sestavljanju ugotovitev posameznih analiz v skupno sliko avtorji in avtorice argumentirano zaključujejo, da je medijsko delo v Sloveniji opravljeno delno, saj medijske politike ostajajo ujeti med privilegiranjem nacionalnega nad evropskim, evropsko pa še naprej ostaja umeščeno v nedoločljivem vmesnem prostoru med 'skupno' in zunanjopolitično tematiko. Vsekakor je skupno, kot pokažejo priobčene študije, najpogosteje mobilizirano takrat, ko se določa domače ideološke teme, manj uveljavljeno pa je razumevanje skupnega v kontekstih zavezosti (nad)državljanjem in domovinskimi idealom ustvarjanja nadnacionalne skupnosti. Evropa še naprej ostaja dvoumna gostiteljica nacionalni državi: da bi se z njo opremile sile nacionalnih političnih, idejnih in kulturnih spopadov, se jo enkrat interpelira, drugič ignorira. Obakrat s prizivom dokazovanja, da je pravo čustvo 'doma' pri naciji.

Po mnenju avtorjev in avtoric je razpetost medijske lojalnosti med nacionalnim in evropskim mogoče pojasniti z več okoliščinami. Kot prvo, Evropska unija je za slovensko javnost premlada politična tvorba, da bi bilo upravičeno pričakovati polno javno investicijo domo-

vinskih in državljanских čustev ter kolektivno predanost. 'Evropa' je proces, uspešnost povezovanja in pripadanja pa sproti določajo raznoliki dnevnopolitični dejavniki kot tudi daljše zgodovinske naracije: nacionalna pripoved ne le v Sloveniji, pač pa tudi drugod v EU za zdaj premaguje evropsko. In drugo, medijske prakse in uredniške politike so po definiciji strukturirane rigidno in konservativno: institucionalna kultura tiska in elektronskih medijev je nagnjena k ohranjanju političnega statusa quo tudi tedaj, ko se vpeljuje nove teme, nove pristope in nove generacije novinarjev: hegemonie logike medijev temeljijo na integriranju progresivnega in inovativnega z namenom ohranjanja starih privilegijev moči. Očitno je tudi v tem pogledu Evropa še preveč nestanovitna nadnacionalna zaveznica, zaključujejo avtorji in avtorice, da bi jo bilo mogoče brez pridržkov povabiti v polje spopadov za (lokalno, nacionalno) oblast. Zato tudi ne preseneča, da se najbolj prodorno, progresivno in izzivalno o Evropi govoriti onkraj dominantnih institucij javne komunikacije: na forumih, v subkulturnih krogih, na festivalih alternativne kulture.

Če strnemo, znanstvene študije, priobčene v pričujoči publikaciji, se ukvarjajo z javno sfero in slovenskimi nacionalnimi tiskanimi in elektronskimi mediji. Posledično proučujejo medijske odzive na različne evropske tematike, predvsem pa raziskujejo, kakšna je vloga medijev pri ozaveščanju o nastajajoči skupni evropski družbi. Skratka, so pomemben kritičen prispevek k raziskovanju sodobnih družbenih, zgodovinskih in kulturnih procesov nastajanja evropske javnosti in konfliktov med nacionalnimi in nadnacionalnimi predstavami o pripadanju; še posebno ker odpirajo pot do pomembnih teoretičnih in aplikativnih spoznanj, ki prispevajo k akumulaciji znanja s področja sociologije europeizacije, formiranja slovenske evropske zavesti in vloge (slovenskih) medijev v omenjenih procesih. V tem kontekstu bo publikacija zagotovo nepo grešljiv vir za prihodnja raziskovanja evropskih javnosti in nacionalnih javnih kultur ter izhodišče za nadgradnjo sodobnih teoretskih raziskav na področju medijev, kulture in evropske integracije. Knjiga je po vsebinski plati brez dvoma inovativna ter prelomna v pogledu sinhronega obravnavanja nastajanja javnosti, kot smo ji priča v zadnjem desetletju. Hkrati pa ne gre prezreti, da je v njej zbrano gradivo tudi dobro izhodišče za vstop slovenske sociološko-humanistične stroke v evropski prostor, kjer s primerjalnim gradivom lahko bistveno prispeva k osvetlitvi dilem sodobne evropske družbe in njenih javnosti.

**Avgust Lešnik**

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Slika 2: Samostan sv. Klare (danes Pokrajinski arhiv v Kopru) (foto: M. Oblak).

Slika 3: Pokrajinski arhiv v Kopru (foto: M. Oblak).

Slika 4: Knjižnica v Frančiškanskem samostanu sv. Ane (foto: M. Oblak).

Slika 5: Ostanki dominikanskega samostana na Muzejskem trgu (foto: M. Oblak).

Slika 6: Beneški lev na koperski Taverni (foto: M. Oblak).

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Foto 2: Convento di Santa Chiara (oggi sede dell'Archivio regionale di Capodistria) (foto: M. Oblak).

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Foto 4: Biblioteca nel Monastero francescano di Sant'Anna (foto: M. Oblak).

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Figure 2: St. Clare's Convent (today seat of the Regional Archives of Koper) (photo: M. Oblak).

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Figure 4: Library in the Franciscan Friary of St. Anne's (photo: M. Oblak).

Figure 5: Remains of the Dominican monastery in Museum Square (photo: M. Oblak).

Figure 6: Lion of St. Mark on the façade of the Taverna building in Koper (photo: M. Oblak).

Figure 7: Chapel in the Franciscan Friary of St. Anne's (photo: M. Oblak).

Figure 8: Loggia, Tito Square in Koper (photo: M. Oblak).

## NAVODILA AVTORJEM

**1.** Revija ANNALES (*Analji za istrske in mediteranske študije* Ser. hist et soc.) objavlja **izvirne in pregledne znanstvene članke** z družboslovnimi in humanističnimi vsebinami, ki se navezujejo na preučevanje *zgodovine, kulture in družbe* Istre in Mediterana. Vključujejo pa tudi *primerjalne in medkulturne študije* ter *metodološke in teoretične razprave*, ki se nanašajo na omenjeno področje.

**2.** Sprejemamo članke v slovenskem, italijanskem, hrvaškem in angleškem jeziku. Avtorji morajo zagotoviti jezikovno neoporečnost besedil, uredništvo pa ima pravico članke dodatno jezikovno lektorirati.

**3.** Članki naj obsegajo do 48.000 znakov brez sledkov oz. 2 avtorski poli besedila. Članek je mogoče oddati na e-naslov Annales@zrs.upr.si ali na elektronskem nosilcu (CD) po pošti na naslov uredništva.

Avtor ob oddaji članka zagotavlja, da članek še ni bil objavljen in se obvezuje, da ga ne bo objavil drugje.

**4.** Naslovna stran članka naj vsebuje naslov in podnaslov članka, ime in priimek avtorja, avtorjeve nazive in akademske naslove, ime in naslov inštitucije, kjer je zaposlen, oz. domači naslov vključno s poštno številko in naslovom elektronske pošte.

**5.** Članek mora vsebovati **povzetek** in **izvleček**. Izvleček je krajsi (cca. 10 vrstic) od povzetka (cca. 30 vrstic).

V izvlečku na kratko opisemo namen, metode dela in rezultate. Izvleček naj ne vsebuje komentarjev in priporočil.

Povzetek vsebuje opis namena in metod dela ter povzame analizo oziroma interpretacijo rezultatov. V povzetku ne sme biti ničesar, česar glavno besedilo ne vsebuje.

**6.** Avtorji naj pod izvleček članka pripomorejo ustrezne **ključne besede**. Zaželeni so tudi **angleški (ali slovenski) prevodi** izvlečka, povzetka, ključnih besed, podnapisov k slikovnemu in tabelarnemu gradivu. V nasprotnem primeru bo za prevode poskrbelo uredništvo.

**7.** Zaželeno je tudi (originalno) **slikovno gradivo**, ki ga avtor posreduje v ločenih datotekah (jpeg, tiff) z najmanj 300 dpi resolucije pri želeni velikosti. Največja velikost slikovnega gradiva je 17x20 cm. Vsa potrebna dovoljenja za objavo slikovnega gradiva (v skladu z ZAKONOM o avtorski in sorodnih pravicah) priskrbi avtor sam in jih predloži uredništvu pred objavo članka. Vse slike, tabele in grafične prikaze je potrebno tudi podnaslovit in zaporedno oštevilčiti.

**8. Vsebinske opombe**, ki besedilo še podrobnejše razlagajo ali pojasnjujejo, postavimo pod črto.

**Bibliografske opombe**, s čimer mislimo na citat – torek sklicevanje na točno določeni del besedila iz neke druge publikacije, sestavljajo naslednji podatki: *avtor, leta izida in – če citiramo točno določeni del besedila – tudi navedba strani*. Bibliografske opombe vključimo v glavno besedilo.

Celotni bibliografski podatki citiranih in uporabljenih virov so navedeni v poglavju *Viri in literatura* (najprej navedemo vse vire, nato literaturo). Pri tem avtor navede izključno dela ter izdaje, ki jih je v članku citiral.

Primer citata med besedilom:

(Kalc, 2010, 426).

Primer navajanja vira kot celote:

(Kalc, 2010).

Popolni podatki o tem viru v poglavju Literatura pa se glasijo:

**Kalc, A. (2010):** „Statistični podatki o Trstu“ ob tretji francoški zasedbi leta 1809. *Annales, Ser. hist. sociol.*, 20, 2. Koper, Založba Annales, 423–444.

Če citiramo več *del istega avtorja iz istega leta*, poleg priimka in kratice imena napišemo še črke po abecednem vrstnem redu, tako da se viri med seboj razlikujejo. Primer:

(Kalc, 2010a) in (Kalc, 2010b).

Bibliografska opomba je lahko tudi del vsebinske opombe in jo zapisujemo na enak način.

Posamezna dela ali navedbe virov v isti opombi ločimo s podpičjem. Primer:

(Kalc, 2010a; Verginella, 2008).

**9. Pri citiranju arhivskih virov med oklepaji** navajamo kratico arhiva, kratico arhivskega fonda / signaturo, številko tehnične enote in številko arhivske enote. Primer:

(ARS-1851, 67, 1808).

V primeru, da arhivska enota ni znana, se dokument citira po naslovu *v opombi pod črto*, in sicer z navedbo kratice arhiva, kratice arhivskega fonda / signature, številke tehnične enote in naslova dokumenta. Primer:

**ARS-1589, 1562, Zapisnik seje Okrajnega komiteja ZKS Koper, 19. 12. 1955.**

Kratice razložimo v poglavju o virih na koncu članka, kjer arhivske vire navajamo po abecednem vrstnem redu.

Primer:

**ARS-1589** – Arhiv republike Slovenije (ARS), Centralni komite Zveze komunistov Slovenije (fond 1589).

**10. Pri citiranju časopisnih virov med tekstrom nave-**demo ime časopisa, datum izdaje ter strani:

(Primorske novice, 11. 5. 2009, 26).

V primeru, da je znan tudi naslov članka, celotno bibliografsko opombo navedemo pod črto:

Primorske novice, 11. 5. 2009: Ali podjetja merijo učinkovitost?, 26.

V seznam virov in literature izpišemo ime časopisa / revije, kraj, založnika in periodo izhajanja.

Primer:

**Primorske novice.** Koper, Primorske novice, 1963–.

**11. Poglavlje o virih in literaturi** je obvezno. Bibliografske podatke navajamo takole:

- Opis zaključene publikacije kot celote – knjige:  
Avtor (leto izida): Naslov. Kraj, Založba. Npr.:

**Šelih, A., Antić Gaber, M., Puhar, A., Rener, T., Šuklje, R., Verginella, M., Tavčar, L. (2007):** Pozabljena polovica. Portreti žensk 19. in 20. stoletja na Slovenskem. Ljubljana, Tuma, SAZU.

V zgornjem primeru, kjer je avtorjev več kot dva, je korekten tudi citat:

(Šelih et al., 2007).

Če navajamo določeni del iz zaključene publikacije, zgornjemu opisu dodamo še številke strani, od koder smo navedbo prevzeli.

- Opis prispevka v **zaključeni publikaciji** – npr. prispevka v zborniku:

Avtor (leto izida): Naslov prispevka. V: Avtor knjige: Naslov knjige. Kraj, Založba, strani od-do. Primer:

**Lenarčič, B. (2010):** Omrežna družba, medkulturnost in prekokulturnost. V: Sedmak, M., Ženko, E. (ur.): Razprave o medkulturnosti. Koper, Založba Annales, 245–260.

- Opis članka v **reviji**:

Avtor (leto izida): Naslov članka. Naslov revije, letnik, številka. Kraj, strani od-do. Primer:

**Lazar, I. (2008):** Celejski forum in njegov okras. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol., 19, 2. Koper, 349–360.

- Opis **ustnega vira**:

Informator (leto izporočila): Ime in priimek informatorja, leto rojstva, vloga, funkcija ali položaj. Način pričevanja. Oblika in kraj nahajanja zapisa. Primer:

**Žigante, A. (2008):** Alojz Žigante, r. 1930, župnik v Vižinadi. Ustno izporočilo. Zvočni zapis pri avtorju.

- Opis **vira iz internetnih spletnih strani**:

Če je mogoče, internetni vir zabeležimo enako kot članek in dodamo spletni naslov ter v oklepaju datum zadnjega pristopa na to stran:

**Young, M. A. (2008):** The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). [Http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf](http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf) (15. 9. 2008).

Če avtor ni znan, navedemo nosilca spletne strani, leto objave, naslov in podnaslov besedila, spletni naslov in v oklepaju datum zadnjega pristopa na to stran. Če leto objave ni znano, damo v oklepaj leto pristopa na to stran:

**UP ZRS (2009):** Univerza na Primorskem, Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Koper. Znanstveni sestanki in conference. [Http://www.zrs-kp.si/SL/kongres.htm](http://www.zrs-kp.si/SL/kongres.htm) (2. 2. 2009).

Članki so razvrščeni po abecednem redu priimkov avtorjev ter po letu izdaje, v primeru da gre za več citatov istega-istih avtorjev.

**12. Kratice** v besedilu moramo razrešiti v oklepaju, ko se prvič pojavi. Članku lahko dodamo tudi seznam uporabljenih kratic.

**13. Pri ocenah publikacij** navedemo v naslovu prispevka avtorja publikacije, naslov, kraj, založbo, leto izida in število strani (oziroma ustrezni opis iz točke 10).

**14. Prvi odtis člankov uredništvo pošlje avtorjem v korekturo.** Avtorji so dolžni popravljeno gradivo vrniti v enem tednu. Besedilo popravljamo s korekturnimi znamenji, ki jih najdemo na koncu Slovenskega pravopisa (2001), Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 24–25.

Širjenje obsega besedila ob korekturah ni dovoljeno. Druge korekture opravi uredništvo.

**15. Za dodatna pojasnila v zvezi z objavo člankov je uredništvo na voljo.**

UREDNIŠTVO

## ISTRUZIONI PER GLI AUTORI

**1.** La rivista ANNALES (Annali per gli studi istriani e mediterranei, Ser. hist. et soc.) pubblica **articoli scientifici originali e rassegne** dai contenuti sociologici e umanistici relativi allo studio della *storia, cultura e società* dell'Istria e del Mediterraneo. Include inoltre *studi comparativi e interculturali* nonché saggi *metodologici e teorici* pertinenti a questa area geografica.

**2.** La Redazione accetta articoli in lingua slovena, italiana, croata e inglese. Gli autori devono garantire l'inneceppibilità linguistica dei testi, la Redazione si riserva il diritto di una revisione linguistica.

**3.** Gli articoli devono essere di lunghezza non superiore alle 48.000 battute senza spazi, ovvero 2 fogli d'autore. Possono venir recapitati all'indirizzo di posta elettronica *Annales@zrs.upr.si* oppure su supporto elettronico (CD) per posta ordinaria all'indirizzo della Redazione.

L'autore garantirà l'originalità dell'articolo e si impegnerà a non pubblicarlo altrove.

**4.** Ogni articolo deve essere corredata da: titolo, eventuale sottotitolo, nome e cognome dell'autore, denominazione ed indirizzo dell'ente di appartenenza o, in alternativa, l'indirizzo di casa, nonché l'eventuale indirizzo di posta elettronica.

**5.** I contributi devono essere corredati da un **riassunto** e da una **sintesi**. Quest'ultima sarà più breve (cca. 10 righe) del riassunto (cca 30 righe).

Nella *sintesi* si descriveranno brevemente i metodi e i risultati delle ricerche e anche i motivi che le hanno determinate. La *sintesi* non conterrà commenti e segnalazioni.

Il *riassunto* riporterà in maniera sintetica i metodi delle ricerche, i motivi che le hanno determinate assieme all'analisi, cioè all'interpretazione, dei risultati raggiunti. Si eviterà di riportare conclusioni omesse nel testo del contributo.

**6.** Gli autori sono tenuti ad indicare le **parole chiave** adeguate. Sono necessarie anche le **traduzioni in inglese (o sloveno)** della sintesi, del riassunto, delle parole chiave, delle didascalie, delle fotografie e delle tabelle.

**7.** L'eventuale **materiale iconografico** (originale) va preparato in formato elettronico (jpeg, tiff) e consegnato in file separati alla definizione di 300 dpi a grandezza desiderata, purché non ecceda i 17x20 cm. Prima della pubblicazione, l'autore provvederà a fornire alla Redazione tutte le autorizzazioni richieste per la riproduzione del materiale iconografico (in virtù della Legge

sui diritti d'autore). Tutte le immagini, tabelle e grafici dovranno essere accompagnati da didascalie e numerati in successione.

**8.** Le **note a piè di pagina** sono destinate essenzialmente a fini esplicativi e di contenuto.

I **riferimenti bibliografici** richiamano un'altra pubblicazione (articolo). La nota bibliografica, riportata nel testo, deve contenere i seguenti dati: *cognome dell'autore, anno di pubblicazione* e, se citiamo un determinato brano del testo, anche le *pagine*.

I riferimenti bibliografici completi delle fonti vanno quindi inseriti nel capitolo *Fonti e bibliografia* (saranno prima indicate le fonti e poi la bibliografia). L'autore indicherà esclusivamente i lavori e le edizioni citati nell'articolo.

Esempio di citazione nel testo:

(Borean, 2010, 325).

Esempio di riferimento alla fonte, senza citazione:

(Borean, 2010, 2006).

I dati completi su questa fonte nel capitolo *Fonti e bibliografia* verranno riportati in questa maniera:

**Borean, L. (2010):** Collezionisti e opere d'arte tra Venezia, Istria e Dalmazia nel Settecento. *Annales*, Ser. hist. sociol. 20, 2. Koper, Založba Annales, 323–330.

Se si citano *più lavori dello stesso autore* pubblicati nello stesso anno accanto al cognome va aggiunta una lettera in ordine alfabetico progressivo per distinguere i vari lavori. Ad es.:

(Borean, 2010a) e (Borean, 2010b).

Il riferimento bibliografico può essere parte della nota a piè di pagina e va riportato nello stesso modo come sopra.

Singole opere o vari riferimenti bibliografici in una stessa nota vanno divisi dal punto e virgola. Per es.:

(Borean, 2010a; Verginella, 2008).

**9.** Le **fonti d'archivio** vengono citate nel testo, *tra parentesi*. Si indicherà: sigla dell'archivio – numero (oppure) sigla del fondo, numero della busta, numero del documento (non il suo titolo). Ad es.:

(ASMI-SLV, 273, 7r).

Nel caso in cui un documento non fosse contraddistinto da un numero, ma solo da un titolo, la fonte d'archivio verrà citata *a piè di pagina*. In questo caso si indicherà: sigla dell'archivio – numero (oppure) sigla del fondo, numero della busta, titolo del documento. Ad es.:

ACS-CPC, 3285, Milanovich Natale. Richiesta della Prefettura di Trieste spedita al Ministero degli Interni del 15 giugno 1940.

Le sigle utilizzate verranno svolte per intero, in ordine alfabetico, nella sezione »Fonti« a fine testo. Ad es.:

**ASMI-SLV** – Archivio di Stato di Milano (ASMI), f. Senato Lombardo-Veneto (SLV).

**10.** Nel citare fonti di giornale nel testo andranno indicati il nome del giornale, la data di edizione e le pagine:

(Il Corriere della Sera, 18. 5. 2009, 26)

Nel caso in cui è noto anche il titolo dell'articolo, l'intera indicazione bibliografica verrà indicata *a più di pagina*:

Il Corriere della Sera, 18. 5. 2009: Da Mestre all'Archivio segreto del Vaticano, 26.

Nell'elenco Fonti e bibliografia scriviamo il nome del giornale, il luogo di edizione, l'editore ed il periodo di pubblicazione.

Ad es.:

**Il Corriere della Sera.** Milano, RCS Editoriale Quotidiani, 1876–.

**11.** Il capitolo **Fonti e bibliografia** è obbligatorio. I dati bibliografici vanno riportati come segue:

- Descrizione di un'opera compiuta:

autore/i (anno di edizione): Titolo. Luogo di edizione, casa editrice. Per es.:

**Šelih, A., Antić Gaber, M., Puhar, A., Rener, T., Šuklje, R., Verginella, M., Tavčar, L. (2007):** Pozabljena polovica. Portreti žensk 19. in 20. stoletja na Slovenskem. Ljubljana, Tuma, SAZU.

Se gli autori sono più di due, la citazione è corretta anche nel modo seguente:

(Šelih et al., 2007)

Se indichiamo una parte della pubblicazione, alla citazione vanno aggiunte le pagine di riferimento.

Descrizione di un articolo che compare in un **volum miscellaneo**:

- autore/i del contributo (anno di edizione): Titolo. In: autore/curatore del libro: titolo del libro. Luogo di edizione, casa editrice, pagine (da-a). Per es.:

**Lenarčič, B. (2010):** Omrežna družba, medkulturnost in prekokulturnost. V: Sedmak, M., Ženko, E. (ur.): Razprave o medkulturnosti. Koper, Založba Annales, 245–260.

Descrizione di un articolo in una **pubblicazione periodica – rivista**:

autore/i (anno di edizione): Titolo del contributo. Titolo del periodico, annata, nro. del periodico. Luogo di edizione, pagine (da-a). Per es.:

**Lazar, I. (2008):** Celejski forum in njegov okras. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol., 19, 2. Koper, 349–360.

Descrizione di una **fonte orale**:

informatore (anno della testimonianza): nome e cognome dell'informatore, anno di nascita, ruolo, posizione o stato sociale. Tipo di testimonianza. Forma e luogo di trascrizione della fonte. Per es.:

**Žigante, A. (2008):** Alojz Žigante, r. 1930, parroco a Visinada. Testimonianza orale. Appunti dattiloscritti dell'intervista presso l'archivio personale dell'autore.

Descrizione di una **fonte tratta da pagina internet**:

Se è possibile registriamo la fonte internet come un articolo e aggiungiamo l'indirizzo della pagina web e tra parentesi la data dell'ultimo accesso:

**Young, M. A. (2008):** The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). (15. 9. 2008). [Http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf](http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf)

Se l'autore non è noto, si indichi il webmaster, anno della pubblicazione, titolo ed eventuale sottotitolo del testo, indirizzo web e tra parentesi la data dell'ultimo accesso. Se l'anno di edizione non è noto si indichi tra parentesi l'anno di accesso a tale indirizzo:

**UP ZRS (2009):** Univerza na Primorskem, Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Koper. Znanstveni sestanki in conference. [Http://www.zrs-kp.si/SL/kongres.htm](http://www.zrs-kp.si/SL/kongres.htm) (2. 2. 2009).

La bibliografia va compilata in ordine alfabetico secondo i cognomi degli autori ed anno di edizione, nel caso in cui ci siano più citazioni riferibili allo stesso autore.

**12.** Il significato delle **abbreviazioni** va spiegato, tra parentesi, appena queste si presentano nel testo. L'elenco delle abbreviazioni sarà riportato alla fine dell'articolo.

**13.** Per quanto riguarda le **recensioni**, nel titolo del contributo l'autore deve riportare i dati bibliografici come al punto 10, vale a dire autore, titolo, luogo di edizione, casa editrice, anno di edizione nonché il numero complessivo delle pagine dell'opera recensita.

**14.** Gli autori ricevono le **prime bozze** di stampa per la revisione. Le bozze corrette vanno quindi rispedite entro una settimana alla Redazione. In questa fase, i testi corretti con segni adeguati (indicazioni in merito si trovano alla fine della pubblicazione "Slovenski pravopis" (2000), Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 24–25), non possono essere più ampliati. La revisione delle bozze è svolta dalla Redazione.

**15.** La Redazione rimane a disposizione per eventuali chiarimenti.

LA REDAZIONE

## INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS

**1.** The journal ANNALES (*Annals for Istrian and Mediterranean Studies*, Ser. hist et soc.) publishes **original** and **review scientific articles** dealing with social and human topics related to research on *the history, culture and society of Istria and the Mediterranean*, as well as *comparative and intercultural studies* and *methodological and theoretical discussions* related to the above-mentioned fields.

**2.** The articles submitted can be written in the Slovene, Italian, Croatian or English language. The authors should ensure that their contributions meet acceptable standards of language, while the editorial board has the right to have them language edited.

**3.** The articles should be no longer than 8,000 words. They can be submitted via e-mail (Annales@zrs.upr.si) or regular mail, with the electronic data carrier (CD) sent to the address of the editorial board. Submission of the article implies that it reports original unpublished work and that it will not be published elsewhere.

**4.** The front page should include the title and subtitle of the article, the author's name and surname, academic titles, affiliation (institutional name and address) or home address, including post code, and e-mail address.

**5.** The article should contain the **summary** and the **abstract**, with the former (c. 30 lines) being longer than the latter (c. 10 lines).

The *abstract* contains a brief description of the aim of the article, methods of work and results. It should contain no comments and recommendations.

The *summary* contains the description of the aim of the article and methods of work and a brief analysis or interpretation of results. It can contain only the information that appears in the text as well.

**6.** Beneath the abstract, the author should supply appropriate **keywords**, as well as the **English (or Slovene) translation** of the abstract, summary, keywords, and captions to figures and tables.

**7.** If possible, the author should also supply (original) **illustrative matter** submitted as separate files (in jpeg or tiff format) and saved at a minimum resolution of 300 dpi per size preferred, with the maximum possible publication size being 17x20 cm. Prior to publication, the author should obtain all necessary authorizations (as stipulated by the Copyright and Related Rights Act) for the publication of the illustrative matter and submit them to the editorial board. All figures, tables and diagrams should be captioned and numbered.

**8. Footnotes** providing additional explanation to the text should be written at *the foot of the page*. **Bibliographic notes** – i.e. references to other articles or publications – should contain the following data: *author, year of publication* and – when citing an extract from another text – *page*. Bibliographic notes appear in the text.

The entire list of sources cited and referred to should be published in the section *Sources and Bibliography* (starting with sources and ending with bibliography). The author should list only the works and editions cited or referred to in their article.

E.g.: Citation in the text:  
(Kalc, 2010, 426).

E.g.: Reference in a text:  
(Kalc, 2010).

In the section on *bibliography*, citations or references should be listed as follows:

**Kalc, A. (2010):** „Statistični podatki o Trstu“ ob tretji francoški zasedbi leta 1809. *Annales*, Ser. hist. sociol., 20, 2. Koper, Založba *Annales*, 423–444.

If you are listing *several works published by the same author in the same year*, they should be differentiated by adding a lower case letter after the year for each item.

E.g.:  
(Kalc, 2010a) and (Kalc, 2010b).

If the bibliographic note appears in the footnote, it should be written in the same way.

If listed in the same footnote, individual works or sources should be separated by a semicolon. E.g.:  
(Kalc, 2010a; Verginella, 2008).

**9.** When **citing archival records** *within the parenthesis* in the text, the archive acronym should be listed first, followed by the record group acronym (or signature), number of the folder, and number of the document. E.g.:

(ASMI-SLV, 273, 7r).

If the number of the document can not be specified, the record should be cited *in the footnote*, listing the archive acronym and the record group acronym (or signature), number of the folder, and document title. E.g.:

TNA-HS 4, 31, Note on Interview between Colonel Fišera and Captain Wilkinson on December 16th 1939.

The abbreviations should be explained in the section on sources in the end of the article, with the archival records arranged in an alphabetical order. E.g.:

**TNA-HS 4** – The National Archives, London-Kew (TNA), fond Special Operations Executive, series Eastern Europe (HS 4).

**10.** If referring to **newspaper sources** in the text, you should cite the name of the newspaper, date of publication and page:

If the title of the article is also known, the whole reference should be stated *in the footnote*:

The New York Times, 16. 5. 2009: Two Studies tie Disaster Risk to Urban Growth, 3.

In the list of sources and bibliography the name of the newspaper. Place, publisher, years of publication.

E.g.:

The New York Times. New York, H.J. Raymond & Co., 1857–.

**11.** The list of **sources and bibliography** is a mandatory part of the article. Bibliographical data should be cited as follows:

- Description of a non-serial publication – a book:  
Author (year of publication): Title. Place, Publisher.

E.g.:

**Šelih, A., Antić Gaber, M., Puhar, A., Rener, T., Šuklje, R., Verginella, M., Tavčar, L. (2007):** Pozabljena polovica. Portreti žensk 19. in 20. stoletja na Slovenskem. Ljubljana, Tuma, SAZU.

If there are *more than two authors*, you can also use et al.:

(Šelih et al., 2007)

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